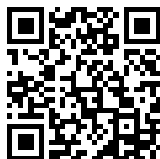

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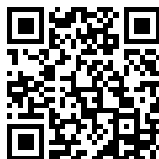
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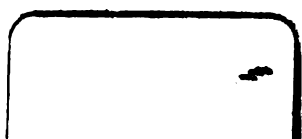


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CONTENTS

	PAGE
American Bibliography for 1925. By ALBERT C. BAUGH, NORMAN FOERSTER, H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER, J. P. W. CRAWFORD, and DANIEL B. SHUMWAY.....	1
I.—The "Donna Angelicata" in <i>The Ring and the Book</i> . By J. E. SHAW.....	55
II.—The Lyric Innovations of Giovanni Della Casa. By WALTER L. BULLOCK.....	82
III.—Actors' Names in the Registers of St. Bodolph Aldgate. By EMMA MARSHALL DENKINGER.....	91
IV.—Questions and Objections. By BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.....	110
V.—The German Language in the Prussian Academy of Sciences. By EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.....	126
VI.—Bodmer's Indebtedness to Klopstock. By C. H. IBERSHOFF.....	151
VII.—The Island Scene in Wieland's <i>Oberon</i> . By JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL.....	161
VIII.—George Borrow and Goethe's <i>Faust</i> . By WILLIAM A. SPECK.....	167
IX.—Emerson on Wordsworth. By JOHN BROOKS MOORE.....	179
X.—Emerson on the Organic Principle in Art. By NORMAN FOERSTER.....	193
XI.—Lowell's Criticism of Romantic Literature. By HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.....	209
XII.—Notes on the Cardigan Chaucer Manuscript. By CLARA MARBURG.....	229
XIII.—Saint Ambrose and Chaucer's <i>Life of St. Cecilia</i> . By OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.....	252
XIV.—The Social Status of Chaucer's Franklin. By GORDON HALL GEROULD.....	262
XV.—The Sources of Drayton's <i>Battaile of Agincourt</i> . By RAYMOND JENKINS.....	280
XVI.—A Probable Source of Beaumont and Fletcher's <i>Philaster</i> . By T. P. HARRISON, JR.....	294
XVII.— <i>The Trial of Chivalry</i> , A Chettle Play. By FRED L. JONES.....	304
XVIII.—Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of <i>Hey for Honesty</i> . By CYRUS L. DAY.....	325

	PAGE
XIX.—English Translations of Homer. By J. N. DOUGLAS BUSH.....	335
XX.—Essays and Letter Writing. By HAROLD C. BINKLEY.....	342
XXI.—Whig Panegyric Verse, 1700–1760. By C. A. MOORE.....	362
XXII.—Points of Contact between Byron and Socrates. By ELIZABETH ATKINS.....	402
XXIII.—The Views of the Great Critics on the Historical Novel. By ERNEST BERNBAUM.....	424
XXIV.—Sainte Beuve and Pope. By LANDER MAC CLINTOCK.....	442
XXV.—Further Sources of Victor Hugo's <i>Quatrevingt-treize</i> . By OLIN H. MOORE.....	452
XXVI.—Maurice Barrès as a Romanticist. By FREDERIC D. CHEYDLEUR.....	462
XXVII.—Is René Boylesve a Disciple of Balzac? By AARON SCHAFFER.....	488
✓ XXVIII.— <i>The Faerie Queene</i> in Masque at the Gray's Inn Revels. By EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT.....	497
XXIX.—Spencer's Use of the Bible and His Alleged Puritanism. By GRACE WARREN LANDRUM....	517
XXX.—Burton on Spenser. By MERRITT Y. HUGHES...	545
✓ XXXI.—Dating a Spenser-Harvey Letter. By JAMES RALSTON CALDWELL.....	568
✓ XXXII.—Renaissance Criticism and the Diction of <i>The Faerie Queene</i> . By EMMA FIELD POPE.....	575
XXXIII.—The Evolution of <i>The Comedy of Errors</i> . By ALLISON GAW.....	620
XXXIV.—Hamlet and Dr. Timothy Bright. By MARY ISABELLE O'SULLIVAN.....	667
XXXV.—Hamlet's Delay—A Restatement of the Problem. By BERNARD R. CONRAD.....	680
XXXVI.—Shakspeare's Use of the Voyagers in <i>The Tempest</i> . By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY.....	688
XXXVII.—Improving Shakespeare. Bibliographical Notes on Restoration Adaptations. By HAZELTON SPENCER.....	727
XXXVIII.—The Essays on Fredrika Bremer in the <i>North American Review</i> . By ADOLPH B. BENSON.....	747
XXXIX.—Stedman, Arbitrator of the Eighties. By G. E. DE MILLE.....	756
XL.—James Whitcomb Riley and Donald G. Mitchell. By WALDO H. DUNN.....	767
XLI.—Arthur's Round Table. By LAURA HIBBARD LOOMIS.....	771

	PAGE
XLII.— <i>Guillaume de Palerne: A Medieval "Best Seller."</i> By IRENE PETTIT MCKEEHAN.....	785
XLIII.—The Authorship of the <i>Secunda Pastorum</i> . By By OSCAR CARGILL.....	810
f XLIV.—The Metres of the Brome and Chester Abraham and Isaac Plays. By MARGARET DANCY FORT.	832
XLV.—The <i>Christus Redivivus</i> of Nicholas Grimald and the Hegge Resurrection Plays. By GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR.....	840
XLVI.— <i>Perolópez Ranjel, Farça a Honor & Reuerencia del Glorioso Nascimento</i> . By JOSEPH E. GILLET.	860
XLVII.—Milton and Servetus: A Study in the Sources of Milton's Theology. By MARTIN A. LARSON.....	891
XLVIII.—Vincent Minutoli's <i>Dépêches du Parnasse, ou la Gazette des Savants</i> . By GEORGE B. WATTS.....	935
XLVIX.—Albrecht von Haller and English Theology. By LAWRENCE M. PRICE.....	942
L.— <i>Alsirette: An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's Alsire</i> . By GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK.....	955
LI.— <i>La Date D'Achèvement de La Nouvelle Héloïse</i> . By ALBERT SCHINZ.....	971
LII.—Heinrich von Kleist: <i>Lehrjahre (1799-1801)</i> . By GEORGE M. HOWE.....	975
LIII.—E. Th. A. Hoffman's Reception in England. By ERWIN G. GUDDE.....	1005
LIV.—The Physical Basis of Rime. An Episode from the History of Rime. By HENRY LANZ.....	1011
LV.—A Proposed Compromise in Metrics. By CHARLES E. WHITMORE.....	1024
	PAGE

APPENDIX:

Proceedings of the Forty-second Meeting of the Modern Language Association.....	iii
World Languages. The Presidential Address. By HERMANN COLLITZ.....	xliii
Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast.....	lvi
Acts of the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association.....	lxi
Constitution of the Modern Language Association.....	lxiii

SUPPLEMENT:

List of Members of the Modern Language Association.....	lxvii
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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
Modern Language Association
of America

VOL. XLI, 1

MARCH, 1926

AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1925*

Members of the Association are requested to see that copies of monographs, studies or dissertations in the field of the Modern Language which may be printed privately or in University series during the current year be sent to the editor of the appropriate section of the American Bibliography.

1. ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

For some time a number of important bibliographies have been in preparation in this country. Two or three are on the point of appearing, and one fortunately is already out. C. S. Northup's *A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature* (Cornell Studies in English, IX) contains well over ten thousand references to bibliographies whether separately published or included in special studies and more general works. A useful "Check-list of Early English Printing, 1475-1640, in the New York Public Library" is published in the *Bull. of the N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, xxix. 484-512; 545-578. J. B. Childs has compiled "Sixteenth Century Books: A Bibliog-

* Italics indicate book titles; quotation marks indicate articles. Periodicals are referred to by the following abbreviations: *PMLA*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America; *MP*, Modern Philology; *MLN*, Modern Language Notes; *MLR*, Modern Language Review; *JEGP*, Journal of English and Germanic Philology; *MLJ*, Modern Language Journal; *SP*, Studies in Philology; *PQ*, Philological Quarterly; *RES*, Review of English Studies; *LTLS*, London Times Literary Supplement; *AS*, American Speech; *Lang*, Language; *Archiv*, Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen; *ES*, Englische Studien; *AnglB*, Anglia Beiblatt; *RR*, Romanic Review; *RHL*, Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France; *RLC*, Revue de Littérature Comparée; *ZRP*, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie; *BHi*, Bulletin Hispanique; *RHi*, Revue Hispanique; *Hisp*, Hispania; *RFe*, Revista de Filología Española; *SS*, Scandinavian Studies and Notes; *ASR*, American Scandinavian Review; *AJP*, American Journal of Philology. Titles appearing as theses or in the publications of universities are followed where possible by the name of the university.

raphy of Literature Describing Books Printed between 1501 and 1601" (*Papers of the Bibl. Soc. of Amer.*, xvii, pt. 2).

A. P. Weiss, "Linguistics and Psychology" (*Lang.*, i. 52-57) suggests problems in which scholars in the two fields can coöperate. Edward Sapir, "Sound Patterns in Language" (*Ibid.*, i. 37-51), argues the insufficiency of any attempt to explain sound changes on the basis of merely physical phenomena. E. A. Esper, *A Technique for the Experimental Investigation of Associative Interference in Artificial Linguistic Material* (Language Monographs, Linguistic Soc. of Amer., I), follows up the investigation of analogical change in language along the lines suggested by the earlier experiments of Thumb and Marbe. G. W. Small studies *The Comparison of Inequality: The Semantics and Syntax of the Comparative Particle of English* (Johns Hopkins), Samuel Moore has extensively revised his *Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Morphology*, and G. O. Curme has published a *College English Grammar* based on a new collection of material. C. C. Fries in "The Periphrastic Future with *Shall* and *Will* in Modern English" (*PMLA*, xl. 963-1024) shows that the distinction between the two words has varied considerably in rule and practice throughout their history and especially in recent years. "Neutral or Supporting Vowels in French and English" are discussed by J. L. Barker (*MP*, xxiii. 273-281). O. B. Schlutter contributes "Weitere Beiträge zur altenglischen Wortforschung" (*Anglia*, xlix. 92-96; 183-192, and "Bemerkungen zum NE. Dictionary" (*Ibid.*, xlix. 285-288). C. H. Livingston explains the first syllable of "Middle English *Askances*" (*MLR.*, xx. 71-72) as *L. ex*, so that the whole etymology would be *ex+quam+si+s*. F. P. Magoun, Jr., prints "Two Lexicographical Notes" (*MLN*, xl. 408-412) on M.E. *büsten* and *beten* and O.E. *lōf* and *grīn*. R. Withington notes "Other 'Portmanteau' Words" (*Ibid.*, xl. 188-189). Mention may also be made of *Academy Papers* by members of the American Academy of Arts and Letters which contains addresses on subjects connected with language by Paul Elmer More, Brander Matthews, Paul Shorey, etc.

Studies in versification include A. R. Morris's *The Orchestration of the Metrical Line: An Analytical Study of Rhythmical Form*, a suggestion by James Routh concerning the origin of "English Iambic Meter" (*PMLA*, xl. 921-932), and a dis-

cussion by G. R. Stewart, Jr., of "The Meter of the Popular Ballad" (*PMLA*, XL. 933-962). In another paper, "The Iambic-Trochaic Theory in Relation to Musical Notation Of Verse" (*JEGP*, XXIV. 61-71), Mr. Stewart proposes to discard entirely the distinction between the two types of feet. J. H. Scott has published *Rhythmic Prose* (Iowa), with an announcement of the simultaneous publication of *Rhythmic Verse*.

Stanley Rypins has edited *Three Old English Prose Texts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A XV* for the E.E.T.S., the "Letter of Alexander the Great," "Wonders of the East," and the "Life of St. Christopher." M. D. Clubb has edited *Christ and Satan* (Yale). Kemp Malone in "*Widsith* and the *Hervararsaga*" (*PMLA*, XL. 769-813) attempts to determine the form of two stories in the *Hervararsaga* referred to in the *Widsith*. Evelyn M. H. Lamb in "Beowulf Queries" (*N & Q*, CXLIX. 243-244) asks "Is *Æt Sæce* the name of Beowulf's sword?" and "Is sword a metanomen for the ship given to Beowulf?" A. S. Cook in "*Beowulf* 159-163" (*MLN*, XL. 352-354) suggests that *mistige mōras* = *montes caliginosos*, *mor* frequently appearing elsewhere in O.E. as a translation of *mons*, and that *dēapscua* = *umbra mortis*. In "Aldhelm and the Source of *Beowulf* 2523" (*Ibid.*, XL. 137-142) he cites another interesting parallel between the *Beowulf* and Aldhelm; and in "Bitter Beer-Drinking" (*Ibid.*, XL. 285-288) he comments on line 1533 of *Andreas*. In "Cynewulf's Part in Our *Beowulf*" (*Trans. Conn. Acad.*, XXVII. 385-406) Professor Cook argues against Cynewulf's influence or hand in Hrothgar's "sermon." Fr. Klaeber has "A Note on the Battle of Brunanburh" in *Angelica: Brandl-Festschrift* (*Palaestra*, No. 148, pp. 1-7). J. H. Pitman prints the text and a verse translation of *The Riddles of Aldheim* (Yale). G. H. Gerould, "*Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours*" (*JEGP*, XXIV. 206-210), shows that the one in the *Lives of Saints* is longer, is based on additional sources, and differs in style from that in the *Homilies*. In "Abbot *Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose*" (*MP*, XXII. 353-366) he thinks *Ælfric* is writing after the model of certain Latin writers. Of collateral interest are two articles by Kemp Malone: "King Alfred's 'Geats'" (*MLR*, XX. 1-11) maintaining that the identification of the Jutes and Geats originated with modern scholarship, and "The Suiones of Tacitus" (*AJPh.* XLVI. 170-176).

J. F. Willard has published his valuable bibliography, *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America*, Bulletin 3 (Colorado). H. R. Patch's "Characters in Medieval Literature" (*MLN*, XL. 1-15) gathers interesting examples of the kind of thumbnail portrait so popular later. They are especially full in the treatments of vices and virtues. Hope Traver, "The Four Daughters of God: A Mirror of Changing Doctrine" (*PMLA*, XL. 44-92), supplementing her dissertation (1907), seeks the sources of the allegory, discusses such possible influences as the cult of the Virgin, traces the growth of the idea of a trial, and in conclusion considers the relative priority of a number of early versions of the *Processus Belial*. Helen F. Rubel, "Chabham's *Penitential* and Its Influence in the Thirteenth Century" (*PMLA*, XL. 225-239), confirms Poole's discrimination between the author of this often cited work and the bishop to whom it has been wrongly ascribed. The date is thus fixed a century earlier (probably between 1213 and 1230). The influence of Chabham's discussion of minstrels upon later treatises appears to be slight, though difficult to determine accurately. H. W. Robbins has edited Anglo Norman and Middle English texts of *Le Merure de Seinte Eglise* (Minnesota) by Edmund Rich. In the introduction he classifies the MSS. of the French, Latin and English versions, and argues that the original text was in French. In "An English Version of St. Edmund's *Speculum*, ascribed to Richard Rolle" (*PMLA*, XL. 240-251) he prints a version from Camb. Univ. MS. II.6.40, which, though probably not by Rolle, is interesting for the numerous and considerable additions made by the translator. Beatrice Daw Brown discovers "The Source of a Fourteenth Century Lyric" (*MLN* XL. 318-319) in the *Legenda Aurea*. R. S. Loomis, "Medieval Iconography and the Question of Arthurian Origins" (*MLN*, XL. 65-70), shows that pictorial and plastic evidence suggests a considerable body of romances earlier than Chrétien and Geoffrey of Monmouth, and pleads for a wider use of archeological evidence in the solution of literary problems. Kemp Malone, "Artorius" (*MP*, XXII. 367-374), reverses his position on the historicity of Arthur, having discovered a mention of a hitherto overlooked Roman general in Britain by the name of Lucius Artorius Castus. J. J. Parry has edited *The Vita Merlini* (Illinois) with transla-

tion and a valuable introduction. In "The Date of the *Vita Merlini*" (*MP*, xxii. 413-415) he suggests 1150 instead of the usual 1148 on the basis of a passage reminiscent of a description of a battle presumably fought in that year. In "Celtic Tradition and the *Vita Merlini*" (*PQ* iv. 193-207) he believes that the author, said to be Geoffrey of Monmouth, drew upon Celtic sources. R. M. Garrett's posthumous article on "The Lay of Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 125-134) is stimulating if somewhat inconclusive.

Sister Mary Madeleva's *Pearl: A Study in Spiritual Dryness* (California) is an outright rejection of the elegiac theory. Simultaneously W. K. Greene, "The *Pearl*—A New Interpretation" (*PMLA*, xl. 814-827), thinks the poem is not autobiographical, but is a parable (cast in elegiac form) and "no less homiletic than *Cleanness* and *Patience*." G. R. Coffman's "A New Approach to Medieval Latin Drama" (*MP*, xxii. 239-271) is chiefly a discussion of intellectual conditions and personalities in Gandersheim, Hildesheim, and other German monasteries in the tenth and eleventh centuries and their possible part in the development of the drama. Sara F. Barrow and W. H. Hulme have translated (with an introduction) *The Medieval Religious Plays 'Antichrist' and 'Adam'* (Western Reserve). R. Potter takes issue with Peacock in "The Wakefield Mysteries" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 300) on the inferences which he draws concerning their location. Kemp Malone suggests a new interpretation of a difficult passage in "A Note on the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum* [136-140]" (*MLN*, xl. 35-39). K. J. Holzkecht's *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania) assembles a rich collection of data on all phases of the subject. It should have been included in the bibliography for last year. E. C. Knowlton's "Nature in Early German" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 409-412) should be added to his other discussion of this allegorical figure. H. H. Gowen writes of "Immanuel of Rome and the Jew as Middleman in Literature" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 266-283), especially in introducing to the West the literature and literary forms of the Orient. Ella Bourne in "The Medieval Wanderings of a Greek Myth" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 184-194) traces the story of Io from Ovid down. Attention should be called to E. K. Rand's *Ovid and His Influence* for what he says about Ovid in England in the Middle Ages.

Grace Frank lists a small number of "English Manuscripts in the Vatican Library" (*PMLA*, XL. 98-102) which she and others have gleaned.

E. P. Kuhl in "New Chaucer Items" (*MLN*, XL. 511-513) calls attention to three documents in the latest volume of the *Cal. of Close Rolls* (1392-96) and their significance. In a valuable article on "Chaucer and the Church" (*Ibid.*, 321-338) he brings into the discussion a letter of Richard II to the Pope, May 26, 1390, detailing certain abuses in church appointments which concern, as Kuhl thinks, persons and events alluded to by Chaucer. He concludes that Chaucer's religious sympathies were with Richard's party and that consequently they would not embrace Lollardry. Karl Young, "Chaucer's Renunciation of Love in *Troilus*" (*MLN*, XL. 270-276), maintains that Chaucer's revulsion of feeling arose "more from the unsound morals of the poem than from its intense passion" and quotes a similar renunciation by Andreas Capellanus. The title essay in Sister Mary Madeleva's *Chaucer's Nuns and Other Essays* is interesting for its point of view. H. Y. Moffett studies "Oswald the Reeve" (*PQ*, IV. 208-223) against the background of other reeves in real life. W. C. Curry, "Chaucer's Doctor of Physyk" (*Ibid.*, IV. 1-24), believes it is easier to determine the physician's knowledge and competence than to understand clearly his character. R. F. Jones's "A Conjecture on the Wife of Bath's Prologue" (*JEGP*, XXIV. 512-547) holds "that the first part of the Prologue through line 193 was originally preceded by the present Shipman's Prologue plus a number of lines which were later omitted, and that the whole served as a Wife's Prologue to the present Shipman's Tale." P. F. Baum remarks upon the difficulties presented by "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale" (*MLN*, XL. 152-154) and offers incidentally an explanation of the chemistry of the Canon's two experiments. W. Wells notes "A New Analogue to the Pardoner's Tale" (*MLN*, XL. 59) in Jack London's story *Just Meat*. This is perhaps the most fitting place to mention G. M. Vogt's "Gleanings for the History of a Sentiment: *Generositas Virtus, Non Sanguis*" (*JEGP*, XXIV. 102-123) for its relation to the Wife of Bath's tale. A line from the same tale is quoted by Nash, as noted by Ernest Kuhl, "Chaucer and Thomas Nash" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 739).

Carleton Brown, "*An Holy Meditacion—by Lydgate?*" (*MLN*, XL. 282–285), discovers the poem to be for the most part a literal translation of a Latin poem *De Humana Miseria Tractatus* and considers that there is no valid evidence, external or internal, for assigning it to Lydgate. E. P. Hammond uses "The Nine-syllabled Pentameter Line in Some Post-Chaucerian Manuscripts" (*MP*, XXIII. 129–152) as a test of scribal disturbances in texts which it is possible in some measure to control. She has also published "The Chance of the Dice" (*ESL*, LIX. 1–16) for the first time in complete form, and in "Grass and Green Wool" (*MLN*, XL. 185–186) offers a plausible emendation to *The Flower and the Leaf* which avoids the infelicity of Skeat's reading. B. P. Kurtz discusses "The Relation of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye* to its Source" (*PMLA*, XL. 252–275) and concludes that while it expands its source it owes most of its merit to the virtues of its original. Laura Sumner edits with full apparatus *The Wedding of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell* (Smith) placing it in the East Midland in the second half of the fifteenth century and discussing its relation to other versions of the knight and loathly lady story. G. L. Kittredge in *Sir Thomas Malory*, a privately printed leaflet, supplies further proof of Malory's identity with the Sir Thomas Malory of Winwick and adds a few biographical data. Reed Smith in *The Traditional Ballad and its South Carolina Survivals* (So. Carolina) publishes new recordings of eleven ballads with introductory remarks containing testimony bearing on communal composition.

The annual bibliography, "Recent Literature of the English Renaissance" by the late T. S. Graves, appeared in *Studies in Philology* (XXII. 272–346). L. R. Merrill, in *The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald* (Yale) corrects and extends our knowledge of Grimald's life, edits with translation his two Latin plays, and reprints his poems included in *Tottel's Miscellany*. H. S. Leach in "Earle Surrey's [!] Songs and Sonnets" (*N & Q*, CXLVIII. 348) describes one of four or five surviving copies of Bishop Percy's edition destroyed by fire in 1808. T. P. Harrison, Jr., "Googe's *Eglogs* and Montemayor's *Diana*" (*Texas Studies in English*, No. 5, pp. 68–78) discusses Googe's use of his source.

H. H. Blanchard, "Imitations from Tasso in the *Faerie Queene*" (*SP*, XXII. 198–221) presents twenty-one parallels

supplementing Koepfel's study. In "Spenser and Boiardo" (*PMLA*, XL. 828-851) he studies the parallels between the *Orlando Innamorato* and the *Faerie Queene*. M. Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances" (*MP*, XXIII. 67-76), concludes against the supposition that Spenser was directly indebted to any Greek romances for themes in his poetry. F. F. Covington, Jr., in "Spenser and Alexander Neckam" (*SP*, XXII. 222-225) notes a short passage in Neckam's *De Laudibus* treating a good number of the rivers in Ireland mentioned by Spenser. The same author has "A Note on *Faerie Queene* IV. III. 27" (*MLN*, XL. 253). R. E. Parker, "Spenser's Language and the Pastoral Tradition" (*Lang.*, I. 80-87), shows that Spenser's language is most archaic in pastoral poetry but less archaic than is generally thought. D. Bush shows that the bulk of the material for the "Classical Lives in *The Mirror for Magistrates*" (*SP*, XXII. 256-266) is taken from Suetonius and Herodian. R. R. Cawley, "Drayton's Use of Welsh History" (*SP*, XXII. 234-255), finds Drayton's source for a portion of the *Poly-olbion* in *A History of Cambria* published in 1584 and long the standard work on Wales. Henrietta C. Bartlett has a communication on a cancel slip in "England's Helicon" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 335), which is disputed on p. 352. E. B. Reed has gathered together a large collection of *Songs from the British Drama*, to which he has prefaced an essay on "Some Aspects of Song in Drama." T. K. Whipple has published a monograph on *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson* (California) and D. T. Starnes has studied the "Bibliographical History of the Funeral Elegy in England from 1500 to 1638" (Chicago, *Abstracts of Theses*, I. 399-407). W. E. Mead has edited for the EETS (O.S. 165) '*The famous Historie of Chinon of England*' [1597] by Christopher Middleton to which is added '*The Assertion of King Arthure*' translated by Richard Robinson from Leland's '*Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii*' together with the Latin Original.

F. E. Schelling has embodied the results of research during the seventeen years since his *Elizabethan Drama* in a volume called *Elizabethan Playwrights: A Short History of the English Drama from Mediæval Times to the Closing of the Theaters in 1642*. J. B. Moore writes on *The Comic and the Realistic in English Drama* [before 1660] and their inter-relation. Ola E.

Winslow has investigated "Low Comedy as a Structural Element in English Comedy from the Beginnings to 1642" (*Chicago Abstracts of Theses*, i. 415-422). J. L. Hotson's *The Death of Christopher Marlowe* reports a most interesting discovery. From documents in the Public Record Office he establishes the time, place and circumstances of Marlowe's death on May 30, 1593. He and one Ingram Frizer lunched, spent the afternoon, and dined together at a tavern in Deptford. Frizer and two others present testified that in the course of a quarrel over the bill Marlowe, jumping from a bed, inflicted two wounds in Frizer's head with a dagger, whereupon Frizer in self-defense stabbed Marlowe over the right eye, killing him instantly. A month later Frizer was pardoned. Hotson attempts to identify the dramatist with a Christopher Morley who was in the government's employ in 1587. This identification is open to some doubt and the problem is not simplified by some interesting documents recently acquired by the British Museum (Cf. *London Times*, June 23, 1925). R. S. Forsythe, "*The Passionate Shepherd*, and English Poetry" (*PMLA*, xl. 692-742), discusses the source of Marlowe's poem, places the date of its composition at about 1588, and follows the 'invitation to love' as a literary device through a surprising number of instances down to our own time. T. W. Baldwin, "On the Chronology of Thomas Kyd's Plays" (*MLN*, xl. 343-349), believes that in Kyd's letter to Sir John Puckering the "iij yeres," as read by Boas, should be "vj yeres." This would imply that Kyd gave up writing plays in the autumn of 1587 and therefore preceded Marlowe, Greene, and Shakespeare. He also discusses the dates of the separate plays. W. P. Mustard points out classical parallels in "Notes on John Lyly's Plays" (*SP*, xxii. 267-271), "Notes on Lyly's *Euphues*" (*MLN*, xl. 120-121), "Notes on Robert Greene's Plays" (*Ibid.*, 316-317), and "Notes on Thomas Nash's Works" (*Ibid.*, 469-476).

The late R. M. Alden had completed before his death *A Shakespeare Handbook*, which has now been published. Tucker Brooke in "Shakespeare's Moiety of the Stratford Tithes" (*MLN*, xl. 462-469) reexamines the two lengthy documents in the case with considerable profit, discusses the circumstances which led Shakespeare and his associates to present their bill of complaint, and offers reasons for fixing the date of the

document as the first quarter of 1609. G. C. Taylor aims to determine the extent of *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*. A. H. Tolman in *Falstaff and Other Shakespearean Topics* gathers together a number of papers, some of which have not previously been published. C. C. Fries's "Shakespearian Punctuation" (*Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne* [Univ. of Michigan], pp. 65-86) was in press before Alden's paper appeared. He examines Elizabethan punctuation in the light of grammars and rhetorics in Shakespeare's day and since and concludes that the Elizabethan theory of punctuation did not differ fundamentally from ours. Allison Gaw, "Actors' Names in Basic Shakespearean Texts with Special Reference to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Much Ado*." (*PMLA*, xl. 530-550), studies the instances in which the names of actors are found in place of the characters' names. All these instances are found before 1600 and the name in each case is that of an actor contemporary with the writing of the play. These facts furnish the basis for interesting inferences. Hardin Craig shows that "Shakespeare's Depiction of Passions" (*PQ*, iv. 289-301) is consistent with well worked out psychological ideas of his day. L. W. Rogers' *The Ghosts in Shakespeare* is of slight value. J. F. Forbis, *The Shakespearean Enigma and An Elizabethan Mania*, tells us in his opening sentence: "The authentic facts relating to the life, habits and writings of Shakespeare are curiously vague and meager, if not altogether wanting." The second half of the book deals with Elizabethan sonnet sequences. O. J. Campbell, "*Love's Labour's Lost* Re-studied" (*Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne* [Univ. of Michigan], pp. 1-45), starting from the theories of Lefranc and Acheson, thinks that Shakespeare wrote the play at the suggestion of some one at court, casting it in the form of a Progress with its diversified outdoor amusements and its dramatic and rustic entertainments, and that in developing characters and managing the episodes he was influenced not so much by Lyly as by the contemporary examples and traditions of Italian actors, especially in the *Commedia dell' Arte*. In "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Italian Comedy" (*Ibid.*, pp. 47-63) he offers a further study of the formative influence of Italian comedy upon Shakespeare's early work. Erma Gill makes "A Comparison of the Characters in The Comedy of Errors with those in the *Menaechmi*" (*Texas Stud. in Eng.*,

No. 5, pp. 79-95). E. P. Kuhl in a long paper argues that "The Authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew*" (*PMLA*, xl. 551-618) is purely Shakespearean. Marie L. C. Linthicum interprets "Shakespeare's 'meacocke' [*T.S.*, II. I. 309]" (*MLN*, xl. 96-98) as grey plover. M. P. Tilley, apropos of "*Much Ado About Nothing* (V. I. 178)" (*MLN*, xl. 186-188), cites numerous examples of the proverb "Aut amat aut odit mulier: nihil est tertium" which make it unnecessary to think that Shakespeare is indebted to Lyly for the idea. Discussions of special points are E. P. Kuhl's "Shakspeare's 'Lead Apes in Hell' and the Ballad of 'The Maid and the Palmer'" (*SP*, xxii. 453-466), J. D. Rea's "Jaques on the Microcosm" (*PQ*, iv. 345-347), M. L. Wilder's "Shakespeare's 'Small Latin'" (*MLN*, xl. 380-81), and G. L. Kittredge's "Shakespeare and Seneca?" (*Ibid.*, 440). Kemp Malone, "On the Etymology of Hamlet" (*PQ*, iv. 158-160), defends his opinion, T. S. Graves has written entertainingly of "The Adventures of Hamlet's Ghost" (*PQ*, iv. 138-150), and W. Diamond discusses "Wilhelm Meister's Interpretation of Hamlet" (*MP*, xxiii. 89-101). M. P. Tilley in "Two Shakespearean Notes" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 315-324) explains Hamlet's *fat* as perspiration and suggests the colloquial force of "What is't o'clock" as "how do matters stand" with some implication of mental poverty in the person addressed. W. L. Bullock, "The Sources of *Othello*" (*MLN*, xl. 226-228) opposes Krappe's suggestion of a Byzantine source. Margaret Gilman studies *Othello in France* (Bryn Mawr). Hardin Craig in "The Ethics of *King Lear*" (*PQ*, iv. 97-109) relates the play to the thought of the age as it descended from Aristotle. H. S. Pancoast's "Note on *King Lear*" (*MLN*, xl. 404-408) is an interpretation of V. II. 9-11. O. F. Emerson in "Shakespearean and Other Feasts" (*SP*, xxii. 161-183) collects data on Elizabethan meals to illustrate *Macbeth*, II. II. 36-40, especially 'great nature's second course,' to which he adds a supplementary note on "Pudding-Time" (*AS*, I. 45). A. H. R. Fairchild, "A Note on *Macbeth*" (*PQ*, iv. 348-350), suggests a possible source for Macbeth's aside "The eye wink at the hand." H. D. Gray in "Heywood's *Pericles*, Revised by Shakespeare" (*PMLA*, xl. 507-529) supports the view that the non-Shakespearean parts of the play are by Heywood and adduces parallels of plot, ideas, and vo-

cabulary in the plays of Heywood. R. S. Forsythe, "Imogen and Neronis" (*MLN*, xl. 313-314), suggests the possibility that Shakespeare and Kyd may both have owed something to an incident in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*. T. S. Graves' "On Allegory in *The Tempest*" (*MLN*, xl. 396-399) is a spirited reply to Colin Still's *Shakespeare's Mystery Play*. S. A. Tannenbaum in "Shakespeare's Unquestioned Autographs and The Addition to *Sir Thomas Moore*" (*SP*, xxii. 133-160) argues, with the help of numerous valuable facsimiles, against the presence of Shakespeare's holograph in the manuscript. In "Reclaiming One of Shakespeare's Signatures" (*Ibid.*, 392-411) he maintains the genuineness of the Montaigne signature. "The 'Spurred A'" is the title of two controversial communications by the same author growing out of his papers (*LTLS*, 1925, 619 and 698). J. D. Rea in "This Figure That Thou Here Seest Put" (*MP*, xxii. 417-419) finds the source of Jonson's lines in a similar set of lines written for a portrait of Erasmus by one of the latter's secretaries and frequently published.

T. S. Graves makes a plausible case for the sporadic appearance of "Women on the Pre-Restoration Stage" (*SP*, xxii. 184-197) and offers a few miscellaneous "Notes on Elizabethan Plays" (*MP*, xxiii. 1-5). Evangelia H. Waller suggests "A Possible Interpretation of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 219-245) with reference to contemporary events. E. A. Hall studies "William Drury's *Alvredus sive Alfredus*" (*Chicago Abstracts of Theses*, I. 379-384) and its relation to other Elizabethan plays. In "The Authorship of *Locrine*" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 24) T. S. Graves calls attention to the existence in America of the "lost" copy of the play containing a contemporary attribution to Charles Tilney. R. Withington adds another note on "F. S., Which Is To Say" (*SP*, xxii. 226-233). Gamaliel Bradford writes about "The Women of Dekker" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 284-290). Esther C. Dunn has published a monograph on *Ben Jonson's Art: Elizabethan Life and Literature As Reflected Therein* (Smith). J. F. Enders contributes "A Note on Jonson's *Staple of News*" (*MLN*, xl. 419-421) and F. A. Pottle offers "Two Notes on Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*" (*Ibid.*, 223-226). R. S. Forsythe in "The Pursuit of Shadows" (*N & Q*, cxlviii. 165-167) notes the comparison of one's mistress to a shadow by

various poets beside Ben Jonson in the Elizabethan Age. Mildred C. Struble identifies another source in "The Indebtedness of Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* to Gainsford" (*Anglia*, XLIX. 80-91). L. Bradner offers a persuasive argument for the probable use of "Stages and Stage Scenery in Court Drama before 1558" (*RES*, I. 447-448). R. Withington contributes "Notes on Dramatic Nomenclature" (*N & Q*, CXLIX. 399-401). E. E. Stoll's "The Old Drama and the New" (*MLR*, XX. 147-157) is a defense of the old drama against Mr. Archer. Evelyn M. Albright outlines her study of "Authors' Rights and Copyright in England, 1580-1640" (*Chicago Abstracts of Theses*, I. 363-370). Ruth Kelso's "Sixteenth Century Definitions of the Gentleman in England" (*JEGP*, XXIV. 370-382) may be considered in connection with Vogt's paper mentioned above.

Much has been written during the year on Milton. J. H. Hanford's "The Youth of Milton" (*Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne* [Univ. of Michigan], pp. 87-163) is a long and careful attempt to trace Milton's intellectual and emotional development as manifested in his work. The paper is in a sense a corrective to the studies of Saurat, Mutchmann, and Liljegren. His "Samson Agonistes and Milton in Old Age" (*Ibid.*, 165-189) is a companion piece to the preceding article. Alwin Thaler, "The Shakesperian Element in Milton" (*PMLA*, XL. 645-691), notes many parallels in thought, phrasing, and technique showing constant reminiscences of Shakespeare in Milton's work to the end of his life. Marjorie H. Nicholson has a paper on "The Spirit World of Milton and More" (*SP*, XXII. 433-452), with which may be mentioned Flora I. Mackinnon's *Philosophical Writings of Henry More* (Wellesley). J. H. Collins in "Milton and the Incomprehensible" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, XXIV. 373-384) suggests certain weaknesses in Milton. M. Y. Hughes, "Lydian Airs" (*MLN*, XL. 129-137), traces the history of ideas about the art of music and suggests that Milton considered it the right of music, like poetry, to be sensuous and passionate. J. W. Draper, "Milton's Ormus" (*MLR*, XX. 323-327), gives an historical account of the island showing that its splendor had long since died when Milton wrote. C. G. Osgood suggests that "That two-handed engine at the door" in "Lycidas 130, 131" (*RES*, I. 339-341) is possibly the iron flail of Talus in the

Faerie Queene. E. C. Baldwin's "And on the Left Hand Hell [*Par. Lost*, x. 322]" (*MLN*, xl. 251) suggests two or three places where Milton might have derived the conception. Marion H. Studley replies to Baldwin in regard to "Milton and His Paraphrases of the Psalms" (*PQ*, iv. 364-372). J. H. Pitman, "Milton and the *Physiologus*" (*MLN*, xl. 439-440), considers the O.E. *Physiologus* as a probable source for Milton's description of leviathan. E. C. Baldwin suggests a possible combination between "*Paradise Lost* and the *Apocalypse of Moses*" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 383-386) while admitting the difficulties involved.

L. I. Bredvold in "The Religious Thought of Donne in Relation to Medieval and Later Traditions" (*Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne* [Univ. of Michigan], pp. 193-232) represents Donne as the result of much more complex circumstances than recent criticism frequently implies. The same author in "Deism before Lord Herbert" (*Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, iv. 431-442) finds traces of Deism from the Middle Ages down. J. W. Hebel, "A Divine Love Addressed by Lord Herbert to Lady Bedford" (*MLR*, xx. 74-76), accepts the attribution of the poem to Herbert but believes it was not addressed to the Countess of Carlisle. A. C. Howell has published "A Note on Sir Thomas Browne's Knowledge of Languages" (*SP*, xxii. 412-417) and "Sir Thomas Browne and Seventeenth Century Scientific Thought" (*Ibid.* 61-80). A. C. Judson in "Who Was Lucasta?" (*MP*, xxiii. 77-82) finds no evidence that Lovelace died of a broken heart because his betrothed had married another, questions the usual identification of Lucasta with a Lucy Sacheverel, and offers plausible reasons for thinking Lucasta a largely imaginary person. J. N. D. Bush offers parallels with Pettie's *Palace of Pleasure* as a proof of source for "Martin Parker's *Philomela*" (*MLN*, xl. 486-488). C. A. Moore writes of "John Dunton: Pietist and Impostor" (*SP*, xxii. 467-499). J. L. Hotson in "Bear Gardens and Bear-baiting during the Commonwealth" (*PMLA*, xl. 276-288) shows that bear-baiting continued throughout the Commonwealth and encountered much less opposition than the drama. Incidentally he demonstrates the existence of a private bear garden in St. John's Street. H. T. Perry's *The Comic Spirit in Restoration Drama* contains chap-

ters on Restoration comedy and its more important authors. Hazelton Spencer in "The Restoration Play Lists" (*RES*, i. 443-446) opposes Allardyce Nicoll's view that Restoration versions of Shakespeare's plays may go back to certain prompt copies or corrected quartos not now known to exist, and attacks the same author's view that D'Avenant's Restoration company, was the 'spiritual heir' to his pre-wars troupe. R. J. Ham. "Thomas Otway, Rochester, and Mrs. Barry" (*N & Q*, CXLIX. 165-167), is unwilling to dismiss the tradition of Otway's infatuation with the actress. The same author gives an account of "The Portraits of Thomas Otway" (*Ibid.*, 111-113). A. L. Bondurant, comparing "The *Amphitruo* of Plautus, Molière's *Amphitryon*, and the *Amphitryon* of Dryden" (*Sewanee Rev.*, XXXIII. 455-468), finds that Dryden debases and vulgarizes his sources. Kathleen M. Lynch, "D'Urfé's *L'Astrée* and the 'Proviso' Scenes in Dryden's Comedy" (*PQ*, iv. 302-308) finds a source used by Dryden in three plays. R. D. Havens validates the account of "Dryden's Visit to Milton" (*RES*, i. 348-349). O. F. Emerson adds a note to the discussion of "Dryden and the English Academy" (*MLR*, xx. 189-190). Amanda M. Ellis shows that "Horace's Influence on Dryden" (*PQ*, iv. 39-60) was extensive and deep, and J. H. Smith discusses "Dryden's Critical Temper" (*Wash. Univ. Studies*, Humanistic Ser., XII. 201-220).

A. H. Nethercot continues the installments of his study of the metaphysical poets in "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Pope" (*PQ*, iv. 161-179) and "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Johnson and the Romantic Revival" (*SP*, xxii. 81-132). Practically the whole is summarized in "The Attitude toward 'Metaphysical' Poetry in Neo-Classical England" (*Chicago Abstracts of Theses*, i. 395-397). *Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England (1660-1830)* (Harvard) is a dissertation by A. F. B. Clark. R. F. Jones in "Eclogue Types in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 33-60) finds that the common denominator of the widely different poems called eclogues is form rather than pastoral content. Elizabeth W. Manwaring's *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: A Study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste, 1700-1800* (Wellesley) contains, in

addition to much that is of collateral interest to students of literature, specific chapters on "Italian Landscape in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century" and "The Landscape Arts and the Picturesque in the Novel of the Eighteenth Century." R. P. McCutcheon in "Notes on the Occurrence of the Sonnet and Blank Verse" (*MLN*, xL. 513-514) prints a sonnet published in 1692 and a few instances of blank verse in the early eighteenth century not noted by Havens. F. B. Kaye has published an excellent edition of Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees; or Private Vices, Public Benefits* in two handsomely printed volumes, preceded by an admirable study. George Sherburn's review (*MP*, xxii. 327-336) of Griffith's *Alexander Pope, A Bibliography* contains so much new material, especially from eighteenth century periodicals, that it deserves inclusion here. J. T. Hillhouse, "Teresa Blount and 'Alexis'" (*MLN*, xL. 88-91), concerns a correspondence long attributed to James Moore-Smythe of *Dunciad* fame. But he was a boy of eleven when the letters were written and they were really from an H. Moore of Fawley Court in Berkshire, as names and allusions show. Their connection with Pope is therefore negligible. W. Graham discusses "Some Predecessors of the *Taller*" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 548-554) and J. M. Beatty, Jr., has a note on "Joseph Addison's Ancestry" (*N & Q*, cxlix. 459). J. W. Draper has published his dissertation on *William Mason: A Study in Eighteenth Century Culture* (N. Y. Univ.) in a sizable volume. S. T. Williams sketches "The English Sentimental Drama from Steele to Cumberland" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 405-426) and W. E. Schultz has presented a valuable paper on "The Music of the Beggar's Opera in Print" (*Music Teachers' National Association, Proceedings for 1924*, pp. 87-99). L. B. Osborn has reprinted *Three Farces by D. Garrick: The Lying Valet; A Peep behind the Curtain; Bon Ton*.

H. C. Hutchins has published *Robinson Crusoe and Its Printing, 1719-1731: A Biographical Study*. E. G. Gudde revives the idea of a connection between "Grimmelshausen's *Simplicius Simplicissimus* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*" (*PQ*, iv. 110-120). Two dissertations on Smollett have appeared during the year: Arnold Whitridge's *Tobias Smollett, A Study of His Miscellaneous Works* (Columbia) and H. S. Buck's *A Study in Smollett, Chiefly Peregrine Pickle* (Yale). W. L. Cross has revised and consider-

ably enlarged *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* and discussed "Laurence Sterne in the Twentieth Century" (*Yale Rev.*, xv. 99-112). Helen S. Hughes prints an abstract of her dissertation on "The Life and Works of Mary Mitchell Collyer" (*Chicago Abstracts of Theses*, i. 391-394). E. D. Johnson's "Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*" (*Jour. of Negro Hist.*, x. 334-342) contains no new material. M. Rudwin's "Balzac and the Fantastic" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 1-24) has some bearing on the influence of the Gothic romance in France. Clara F. McIntyre considers "The Later Career of the Elizabethan Villain-Hero" (*PMLA*, xl. 874-880), especially in the eighteenth century novel and in the romantic poets. C. H. Iberhoff's "Bodmer and Young" (*JEGP*, xxiv. 211-218) touches on the influence of the *Night Thoughts* on the continent. A. D. McKillop in "Richardson, Young, and the *Conjectures*" (*MP*, xxii. 391-411) uses a long correspondence between Young and Richardson printed in the *Monthly Magazine* from 1813 to 1819 to explain the history of Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* and Richardson's part in it. *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* is a Yale dissertation by Benj. Bissell, *The Critical Opinions of Samuel Johnson* a Princeton thesis by J. E. Brown. Stanley Rypins writes of "Johnson's Dictionary Reviewed by His Contemporaries" (*PQ*, iv. 281-286) and Charles McCamic discusses *Doctor Samuel Johnson and the American Colonies* (Rowfantia, No. 112). Percival Merritt has gathered together from manuscripts in his possession *Piozzi Marginalia: Comprising Some Extracts from Manuscripts of Hester Lynch Piozzi and Annotations from her Books*, and S. C. Roberts has edited with an introduction Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson. Boswell's Note Book, 1776-1777*, now in the possession of Mr. R. B. Adam, has likewise been reprinted. F. A. Pottle has dealt with a number of "Boswellian Myths" (*N & Q*, cxlix. 4-6; 21-22; 41-42) and contributed "Boswellian Notes" (*Ibid.*, 113-114; 131-132; 184-186; 222). He has also published "Boswell's 'Observations on *The Minor*'" (*Bull. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, xxix. 3-6), "Boswell's 'Miss W——t'" (*N & Q*, cxlviii. 80), "The Part Played by Horace Walpole and James Boswell in the Quarrel between Rousseau and Hume" (*PQ*, iv. 351-363), and "James Boswell the Younger" (*N & Q*, cxlix. 49). J. H.

Pitman has published *Goldsmith's Animated Nature* (Yale) and F. A. Pottle offers a note on "James' Powders" (*N & Q*, CXLIX. 11-12), the nostrum that Goldsmith is supposed to have killed himself by taking (Cf. also *ibid.*, CXLVIII 351, 390, 412). The same author raises doubts as to the existence of a 1756 edition of "Burke On the Sublime and Beautiful" (*Ibid.*, 80). E. Colby has edited the memoirs of Holcroft under the title *Life of Thomas Holcroft*. J. M. Longaker's *The Della Cruscans and William Gifford* (Pennsylvania) is concerned with the verse of a little coterie including Robert Merry, William Parsons, Bertie Greathead, and Mrs. Piozzi, which enjoyed sufficient popularity in London papers to call forth Gifford's two satires, the *Baviad* and the *Mæviad*. Otto Heller writes on "Robert Burns: A Revaluation" (*Wash. Univ. Studies, Humanistic Series*, XII. 171-199).

P. Kaufman's "Defining Romanticism: A Survey and a Program" (*MLN*, XL. 193-204) and Edwin Greenlaw's "Modern English Romanticism" (*SP*, XXII. 538-550) are essentially bibliographical. H. L. Bruce is the author of *William Blake in this World* and a note on "William Blake in a Brown Coat" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 557) calling attention to an unnoticed anecdote. T. O. Mabbott describes "Blake's Designs for Blair's *Grave*: American Edition [of 1847]" (*N & Q*, CXLVIII. 98). J. W. Beach makes "Expostulation and Reply" (*PMLA*, XL. 346-361) to Barry Cerf's article in *PMLA*, XXXVII. T. T. Sternberg has a note on the relation existing between "Wordsworth's *Happy Warrior* and Herbert's *Constancy*" (*MLN*, XL. 252-253), J. R. Moore in "Wordsworth's Unacknowledged Debt to Macpherson's *Ossian*" (*PMLA*, XL. 362-378) holds that Wordsworth was influenced by *Ossian* in spite of his professed contempt for the poem, and M. J. Herzberg in "William Wordsworth and German Literature" (*PMLA*, XL. 302-345) notes that the influence of German literature on Wordsworth was slight. F. V. Morley bases his *Dora Wordsworth Her Book* on the commonplace book kept by the poet's daughter. Claud Howard's *Coleridge's Idealism: A Study of its Relationship to Kant and to the Cambridge Platonists* is a Chicago dissertation. An abstract appears under the title "Coleridge's Idealism in its Relation to Kant and to the English Platonists of the Seventeenth Century" (*Chicago Abstracts of Theses*, I. 385-389).

Fannie E. Ratchford, "S. T. Coleridge and the London Philosophical Society" (*MLR*, xx. 76-80), prints an unpublished letter from Coleridge resigning from the society for refusing to expel Wm. Le Maitre "for the repetition of charges dishonorable to their highly meritorious secretary." T. M. Raysor prints some "Unpublished Fragments on Æsthetics by S. T. Coleridge" (*SP*, xxii. 529-537). G. R. Potter, "Coleridge and the Idea of Evolution" (*PMLA*, xl. 379-397), tempers some of the estimates of the extent to which he anticipated the doctrine. G. P. Winship offers some notes on "Coleridge Bibliography" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 198). Walter Graham's "Henry Nelson Coleridge, Expositor of Romantic Criticism" (*PQ*, iv. 231-238) stresses his importance as one of the promoters of the reputations of Wordsworth and Coleridge. G. D. Stout writes of "Leigh Hunt's Money Troubles: Some New Light" (*Wash. Univ. Studies*, Humanistic Ser., xii. 221-232) and has a note on "The *Literary Examiner* and The *Inquisitor*" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 521). S. T. Williams discusses "Landor's Criticism in Poetry" (*MLN*, xl. 413-418). Walter Graham takes up "Some Infamous Tory Reviews" (*SP*, xxii. 500-517) in the *Quarterly*. R. B. Levinson, "Concerning James Mill" (*MLN*, xl. 379-380) identifies a review in the *Edinburgh* for April, 1809. R. S. Forsythe sends a bibliographical communication on "Byron's Lines on Hoppner" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 156) and T. O. Mabbott in "Byron Reference Found" (*N & Q*, cxlviii. 331) points out the French original of the epigram beginning "Ægle, poet and beauty."

Amy Lowell's biography of *John Keats* is too well known to need comment. Roberta D. Cornelius reprints "Two Early Reviews of Keats's First Volume" (*PMLA*, xl. 193-210) earlier than the three previously known, and identifies with much probability their authors. M. H. Shackford offers an analysis and criticism of "*Hyperion*" (*SP*, xxii. 48-60) with an account of some influences that met in its production. W. E. Peck assembles four items under the caption "Reynolds, Hunt and Keats" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 400), the most interesting in some ways being the identification of a poem in a "Keats" MS. (attested by Richard Monckton Milnes) as by J. H. Reynolds and probably in his autograph. Walter Graham, "Shelley's Debt to Leigh Hunt and the *Examiner*" (*PMLA*, xl. 185-192),

maintains on the basis of twelve important articles that Leigh Hunt surpassed any other contemporary critic in defending Shelley and in recognizing what was sound and beneficent in his message. A. S. Walker's "Peterloo, Shelley and Reform" (*PMLA*, XL. 128-164) is an extended account of the "Peterloo Massacre" and its effect upon Shelley, especially in the composition of *The Mask of Anarchy* and the *Philosophical View of Reform*. To it should be added S. C. Chew's "A Note on Peterloo" (*Ibid.*, 490). W. E. Peck, "Shelley, Mary Shelley, and Rinaldo Rinaldini" (*PMLA*, XL. 165-171), shows that Mary Shelley and probably Shelley read this sensational romance, that the former was influenced by it in her novel *The Last Man* and the latter in his juvenile romance *Zastrozzi* and in *St. Irvyne* and *The Revolt of Islam*. N. I. White in "Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, or Every Man His Own Allegorist" (*PMLA*, XL. 172-184) attacks the view frequently expressed that *Prometheus Unbound* is an allegory and shows that in Shelley's own references to the poem and in the contemporary reviews the word "allegory" is scarcely to be found. He has also written on "The Beautiful Angel and His Biographers" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, XXIV. 73-85). C. B. Tinker, "Assault upon the Poets" (*Yale Rev.*, XIV. 625-644), begins with a discussion of Shelley's elopement and its reflection in his later work, but proceeds to an apprehensive concern for the novelized biographies of other poets that are likely to follow *Ariel*. W. E. Peck's "Shelley's Indebtedness to Sir Thomas Lawrence [*sic*]" (*MLN*, XL. 246-249) and Walter Graham's "Shelley and the *Empire of the Nairs*" (*PMLA*, XL. 881-891) both concern Shelley's indebtedness to this novel of James Lawrence. S. F. Damon's "Three Generations of One Line" (*MLN*, XL. 441) deals with Shelley's "All touch, all eye, all ear" and its ancestors; and W. E. Peck's "The Poet's Poet" (*LTLS*, 1925, p. 9) quotes the phrase from a poem written in 1822 on the death of Shelley.

S. T. Williams has gathered together some of his essays into a volume, *Studies in Victorian Literature*. W. S. Knickerbocker has published a book entitled *Creative Oxford: Its Influence in Victorian Literature* and a paper on "Matthew Arnold's Theory of Poetry" (*Sewanee Rev.*, XXXIII. 440-450). The *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill* has been edited from the MS. by J. J. Goss. F. L. Mott, "Carlyle's American Public" (*PQ*, IV. 245-264),

demonstrates Carlyle's popularity in this country. Paul Kaufman has given us "John Ruskin to Rawdon Brown: The Unpublished Correspondence of an Anglo-Venetian Friendship" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxxii. 112-120; 311-320). Under the title "What Did Macaulay Say about America?" four letters are republished with photographic reproductions in the *Bull. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, xxix. 459-481.

Cornelius Weygandt's *A Century of the English Novel: Being A Consideration of the Place in English Literature of the Long Story; together with an Estimate of its Writers from the Heyday of Scott to the Death of Conrad* is a vigorous exposition based on rigorously critical standards. Annette B. Hopkins has published "Jane Austen's *Love and Freindship*: A Study in Literary Relations" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxiv. 34-49) and "Jane Austen the Critic" (*PMLA*, xl. 398-425). Herbert Reed writes on "Charlotte and Emily Bronte" (*Yale Rev.*, xiv. 720-738) and J. N. Ware notes a connection between "Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Charlotte Bronte" (*MLN*, xl. 381-382). A. M. Turner calls attention to "Another Source for *The Cloister and the Hearth*" (*PMLA*, xl. 898-909). Ernest Bernbaum discusses "Richard Doddridge Blackmore and American Cordiality" (*Southwest Rev.*, xi. 46-58) and offers a select bibliography "On Blackmore and *Lorna Doone*" (*Library Jour.*, June 15, 1925). Marie H. Law points out "The Indebtedness of *Oliver Twist* to Defoe's *History of the Devil*" (*PMLA*, xl. 892-897) which Dickens was reading at the time he wrote the novel. G. S. Hellman's *The True Stevenson: A Study in Clarification* makes use of some unpublished materials and is outspoken about Stevenson's early excesses and his marriage with Mrs. Osborne. A. Torossian discusses "Stevenson as a Literary Critic" (*Univ. of Cal. Chronicle*, xxvii. 43-60). R. D. Havens' "The Revision of *Roderick Hudson*" (*PMLA*, xl. 433-434) is a note on Miss Harvitt's paper in *PMLA*, xxxix. 203-227. F. P. Mayer writes on "George Meredith: An Obscure Comedian" (*Virginia Qu. Rev.*, i. 409-422).

L. N. Broughton and B. F. Stelter have brought out their *Concordance to the Poems of Robert Browning*. J. M. Gest has published *The Old Yellow Book, Source of Browning's The Ring and the Book: A New Translation with Explanatory Notes and Critical Chapters upon the Poem and its Source*. Louis

Wann's "Browning's Theory of Love" (*Personalist*, vi. 23-35), W. O. Raymond's "Browning's Conception of Love as Represented in Paracelsus" (*Papers of the Michigan Acad.*, iv. 443-463, and F. T. Russell's "Robert Browning De Amore Amansque" (*Univ. of Cal. Chronicle*, xxvii. 404-411) are kindred papers. F. T. Russell also writes of "Browning the Artist in Theory and Practice" (*Ibid.*, 89-98). W. C. De Vane, Jr., considers "The Landscape of Browning's *Childe Roland*" (*PMLA*, xl. 426-432) and its indebtedness to Lairese's *Art of Painting*. A. D. McKillop's "A Victorian Faust" (*PMLA*, xl. 743-768) is a discussion of Philip James Bailey's *Festus*—its composition, sources, and reputation (it was praised by Tennyson, Bulwer-Lytton, Thackeray, and others). S. C. Chew writes on "The Poetry of Charles Montague Doughty" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxxii. 287-298), better known as the author of *Arabia Deserta*. H. F. Osborn records some of his "Reminiscences of Huxley" (*Ibid.*, ccxxi. 654-664).

American and British Literature since 1890 is a popular account by Carl and Mark Van Doren. E. Brennecke has written a *Life of Thomas Hardy*. D. Davidson in "Joseph Conrad's Directed Indirections" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 163-177) treats of inversion in Conrad's style. G. B. Dutton discusses "Arnold Bennett, Showman" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 64-72). E. D. McDonald has compiled *A Bibliography of the Writings of D. H. Lawrence*. J. C. Ransom's "A Man without a Country" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 301-307) has to do with George Moore, and B. H. Clark writes on "George Moore at Work" (*Amer. Mercury*, iv. 202-209). J. Brannin discusses the poetry of "Alfred Housman" (*Ibid.*, 191-198), Anne K. Tuell's dissertation on *Mrs. Meynell and her Literary Generation* (Columbia) is based on much unprinted matter, and F. C. Brown discusses "Mr. Yeats and the Supernatural" (*Sewanee Rev.* xxxiii. 323-330). S. P. Chase publishes "Mr. John Masefield: A Biographical Note" (*MLN*, xl. 84-87) showing on the basis of town records that Masefield was born June 1, 1878, that his father was recorded as George Edward Masefield, Solicitor, that his mother's maiden name was Caroline Louisa Parker, and that she died in 1885; further, that Masefield was born in a house known as "The Knapp" in Ledbury, Herefordshire, and that on the death of his father shortly after 1885 the

Masefield children were taken to their aunt's home, The Priory, in Ledbury, and there grew up.

A few general titles may be briefly listed: Eleanor S. Duckett, *Catullus in English Poetry* (Smith); C. A. Williams, *Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite: Part I, Pre-Christian* (Illinois); A. H. Krappe, "The Sparrows of Cirencestor" (*MP.* xxiii. 7-16); J. G. Neihardt, *Poetic Values: Their Reality and Our Need of Them*; Edith Wharton, *The Writing of Fiction*; E. Johnson, "Some Real and Imaginary Obligations of Criticism" (*Wash. Univ. Studies, Humanistic Ser.*, xii, 233-253); W. L. Cross, *An Outline of Biography from Plutarch to Strachy*; J. Collins, *The Doctor Looks at Biography*; and C. T. Goode and E. F. Shannon, *An Atlas of English Literature*.

ALBERT C. BAUGH

II. AMERICAN LITERATURE

Publication in the field of American literature, during 1925, proceeded at an accelerated pace, yielded some useful results, and gave promise of valuable work in succeeding years. The diversity of aims and methods suggests the desirability of more concerted effort. This has been attained in large measure in the department of language, but not in any division of literary history.

Puritan New England is represented by an extensive and excellent study, Kenneth B. Murdock's *Increase Mather, The Foremost American Puritan*, which aims to give an account of Mather's life "based upon all the materials now available, much of it unused before," and "to retell in some measure the story of his time in New England." The writer frequently disagrees with the work of J. T. Adams, in spirit and in conclusions. *The Religion of Benjamin Franklin* is the subject of a small book by J. Madison Stifler, and there is an article on "The Significance of Benjamin Franklin's Moral Philosophy" by H. W. Schneider in *Studies in the History of Ideas*, Vol. II. Kemp Malone has discussed "Benjamin Franklin on Spelling Reform" (*Am. Speech*, I. 96-100), and A. McAdie "Franklin and Lightning" (*Atlantic*, cxxxvi. 67-73). *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America: More "Letters from an American Farmer"* by St. John de Crèvecoeur, has been edited by Henri L. Bourdin, Ralph H. Gabriel, and Stanley T. Williams. John Spargo has devoted a

book to *Anthony Haswell, Patriot, Printer, Poet* (Rutland, Vt.), bringing together old and new matter regarding Haswell's literary and publishing enterprises, with special attention to his significance as a writer of ballads. H. R. Warfel has made a careful study of "David Bruce, Federalist Poet of Western Pennsylvania" *West. Pa. Hist. Mag.*, VIII. 175-189, 215-234). In "The Literary Influences of Philip Freneau" (*SP*, XXII. 1-33) H. H. Clark considers in detail the poet's English sources. Porter G. Perrin studies *The Life and Work of Thomas Green Fessenden* (*Univ. of Maine Studies*, Second Ser., No. 4). Oral S. Coad traces "The Gothic Element in American Literature before 1835" (*JEGP*, XXIV. 72-93) in its manifestations in poetry, drama, and prose fiction, concluding that "it first made its appearance in poetry" and attained its closest approach to distinction in fiction. A somewhat elaborate biographical study of *William Austin, The Creator of Peter Rugg*, by his grandson William Austin, supplants a sketch made by his son in 1890; the volume contains also four stories, among them the story named in the subtitle which is asserted to be "the only American short story before those of Poe and Hawthorne which has lived to this day." V. L. O. Chittick has devoted nearly 700 pages to a biography of *Thomas Chandler Haliburton* ("*Sam Slick*"), *A Study in Provincial Toryism*, which, while it belongs to Canadian literature, may be mentioned here because of Haliburton's reputation as "the father of American humor." New material relating to Irving's love affairs and his influence upon the foreign policy of the United States appears in a life by George S. Hellman entitled *Washington Irving, Esquire*. On "James Fenimore Cooper" there is an essay by F. L. Pattee (*Am. Mercury*, IV, 289-297).

Poe, long a center of study, has had exceptional attention during the past year. New biographical matter of importance is presented in the *Edgar Allan Poe Letters Till Now Unpublished* in the Valentine Museum at Richmond, all of them printed in facsimile as well as in typescript. The editor, Mary Newton Stanard, gives a full running commentary and an introductory essay. This is a series of letters, apparently complete, written by Poe to John Allan, beginning in 1826 and continuing to the year of Allan's death. Miss Stanard has also revised and republished her life entitled *The Dreamer: A Romantic Rendering*

of the *Life-Story of Edgar Allan Poe*. In "New Letters about Poe" (*Yale Review*, xiv. 755-773; the same in pamphlet form) Stanley T. Williams offers a group of Mrs. Whitman's letters which, though they establish "no sensational facts about the separation of Poe and Mrs. Whitman," at least make the story more vivid. In "Edgar Allan Poe and the University of Virginia" (*Va. Quart. Rev.*, i. 78-84) President E. A. Alderman reviews Poe's career there. "Poe's Reading" (*Texas Stud. in Eng.*, No. 5. 166-196) is a valuable survey by Killis Campbell, bringing our knowledge on this subject up to date and leading to eight conclusions formulated on pages 195-196. Margaret Alterton, in a dissertation on *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory* (*Univ. of Iowa Stud.*, Humanistic series, Vol. II, No. 3) seeks to demonstrate that Poe's "ideas had a long period of growth, that they began in the early days of his study of British periodicals, and that they passed through other and varying influences—law, the drama and fine arts, philosophy, and science—each of which added to them richness and depth of meaning." G. E. DeMille has reconsidered "Poe as a Critic" (*Am. Mercury*, iv, 433-440). Beginning with the observation that 25 of Poe's 52 poems concern women, Floyd Stovall studies "The Women of Poe's Poems and Tales" (*Texas Stud. in Eng.*, No. 5. 197-209). Jacob L. Neu writes a short life of "Rufus Wilmot Griswold" (*ibid.* 101-165). Sixty years after the death of *Edward Everett: Orator and Statesman* Paul Revere Frothingham rescues him from neglect by an able account of his career. *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, edited by Roger Wolcott, makes rather dull reading, concerned as it is primarily with the externals of his activities. G. R. Elliott in "Gentle Shades of Longfellow" (*Southwest Rev.*, x, No. 3. 34-53) attempts to re-value the poet, pointing out that we are especially likely to misjudge him in the present epoch of enthusiasm for Whitman. Killis Campbell's "Bibliographical Notes on Lowell" (*Texas Stud. in Eng.*, No. 4, 1924. 115-119) add five items to Lowell's publications and make ten corrections in place and date of first publication. C. H. Grattan has glanced afresh at "Oliver Wendell Holmes" (*Am. Mercury*, iv. 37-41). Clara Barrus has published *The Life and Letters of John Burroughs* (2 vols.), including even an intelligence test; affording also valuable sidelights on Walt Whitman. It appears that the latter was about

one-half responsible for Burroughs' *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person*. Emory Holloway has made a study of "Whitman's Embryonic Verse" (*Southwest Rev.*, x, No. 4. 28-40), and T. O. Mabbott contributes "Notes on Walt Whitman's 'Franklin Evans'" (*N&Q.*, CXLIX. 419-420). Louise Pound has put out three brief Whitman studies: "Walt Whitman and the Classics" (*Southwest Rev.*, x, No. 2. 75-83), dealing with his linguistic borrowings from Greek and Latin; "Walt Whitman Neologisms" (*Am. Mercury*, iv. 199-201); and "Walt Whitman and Italian Music" (*ibid.*, vi. 58-63), which, she suggests, "strongly influenced his own chants." G. R. Stewart, Jr., in "Whitman and His Own Country" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxiii. 210-218), is concerned with the poet's early reputation.

Concerning the period from 1870 to the great war, there is comparatively little to report. *Letters of Bret Harte* have been edited by G. B. Harte. *A Lifetime with Mark Twain*, by Mary Lawton, is based on memories of Katy Leary, for thirty years a servant of Clemens. Edward S. Bradley, in "A Newly Discovered American Sonnet Sequence" (*PMLA*, xl. 910-920), publishes for the first time an account of three hundred and fourteen sonnets, "the only extended sequence by an American poet," which were written by George Henry Boker chiefly in 1857-71 and which have love as the predominant theme. *The Pilgrimage of Henry James* that resulted from the cultural condition of America is the theme of an interesting study by Van Wyck Brooks. C. H. Grattan has published a brief critical interpretation of "Thomas Bailey Aldrich" (*Am. Mercury*, v. 41-45). A chapter on Joel Chandler Harris by Julia Collier Harris is included in *Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation*, edited by H. W. Odum. Lanier's interest in music and the effects of his interest are discussed by H. C. Thorpe in "Sidney Lanier, A Poet for Musicians" (*Musical Quart.*, xi. 373-382). Of slight literary value are the two volumes of *Occidental Gleanings* gathered by Albert Mordell from Lafcadio Hearn's contributions to Cincinnati and New Orleans newspapers. Hitherto unpublished poems by Bliss Carman appear in a little collection named *Far Horizons*. Of some interest to students of the short story is Arthur B. Maurice's booklet *O. Henry*. H. L. Creek, investigating "The Mediaevalism of Henry Adams" (*So. Atl. Quart.*, xxix. 86-97), concludes, in part, that "he went

to Mary to escape Nietzsche." Henry C. Quinby is the author of *A Bibliography of the Works of Richard Harding Davis*. *The Diary and Letters of Josephine Preston Peabody* have been edited by Christina H. Baker.

A series of brief biographical and critical books on living writers has begun promisingly with Robert Morss Lovett's *Edith Wharton* and Carl Van Doren's *James Branch Cabell*. Among articles on Amy Lowell in the year of her death may be named two: one by John L. Lowes, "The Poetry of Amy Lowell" (*Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, II. 169-170, 174-175), the other by Archibald MacLeish, "Amy Lowell and the Art of Poetry" (*No. Am. Rev.*, CCXXI. 508-521). G. R. Elliott, in "An Undiscovered America in Frost's Poetry" (*Va. Quart. Rev.*, I. 205-215) makes a suggestive attempt to define the quality of the poet's humor; another interesting view of Mr. Frost is that presented by Gorham B. Munson in "Robert Frost" (*Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, I. 625-626), who holds that "like the intelligent Greek, he is simply by nature a positive, critical, and experimental spirit" manifesting the classical virtues described by Irving Babbitt. One essay on Mr. Anderson may be mentioned: "Sherwood Anderson and Our Anthropological Age" (*Double Dealer*, VII. 91-99), by N. B. Fagin. Journalistic, but not without insight, are the American subjects in the *First Impressions* of Llewellyn Jones, namely, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Frost, Mr. Sandburg, Mr. Masters, Mr. Lindsay, and several others.

In the foregoing survey, I have in general not included studies that cover a wide range of time. One such is Milton Waldman's *Americana*, a bibliographical review of more interest to the historian than to the literary scholar. A Master's thesis by Augusta Violette follows the thread of *Economic Feminism in American Literature Prior to 1848* (*Univ. of Maine Stud.*, Second series, No. 2) including chapters on Brockden Brown, John Neal, Margaret Fuller, etc. Jennette Tandy has pursued the tradition of *Crackerbox Philosophers in American Humor and Satire* from its oral and sub-literary beginnings prior to 1830, through Smith, Davis, Haliburton, Lowell, Bill Arp, Artemus Ward, etc., down to recent years, concluding that no other country has had so large a body of satirical and sententious writing expressive of "the man of the people," in our case "Uncle Sam." Gilbert P. Voigt has published a dissertation

(S. Carolina) on *The Religious and Ethical Element in the Major American Poets*, the third recent study of this subject but not a satisfying one. There is little of value in Clement Wood's *Poets of America*. In *The Doctor Looks at Biography* Joseph Collins again shows his critical acumen as well as a medical terminology; among his subjects are Poe, Thoreau, Howells, James, Mark Twain, Hearn, and Sherwood Anderson. George A. Wanhope has surveyed *Literary South Carolina* (*Bull. of Univ. S. C.*, No. 133). Eola Willis has published a painstaking account of *The Charleston State in the XVIII Century* (Columbia, S. C., 1924). A dissertation (Pennsylvania, dated 1924) by Harold W. Schoenberger is concerned with *American Adaptations of French Plays on the New York and Philadelphia Stages from 1790 to 1833*. Robert A. Law's "Notes on Some Early American Dramas" (*Texas Stud. in Eng.*, No. 5, 96-100) offers a few corrections of Professor Quinn's history. Archibald Henderson deals with "Early Drama and Professional Entertainment in North Carolina" (*Reviewer*, v. 47-57) and with "Early Drama and Amateur Entertainment in North Carolina" (*ibid.* 68-77). "The Robinson Locke Dramatic Collection" (*Bull. of N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, 29. 307-322) relates to the last thirty years of the American theatre, especially in Toledo. J. Mattfeld is studying "A Hundred Years of Grand Opera in New York: A List of Records" with a select bibliography (*ibid.* 695-702, 778-814, other sections to follow). *The American Dramatist*, by Montrose J. Moses, has appeared in a new and rewritten edition. In *Tradition and Jazz* Fred Lewis Pattee deals pungently with various aspects of American literature, especially in "A Call for a History of American Literature" (231-255). In "The Frontier in American Literature" (*Southwest Rev.*, x. No. 2. 84-92) Jay B. Hubbell points out that, although Professor Turner proved the importance of the frontier in American history in 1893, no one has yet shown the workings of the pioneer spirit in American literature. This has scarcely been done in *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (2 vols.), an immensely documented work on Western literature before 1840. A partly new conception of American literary history determines the arrangement, text, and notes of Norman Foerster's collection of *American Poetry and Prose*. Another collection, *American and British Literature Since 1890*, by Carl and Mark Van Doren, undertakes to appraise the sig-

nificance and value of the writers of yesterday and today. Much information concerning recent writers is also readily accessible in the third revised edition of Louis Untermeyer's *Modern American Poetry, A Critical Anthology*.

I have reserved for separate mention a number of studies in "popular literature." Translations of *American Indian Love Lyrics and Other Verse* have been collected by Nellie Barnes, with a foreword by Mary Austin. In "The Ballad of Lovewell's Fight" (*Bibliographical Essays, A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*) George Lyman Kittredge deals with the date and authorship of two ballads which relate the story of a fight with the Indians. A large number of *Folk Songs of the South*, collected under the auspices of the West Virginia Folk Lore Society, have been well edited by John Harrington Cox. *North Pennsylvania Minstrelsy, as Sung in the Backwoods Settlements, Hunting Cabins and Lumber Camps in the "Black Forest" of Pennsylvania, 1840-1923* (Altoona, Pa.) was omitted from the bibliography for 1923; the songs were collected by Henry W. Shoemaker in collaboration with John C. French and John H. Chatham. The present interest in the artistic capacities of the negro is reflected in the publication of four books of songs: *The Negro and His Songs, A Study of Typical Negro Songs in the South* (Univ. of N. C. Press), by H. W. Odum and G. B. Johnson, classified as religious, social, and work songs; *On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs*, by Dorothy Scarborough, assisted by Ola Lee Gullledge, which concerns almost every type, especially types of secular songs, giving examples and detailed discussion; *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, with an introduction by James Weldon Johnson and musical arrangements by J. Rosamond Johnson and additional numbers by Lawrence Brown; and *Mellows: Negro Work Songs, Street Cries and Spirituals* taken down, in Louisiana, by Alain Locke.

In the field of linguistics the year 1925 was signalized by the establishment of a new journal, *American Speech*, and the publication of George Philip Krapp's *The English Language in America*, a two-volume summary and interpretation of existing knowledge on the subject, in which the chapter headings are The Mother Tongue, Vocabulary, Proper Names, Literary Dialects, Style, American Spelling, American Dictionaries, Pronunciation, Unstressed Syllables, Inflection and Syntax.

Students of literary history, as well as of language, will be interested in a work written in the conviction that "a complete account of the American idiom, if one could give it, would go far toward explaining the whole spiritual history of the American people." Morgan Callaway, Jr., has reviewed "The Historic Study of the Mother-Tongue in the United States" and "The Present Day Attitude toward the Historic Study of the Mother-Tongue" (*Texas Stud. in Eng.*, No. 5. 5-38, 39-67). George H. McKnight has written on "Conservatism in American Speech" (*Am. Speech*, I. 1-17), and Kemp Malone on "A Linguistic Patriot" [Noah Webster] (*ibid.* 26-31). L. N. Feipel deals in general with "American Place-Names" (*ibid.* 78-91). More exhaustive studies of the place names of particular states are A. H. Espenshade's *Pennsylvania Place Names* (Pa. State Coll. *Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Science*), and Lilian L. Fitzpatrick's *Nebraska Place Names* (Nebraska). Henry Alexander, in "Early American Pronunciation and Syntax" (*Am. Speech*, I. 141-148), aims at no new conclusions but seeks to establish old ones in greater detail and clearness. E. F. Shewmaker's "Laws of Pronunciation in Eastern Virginia" (*MLN.* LX. 489-492) concerns the pronunciation of *ou* [au] and *i* [ai]. Kate Mullen comments on "Westernisms" (*Am. Speech*, I. 149-153) and James Stevens on "Logger Talk" [Pacific Northwest] (*ibid.* 135-140). J. B. Dudek contributes "The Czech Language in America" (*Am. Mercury*, v. 202-207) and "The Americanization of Czech Given Names" (*Am. Speech*, I. 18-22). Notes on "The Kraze for 'K'" (*ibid.* 43-44) are presented by Louise Pound. W. A. Craigie considers "The Need of an American Dialect Dictionary" (*Dialect Notes*, v. 317-21), M. L. Hanley offers "Observations on the Broad 'A'" (*ibid.* 347-350), and E. K. Lane makes a study of "The Negro Dialects along the Savannah River" (*ibid.* 354-367).

NORMAN FOERSTER

III. FRENCH

A marked increase in the number of books, less than half of which are dissertations, is the most striking fact in the American contributions to French scholarship during 1925. They are distributed, as are the articles, with a fair amount of regularity over the field, but deal more largely with 19th Century Litera-

ture than with anything else. They are listed below in three categories, with a brief explanation of the scope of the contribution, if that is not immediately apparent from the title.

Books

1. Blondheim, D. S., *Les Parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina*. Etude sur les rapports entre les traductions bibliques en langue romane des Juifs au moyen âge et les anciens versions, Paris, Champion. cxxxviii+247 pp. [Includes articles that have appeared in *Romania* and the *Revue des études juives*, a long introduction, a chapter on Arabic influences, and indices. Unity is thus given to this important contribution to the study both of Romance languages and of Jewish and early Christian history.]

2. Lhevinne, Isadore, *The Language of the Glossary Sangalensis 912 and its relationship to the language of other Latin glossaries*, Philadelphia, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, no. 14. 77 pp. [Probably made in Italy about the eighth century.]

3. Taylor, Pauline, *The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum*. A phonological, morphological and syntactical study. New York, Carranza & Co. 143 pp. [Of interest to students of Romance linguistics.]

4. Turville, Ada D., *French feminine singular nouns derived from Latin neuter Plurals*. New York. 236 pp.

5. Dedeczek, V. L., *Etude littéraire et linguistique de li hystore de Julius Cesar de Jehan de Tuim*, Philadelphia, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, no. 13. 132 pp. [Studies the sources as well as the linguistic peculiarities of this thirteenth century historical work.]

6. Shepard, W. P., *Les Poésies de Puycibert, troubadour du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, Champion, *Classiques français du moyen âge*. xviii+93 pp. [The first critical edition made by an American of a Provençal text of any consequence.]

7. Allen, L., *De l'Hermite et del Jougleour*, a thirteenth century conte pieux. Text with introduction and notes, study of the poem's relationship to *Del Tumbeor Nostre Dame* and *Del Chevalier au Barisel*. Paris, Joseph, 9 rue Hallé. 81 pp.

8. Crane, T. F., *Liber de Miraculis Mariae*, Ithaca, Cornell Univ. xxvi+117+44 pp. [Critical edition and bibliog. of editor's works.]

9. Frank, Grace, Rutebeuf, *Le miracle de Théophile*, Paris, Champion, Classiques français du moyen âge. xiii+41 pp. [Critical edition with introduction on the author, the legend, the versions, and the language.]

10. Cary, H. F., *Early French Poets*, New York, Boni.

11. Merrill, R. V., *The Platonism of Joachim Du Bellay*, Chicago, University Press. 150 pp.

12. Schweinitz, Margaret de, *les Epitaphes de Ronsard, étude historique et littéraire*. Paris, Presses universitaires. xv+191 pp.

13. Williams, R. C., *The Merveilleux in the Epic*, Paris, Champion. 152 pp.

14. McMahon, Sister M. C., *Æsthetics and Art in the Astrée* of H. d'Urfé. Washington, Catholic Univ. 144 pp.

Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, vol. iv. xii+214 pp. [Life and works.]

15. Lancaster, H. Carrington, *Chryséide et Arimand*, tragi-comédie de Jean Mairét (1625), édition critique, avec la collaboration de C. B. Beall, J. de Boer, Mary Bunworth, G. L. Burton, E. R. Goddard, R. W. Rogers, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, *Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, vol. v. 174 pp. [Includes life of Mairét and glossary of unusual terms.]

16. Packard, F. R., *Guy Patin and the medical profession in Paris in the seventeenth century*. New York, Hoeber. 356 pp.

17. Woodbridge, B. M., *Gatien de Courtitz sieur du Verger, étude sur un précurseur du roman réaliste en France*. Baltimore, *Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, vol. iv. xii+214 pp.

18. Bila, C., *La Croyance à la magie au XVIIIe siècle en France dans les contes, romans et traités*. Paris, Gamber. 159 pp.

19. Gilman, Margaret, *Othello* in French, Paris, Champion, *Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée*. 197 pp. [Study of translations of *O.* from 1745 on.]

20. Malakis, Emile, *French travellers in Greece (1770-1820), an early phase of French Philhellenism*. Philadelphia, *University of Pennsylvania series in Romanic Languages and Literatures*, no. 15. 90 pp.

21. Chinard, G., *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique avec une introduction sur le mirage américain*, Paris, Belles Lettres. xxxvii+245 pp.

22. Chinard, G., *Pensées choisies de Montesquieu tirées du "Common-Place Book" de Jefferson*, Paris, Belles Lettres. 87 pp. [Shows the influence of Montesquieu on Jefferson's intellectual development.]
23. Chinard, G., *Jefferson et les idéologues d'après sa correspondance inédite avec Destutt de Tracy, Cabanis, J.—B. Say et Auguste Comte*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, extra vol. i. 296 pp. [J.'s relation to the French liberal movement.]
24. Rice, R. A., *Rousseau and the poetry of nature in eighteenth century France*, Northampton, Smith Coll. Studies in mod. langs. vol. vi, nos. 3, 4. 96 pp.
25. Boas, George, *French Philosophies of the Romantic period*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press. xi+325 pp.
26. Hastings, W. S., *Balzac, Cromwell*, Princeton, University Press. 2 vols. (one a facsimile of the ms.). 12+59+126 pp. [Critical edition of Balzac's play.]
27. Miller, Meta H., *Chateaubriand and English Literature*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, no. iv. xii+192 pp.
28. Mott, L. F., *Sainte-Beuve*, New York, Appleton, xiii+521.
29. Ditchy, J. K., *La Mer dans l'œuvre littéraire de Victor Hugo*, Paris, Belles Lettres. 237 pp.
30. Parker, C. S., *The defense of the child by French novelists*, Menasha, Wis. xi+140 pp.
31. Guérard, A. L., *Beyond hatred; the democratic ideal in France and America*. New York, Scribner. 318 pp.
32. Smith, H. A., *Main Currents of the Modern French Drama*, New York, Holt. xv+320 pp. [Chiefly from 1827 to the present.]
33. Delpit, Louise, *Paris—Théâtre contemporain: rôle prépondérant des scènes d'avant-garde depuis trente ans*, Northampton, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vol. vi, nos. 1 and 2. xi+125 pp.

ARTICLES AND BROCHURES

1. Barker, J. L., *Neutral or supporting vowels in French and English*, *MP* xxii, 273-281. [Mute *e* produced mechanically when tongue or lips have the position of closure for the consonant.]
2. Field, H. F., *Comparative syntax and some modern theories of the subjunctive*, *MP* xxiii, 201-224.

3. Shepard, W. P., Two Provençal Tenzoni, *MP* xxiii, 17-28. [Critical edition and translation.]

4. Moore, O. H., Bertran de Born et le Jeune Roi, *Ro* LI, 46-75. [Refutes the idea that B. exerted political influence upon the sons of Henry II of England.]

5. Holmes, U. T., Remarks on the Chronology of Chrétien de Troyes' Works, *RR* xvi, 43-53. [Dates *Erec* 1159; *Lancelot* probably 1166 or 1167; *Yvain* 1169.]

6. Temple, M. E., Beaumanoir and Fifteenth Century Political Ethics, *PMLA* xxxviii, 491-506.

7. Frank, Grace, The Early Work of Charles Fontaine, *MP* xxiii, 47-60. [Study of 75 poems contained in unpublished ms. Vatican, Regina latina 1630.]

8. Schoell, F. L., L'hellénisme français en Angleterre, *RLC* v, 193-238. [Dependence of England upon France in the sixteenth century for knowledge of Greek.]

9. Searles, Colbert, The first six decades of French seventeenth-century comedy. *MP* xxiii, 153-165. [Argues that a distinctive type of comedy developed in France during the 30 years that preceded Molière's return to Paris.]

10. Steiner, A., Les Idées esthétiques de Mlle de Scudéry, *RR* xvi, 174-184. [Those contained in the preface to her *Ibrahim*.]

11. Havens, G. R., The Nature Doctrine of Voltaire, *PMLA* xl, 852-862. [Man is not born evil. Vice is a disease.]

12. Macpherson, H. D., Editions of Beaumarchais in New York City. New York, Public Library. 18 pp.

13. Kaufman, P., Defining Romanticism: a survey and a programme, *MLN* xl, 193-204.

14. Schwartz, W. L., Japan in French Poetry, *PMLA* xl, 435-449. [1863 to the present.]

15. Rudwin, M. J., The Intellectual Relations between France and Poland, *Poland*, vi, 69-72, 109-112.

16. Rudwin, M. J., Balzac and the Fantastic, *Sewanee Review*, xxxiii, 2-24.

17. Bowen, R. P., Balzac's Interior Descriptions as an element in characterization. *PMLA* xl, 302-345.

18. Coleman, A., Some sources of Flaubert's *Smarh*, *MLN* xl, 205-215. [Chiefly *Cain* and *Ahasvérus*.]

19. Baudin, M., L'Américain dans le théâtre français, *PQ* iv, 75-90. [Summary of characters in plays chiefly after 1860.]

20. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., Decadence and Rimbaud's Sonnet of the vowels, *RR* xvi, 122-135.

21. Woodbridge, B. M., The Original Inspiration of the *Procureur de Judée*, *MLN* xl, 483-485. [Influence of Renan's *Origines*.]

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

1. Barker, J. L., Accessory Vowels, *MLN* xl, 162-4. [Supporting vowel before initial *sp*, *st*, *sc*, *sm*, *sn* not an "on-glide," but the explosion of a preceding consonant.]

2. Livingston, C. H., O. F. *ercier*, *erser*, *MLN* xl, 94, 95 [(*erectus* + suffix—*iare*].

3. Loss, H., O. F. *cuiture*, *MLN* xl, 158-161 [running sore, pus; <*coctura*].

4. Kroesch, Samuel, The Etymology of French *flanc*, *MP* xxiii, 225-28. [Ger. **flank*—.]

5. Tuttle, E. H., French *soleil*, *RR* xvi, 186 [*o* due to Celtic influence].

6. Jenkins, T. A., Old French *wandichet*, *guandichet*, *MLN* xl, 317 [small, rod-like columns].

7. Holmes, U. T., Old French *prendre a*, to begin, *MLN* xl, 377-78 [meaning due to confusion with *coepi*].

8. Hess, J. A., Two Problems in French syntax, *MLJ* ix, 279-287. [Position of personal pronoun objects of infinitives depending on *faire*, *laisser*, or verbs of sense perception and substitutes for the past anterior in conversational French. Note E. C. Armstrong's correction of a point in this article on p. 511 of the same magazine.]

9. Kueny, F. J., "Comme on a d'appétit," *MLJ* x, 139-149 [partitive with *comme*, *que*, *en* etc.].

10. Krappe, A. H., Two Ancient Parallels to Aucassin et Nicolette vi, 34-40, *PQ* iv, 180-81. [Æneid vi, 305-08 and Seneca *De Beneficiis*, iii, 16, 3.]

11. Weston, Jessie L., Who was Brian des Illes? *MP* xxii, 405-411. [Identification of a character in the *Perlesvaus*.]

12. Titchener, F. H., The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes. *RR* xvi, 165-173. [Structure determined by the fact that they were recited.]

13. Grimm, C., Chrestien de Troyes's attitude towards women, *RR* xvi, 236-243.

14. Livingston, C. H., The Fabliau "Des Deux Anglois et de L'Anel," *PMLA* XL, 217-224.

15. Frank, Grace, A MS. of Mellin de Saint Gelais' Works, *MLN* XL, 61. [Vatican, Regina latina 1493.]

16. Williams, R. C., A bibliographical note on the fourth century of Ronsard, *MLJ* ix, 489-94.

17. Searles, Colbert, Allusions to the contemporary theater of 1616 by François Rosset, *MLN* XL, 481-83. [Reference to the actress Laporte and to the possible use by dramatists of contemporary events.]

18. Searles, Colbert, Le Discours à Cliton, *PQ* iv, 224-30. [Attributes to Gougenot this document from the Cid quarrel.]

19. Lancaster, H. Carrington, Leading French tragedies just before the *Cid*, *MP* xxii, 375-78. [Evidence of 2 prefaces.]

20. Doyle, H. G., The *Don Carlos* theme, *MLN* XL, 515. [Bibliographical additions.]

21. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., Notes on Corneille, *Leuvenische Bijdragen* xvii, no. 2, 65-69. [*Théodore* dedicated to le Prieur Claude Boudard; a reference to the *Cid* in a *recueil* of 1646.]

22. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., The early version of the *Comédie des Académistes*, *MLN* XL, 20-25. [That of 1638.]

23. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., The Unpublished Poems of Mlle. de Scudéry and Mlle. Descartes, *MLN* XL, 155-58.

24. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., Unpublished epigrams by J. B. Lully, *MLN* XL, 122, 123.

25. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., The Source of Piron's *Clapperman*, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, xxvi, 233-37. [J. D. R., *Le Passe-temps agréable*, Rotterdam, 1724.]

26. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., Persian Letters before Montesquieu, *MLR* xx, 432-42.

27. Van Roosbroeck, G. L., Notes inédites de Voltaire, *RLC* v, 306-08.

28. Watts, G. B., The Authorship of *l'Elève de Terpsicore*, *MLN* XL, 124. [De Boissy.]

29. Watts, G. B., The Authorship of two pamphlets against La Motte's *Inès de Castro*, *MLN* XL, 32-35. [Desfontaines and Thieriot.]

30. Watts, G. B., Voltaire's verses against Louis Racine's *De la Grâce*, *MLN* XL, 189-90. [They should be dated 1722.]

31. Krappe, A. H., The Sources of Voltaire's *Zaïre*, *MLR* xx, 305-309 [proposes Giraldis's *Hecatommithi*, viii, 6.]

32. Woodbridge, B. M., Voltaire and Saint-Simon, *Leu-rensche Bijdragen* xvii no. 2, pp. 81, 82. [V's hostility to S. due to his indignation over a passage in the *Mémoires* calling attention to his humble birth.]

33. Lundeberg, O. K., Collé's Borrowing from the Sully Memoirs, *MLN* xl, 350-52. [In his *Partie de Chasse de Henri iv.*]

34. Roberts, L., Verlainian Verse in Favart, *MLN* xl, 516.

35. Schinz, A., La correspondance générale de J.-J. Rousseau, *MP* xxiii, 167-173. [History of the events leading up to the edition now appearing.]

36. Ware, J. N., Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Charlotte Brontë, *MLN* xl, 381, 382. [His influence on her style.]

37. Fouré, R., Le Mariage de Chateaubriand, *MLN* xl, 476-80. [C's account contradicted by the hitherto unpublished letter of a contemporary.]

38. Blankenagel, John C., Goethe, Madame de Staël and Weltliteratur, *MLN* xl, 143-48. [Similarity of their ideas.]

39. Pugh, Anne R., Possible verbal reminiscences of the *Paradiso* in one of Lamartine's *Méditations*, *RLC* v, 152-56. [*Paradiso* xxx, 1-6 and *le Passé*.]

40. Rudwin, M. J., Nodier's Fantasticism, *Open Court*, xxxviii, 8-15.

41. Rudwin, M. J., Béranger's "Bon Dieu" and "Bon Diable," *Open Court*, xxxviii, 170-177.

42. Schwartz, W. L., Gautier, Quinet, and the name "Mob," *MLN* xl, 122-23. [Gautier's Mob < Quinet's Ahasvérus.]

43. Fess, G. M., A source for Balzac's *Le Faiseur*, *MLN* xl, 55, 56. [Rabelais iii, eulogy of debts.]

44. Arvin, N. C., Some unpublished letters to Eugène Scribe, *Sewanee Review*, xxxiii, 259-265.

45. Grant, E. M., Théodore de Banville as a poet of revolt, *PQ* iv, 373-80. [Protest against growing materialism in French society of his time.]

46. Grant, E. M., A precursor of Louis Bouilhet, *MLN* xl, 249-51. [Alexandre Delaine.]

47. Fess, G. M., Octave Crémazie, A Late Defender of Romanticism, *Sewanee Review*, xxxiii, 73-80. [The Canadian poet's defense of romanticism.]

48. Dillingham, L. B., A source of *Salammbô*, *MLN* xl, 71-76. [The story of Judith.]

49. Smith, H. E., New Light on Renan, *MLN*, 15-20. [Derived chiefly from *Nouvelles lettres intimes*, 1923.]

50. Cabeen, D. C., Two Books Inscribed by Anatole France, *MLN* XL, 123. [A few sentences addressed by him to friends.]

51. Lancaster, H. C., Jean Bertaut: un sonnet oublié, *RHL*, xxxii, 573.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

IV. SPANISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

We note with pleasure a considerable increase in the number of contributions this year in the field of Spanish linguistics. K. Pietsch has published the second volume of his *Spanish Graal Fragments* (Chicago) with a commentary to the text previously printed which makes a valuable addition to our knowledge of Old Spanish syntax. I. Lhevinne's dissertation on *The Language of the Glossary Sangalensis 912 and its Relationship to the Language of other Latin Glossaries* (Pennsylvania) contains items of interest for Spanish lexicology, as well as for the other Romance tongues.

In "Arabic-Spanish Etymologies" (*MP*. xxiii. 103-104) A. R. Nykl proposes an Arabic origin for the words *cadamañas* and *abrochamientos* which occur in the *Crónica General*, and which he interprets as "obsequious Arabic salutations." J. E. Gillet gives new examples of "The Spanish idiom *fondo en. . .*" (*MLN*. xl. 220-223) which he explains as equivalent to *mezclado de, cruzado con*. The same scholar also contributes "Tres notas cervantinas" (*RFE*. xii. 63-68) which deal with the phrases *Tenta alzada la visera*, *Yo seguro*, and *Ir a Turpia*. A. Coester studies the orthography, pronunciation, origin and gender of "*México* or *Méjico*" (*Hisp*. viii. 109-116).

In an interesting article H. C. Berkowitz seeks to determine the nature and content of "The *Quaderno de refranes castellanos* of Juan de Valdés" (*RR*. xvi. 71-86). From a study of the *refranes* included in the *Diálogo de la lengua* he shows that Valdés was acquainted with the *Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego*, attributed to the Marqués de Santillana, and with the anonymous *Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados*.

S. G. Morley studies with a wealth of examples "Modern Uses of *ser* and *estar*" (*PMLA*. xl. 450-489) and fittingly concludes that fixed rules cannot be given to fit all cases, since Spanish individualism exhibits itself here as elsewhere in syntax, in

literature and in life. W. A. Beardsley finds in his study of the "Psychology of the Subjunctive" (*Hisp.* VIII. 98-108) that indefinite futurity is the prevailing element in a majority of subjunctive types instead of being restricted to a few special cases formerly recognized by grammarians.

The increased interest in Spanish versification is illustrated by A. M. Espinosa's two articles "La sinalefa entre versos en la versificación española" (*RR.* XVI. 103-121) and "La compensación entre versos en la versificación española" (*RR.* XVI. 306-329). He finds that the first occurs most frequently "en las combinaciones métricas donde hay sólo versos cortos de tres, cuatro o cinco sílabas, o donde los versos cortos alternan con otros más largos"; the second is found, generally speaking, "sólo en las coplas o combinaciones métricas de pie quebrado en que alternan octosílabos y tetrasílabos, o entre tetrasílabos."

G. T. Northup's *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* is a well arranged objective presentation of the chief currents of literary history and the more important writers. Less extensive than Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *History*, it is better suited for use by undergraduates, and because of the excellence of certain chapters, it may frequently be consulted with profit by specialists. C. Barja's *Libros y autores modernos*, a continuation of his *Libros y autores clásicos*, is an inspiring guide for the study of eighteenth and nineteenth century literature. With its intense personal bias and freely expressed criticism, it serves admirably to complement Mr. Northup's volume.

In older Spanish literature, S. G. Morley's "Spanish Ballad Problems. The Native Historical Themes" (California) makes an interesting survey of various controversial questions and of the solutions that have been offered. With respect to the validity of the latter, the author is skeptical. He believes that the search for Romance epic origins is most likely to be rewarded by a study of the relations between the medieval Latin and Romance epic. E. Buceta studies the "Traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del siglo XIX" (*RHi.* LXII. 459-555). The material presented is important as showing the interest aroused by Spanish ballads in Great Britain and America in the early part of the last century. Another form of dissemination of Spanish legends is found in an article by F. Boas, "Romance Folk-Lore among American Indians" (*RR.* XVI. 199-207).

T. F. Crane's reprint of the *Liber de Miraculis Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, first published by Pez in 1731, and accompanied by abundant illustrative material, is of particular interest for the study of Berceo's *Milagros* and Alfonso el Sabio's *Cantigas*. In his article on "La *Política* de Aristóteles, fuente de unos versos del *Libro de buen amor*" (*RFE*. xii. 56-60) E. Buceta shows that the reference to Aristotle in the 71st copla involved an acquaintance with his "Politics." J. P. W. Crawford calls attention to parallels to the story of "El horóscopo del hijo del rey Alcaraz en el *Libro de buen amor*" (*RFE*. xii. 184-190) found in Robert de Boron's *Roman de Merlin* and other texts. G. V. M. de Solenni has a note "On the Date of Composition of Mosén Diego de Valera's *El doctrinal de príncipes*" (*RR*. xvi. 87-88), which he assigns to 1475 or 1476.

Traditions of American scholarship are confirmed by the attention devoted this year to the drama of the Golden Age. H. C. Heaton presents in an exhaustive manner "The Case of Parte XXIV of Lope de Vega, Madrid" (*MP*. xxii. 283-303). He argues that this volume first described by Nicolás Antonio cannot be classed as one of the genuine Lope de Vega *partes*. J. H. Hill makes accessible in a new and reliable text "Los novios de Hornachuelos" (*RHi*. lix. 105-295), based upon ms. versions in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. G. I. Dale proves that "Las cortes de la Muerte" (*MLN*. xl. 276-281) was not written by Lope de Vega. W. L. Fichter indicates Bandello's *novella* 1, 35, as "The Source of Lope de Vega's *El castigo del discreto*" (*RR*. xvi. 185-186). A. R. Nykl discusses the historical and geographical setting of two of Lope's plays, "*Los primeros mártires del Japón* and *Triunfo de la fe en los reinos del Japón*" (*MP*. xxii. 305-323).

We owe to C. E. Anibal an important study on Mira de Amescua (Ohio State). In the first part of this volume he publishes a critical text of *El arpa de David*, for the composition of which he assigns a new date. In the second part, he carefully examines the use of the pseudonym Lisardo in lyric and dramatic works of the seventeenth century and finds that in dramatic literature Lisardo was used only by Amescua. On the basis of this identification, and other evidence he concludes that the occurrence of this name in *El arpa de David* restores to him no less than five plays, previously ascribed to others, and

possibly even *El condenado por desconfiado*. The same scholar describes in "*Voces del cielo—A note on Mira de Amescua*" (RR. xvi. 57-70) a device which seems to be peculiar to that poet. A. L. Owen compares the text of "*La verdad sospechosa*" in the Editions of 1630 and 1634" (Hisp. viii. 85-97) as a basis to judge Ruiz de Alarcón's critical sense and methods of revision. In this account should be included F. O. Reed's article on "The Calderonian Octosyllabic" (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, 20), which was omitted in the summary for 1924.

H. Keniston's *Garcilaso de la Vega, Works. A Critical Text with a Bibliography* is a companion volume to his biography and study of this poet. This edition will be heartily welcomed by all who are interested in Spanish poetry. J. Van Horne's "Notes on Sixteenth Century Spanish Narrative Poets" (PQ. iv. 241-244) emphasizes the seriousness and patriotism underlying these epics, and in an article on "The Attitude toward the Enemy in Sixteenth Century Spanish Narrative Poetry" (RR. xvi. xvi. 341-361) he studies the same poems from a different angle. E. Buceta presents "La obra poética del Conde de Salinas en opinión de grandes ingenios contemporáneos suyos" (RFE. xii. 16-29) as preliminary to further studies on a poet who enjoyed the friendship of many writers of distinction in the time of Lope de Vega. In "Notes on the Anonymous Continuation of *Lazarillo de Tormes*" (RR. xvi. 223-235) R. H. Williams identifies the story regarding Lazarillo included in the MS. collection *Liber facietiarum et similitudinum* as a suppressed passage from Chap. XV of the anonymous continuation of *Lazarillo*. Evidence seems to point to Cristóbal de Villalón as the author of this continuation. R. S. Rose writes interestingly on "The Patriotism of Quevedo" (MLJ. ix. 227-236), and A. M. Turner finds that Quevedo's *Vida del Buscón* is "Another Source for *The Cloister and the Hearth*" (PMLA. xl. 898-909).

C. E. Kany has made important contributions to our knowledge of Ramón de la Cruz by his publication of *Ocho sainetes inéditos de don Ramón de la Cruz, editados con notas, según autógrafos existentes en la Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid* (California) and "Cinco sainetes inéditos de don Ramón de la Cruz con otro a él atribuído" (RHi. lx. 40-186). M. A.

Buchanan contributes "Further Notes on *Pan y Toros*" (*MLN*. XL. 30-32) as evidence to aid in determining the authorship of a satirical pamphlet often ascribed to Jovellanos.

Similarities and divergences of temperament in two outstanding figures of Romanticism are discussed by P. San Jurjo, "Sobre el romanticismo, paralelo entre Musset y Espronceda" (*Hisp.* VIII. 295-299). F. Schneider publishes a hitherto unknown poem of Bécquer, namely, "A Quintana—Corona de oro—1855" (*Hisp.* VIII. 237-246). A. H. Krappe finds "The Source of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *El afrancesado*" (*RR.* XVI. 54-56) in Appian's *History of the Civil Wars*. In "Tracking Down Two Lost Manuscripts" (*N. Y. Evening Post Literary Review*, Oct. 3-10) A. H. Quinn and H. H. Furness, Jr., describe their successful search for two American versions of Tamayo y Baus's *Un drama nuevo*. W. A. Beardsley's "Don Miguel" (*MLJ.* IX. 353-362) gives a sympathetic interpretation of Unamuno. In his article "En torno al último Don Juan" (*Hisp.* VIII. 355-364) M. P. González discusses *Don Luis Mejía*, a new play by Eduardo Marquina and A. Hernández Catá, and its relationship to the Don Juan tradition.

There has been a gratifying increase this year in the attention devoted to Spanish-American writers. A. Torres Rioseco outlines the general characteristics of the *Precursores del modernismo* and makes a more detailed study of Julián del Casal, Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, José Martí and José Asunción Silva. The last mentioned forms the subject of an essay by C. García-Prada, "José Asunción Silva, poeta colombiano" (*Hisp.* VIII. 69-84). E. K. Mapes has written a noteworthy volume on *L'Influence française dans l'œuvre de Rubén Darío*, with particular reference to his adaptation of the technique of French poets, especially the Parnassian and Symbolist groups. T. Walsh makes known a few of the poems of the Colombian nun, Madre del Castillo in his article "A South American Mystic" (*The Catholic World*, CXXII. 175-179).

A. R. Seymour discusses "The Mexican *novela de costumbres*" (*Hisp.* VIII. 283-289) as a mirror of the life of the people, and an analogous topic is treated by J. R. Spell in "Mexican Society as seen by Fernández de Lizardi" (*Hisp.* VIII. 145-165). A. Torres Rioseco analyzes "Los dramas de Florencio Sánchez" (*Hisp.* VIII. 365-368) whose distinguished work belongs to both

Uruguay and Argentina. M. A. De Vitis gives us our first extensive anthology of Paraguayan poetry in his *Parnaso paraguayo*.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

V. ITALIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Important problems dealing with Dante have been studied during the current year. In an illuminating article, "The Crux of Dante's Comedy (RR. xvi. 1-42) J. B. Fletcher stresses the rôle of Virgil as the inspirer of Dante's political ideas. He emphasizes political allegory in the *Divina Commedia*, and Dante's hope for a deliverer of Italy in the person of Can Grande della Scala. The same scholar's "The Daughter of the Sun. A Study in Dante's Multiple Symbolism" (RR. xvi. 330-340) explains the difficult tercet, *Paradiso*, xxvii. 136-138, by identifying Rome as the Daughter of the Sun. "That which brought dawn has left dusk. Rome's skin, white in the first aspect, is turned black. And the cause is the cupidity of the Papacy, corrupted by Constantine's fatal gift." By employing a somewhat similar method, H. N. Fairchild in "Matelda: A Study in Multiple Allegory" (RR. xvi. 136-164) argues that allegory in the *Divina Commedia* often has several facets, and that since Matelda, the presiding genius of the Earthly Paradise is a precursor, politically she represents the Countess Matilda, morally she is Giovanna Primavera, and anagogically John the Baptist. In his "Dante Notes VII. Fears no sops (*Purg.* xxxiii. 36)" (MLN. xl. 339-342) H. D. Austin proposes this translation for a much discussed verse, and explains the basis for the apparent misconception of commentators in explaining the phrase. In a review of C. H. Grandgent's *Discourses on Dante*, published in "The Personalist" (University of Southern California, vi. no. 3) Mr. Austin makes a new explanation of the phrase *non sapeano che si chiamare*, (*Vita Nuova*, II, i), and suggests that Bice may have the same relationship to Beatrice as Dante to Durante.

Miss R. S. Phelps has published a notable volume on the complex problem of *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere* (Chicago). She concludes as a result of her intensive analysis that, while Petrarch "was certainly no less fastidious, no less exacting, no less laborious, than we had always supposed,

he was apparently more vulnerable than we had known to the chances of time and change, of haste and travel, of fatigue, malady and age. We cannot feel that his artistic powers ever waned, but there did come a time when he was less able than before to make full use of them; and it has seemed worth while to study the evidence we have of this fact, and to take account of its effect upon the structure of the *Canzoniere*." A. S. Cook studies the "*Odyssey*, Seventh Book as known to Petrarch" (*PQ.* iv. 25938) and edits the Latin version made by Pilatus which Petrarch used in the composition of his moral treatise "On the Avoidance of Avarice" and in his Latin translation of Boccaccio's tale of *Griselda*. H. Stein studies "The *Laurea* Note in the light of the *Secretum*" (*RR.* xvi. 257-261), and finds that the manuscript note found in Petrarch's copy of Virgil has striking similarities in language and content with the three dialogues that comprise his *Secretum*. The evidence is important for a consideration of the authorship of the *Laurea* note.

Several translations of Latin works composed by Italian humanists have appeared. Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria* has been translated by J. Zeitlin, *The Life of Solitude* (Illinois) together with an introduction on the relation of the treatise to classical and medieval thought and its significance as a revelation of Petrarch's personality. Girolamo Fracastoro's dialogue *Naugerius, sive De Poetica* (Illinois) has also been translated by Miss Ruth Kelso, with an important introduction on the treatise and its place in the history of criticism by M. W. Bundy. Here should also be included W. P. Mustard's edition of the *Eclogues of A. Geraldini*, which was omitted in last year's summary.

E. H. Wilkins' study of "The Genealogy of the Genealogical Trees of the *Genealogia Deorum*" (*MP.* xxiii. 61-65) is in the main a reprint of a part of the monograph. "The Trees of the *Genealogia Deorum* of Boccaccio" (1923) to which reference was made in the summary for that year. A. H. Krappe suggests a Celtic fairy legend as "The Source of *Novellino*, xviii" (*Neuphil. Mitteilungen*, xxvi. 13-18).

R. Altrocchi edits "A New Version of the Legend of Saint Alexius" (*MP.* xxii. 337-352) from an Italian MS. of the year 1439. Miss R. S. Phelps examines a number of lives of saints that may be regarded as "The Sources of Lorenzo's *Sacra*

Rappresentazione" (MP. xxiii. 29-42). The date of a meeting between Lorenzo il Magnifico and Frederick of Aragon is involved in determining "The Date of the *Raccolta Aragonesa*" (MP. xxiii. 43-45) which is discussed by Miss L. W. Ferguson. W. L. Bullock reaffirms with convincing arguments the generally accepted belief that *Othello* is derived from Giraldi's *Ecatommili*, III, 7, in refutation of an article published in MLN. xxxix, 156. In the same collection of tales, viii, 6, A. H. Krappe finds "The Source of Voltaire's *Zaire*" (MLR. xx. 305-309). The same scholar in "Notes on Bandello, Parte I, *novella xli*" points out that Petrarch's *Africa*, and not Livy, is the chief source for this story.

In his article on "Imitations from Tasso in the *Faerie Queene*" (SP. xxii. 198-221) H. H. Blanchard finds that the *Rinaldo* and *Gerusalemme Liberata* were sources for Spenser. In "Spenser and Boiardo" (PMLA. xl. 828-851) he shows that the *Faerie Queene* owes considerable to the *Orlando Innamorato*, but less than to Ariosto or Tasso. R. V. Merrill shows that *The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay* was greatly influenced by Italian poets and *trattatisti*.

C. H. Ibershoff's article on "Bodmer's Borrowings from an Italian Poet" (MLN. xl. 80-84) discloses Ceva's Latin epic *Jesus Puer* as a source for Bodmer's *Noah*. E. Goggio in his study of the "Italian Influences on Longfellow's Works" (RR. xvi. 208-222) finds that while the quotations and reminiscences from Dante are decidedly the most numerous, those drawn from other Italian writers are not inconsiderable. Most attention is devoted to a comparison of the tale of *Emma and Eginhard* with a chapter of Dandolo's *Storia del Pensiero nel Medio Evo*, and to the poem entitled *Galgano* which was adapted from Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*, I, 1. J. H. Brovedani writes appreciatively of the literary career of "Grazia Deledda" (*Queen's Quarterly*, xxxiii. 34-50). D. Vittorini analyzes "Il Grottesco nel Teatro Moderno e Contemporaneo" (MLJ. x. 21-29).

In Italian linguistics, we have noted only A. H. Schutz's discussion of "*Re-, Ri-* in the *Divina Commedia*" (MP. xxii. 379-389), where these prefixes have an ascertainable form in indicating the development of an action or condition in the direction of the original impulse or a change of direction of original impulse, as implied in the corresponding simple verb.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

VI. GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Comparatively few philological articles have appeared this year. In the general field C. M. Lotspeich, "Romance and Germanic Linguistic Tendencies" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 325-334), proceeding from the fact that in the Romance languages the accent is distributive while in Germanic it is a restricted decrescendo, tries to show that the consonant changes in both cases are the normal result of their respective speech habits. In conclusion he takes issue with E. Prokosch in the matter of Germanic sound changes. Hermann Collitz, discussing "Gothic *siponeis*, a Loan Word from the Greek" (*AJPh.* xlv. 213-221), rejects Grimm's derivation from the Slavonic and connects it with the Greek verb *συνπονᾶν*, 'to work together.' He explains away the difficulties arising from the use of *i* for Greek *υ* and the lack of nasal in the first syllable. He also discusses the change from the *o*-stem of the Greek to a *j*-stem in the Gothic. A. M. Sturtevant, "Gotisch *Lasiws*, 'Opportunus'" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 195-196) deals with the retention of *w* after short *i* in this word, agreeing with Jellinek that while the *w* is to be explained from the oblique cases, it is due rather to the desire to treat the polysyllabic and long *wa*-stems alike, than to shortening the nom. and acc. sing. after the analogy of the *a*-stems. The same scholar in an article entitled "Gothica" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 504-511) treats two syntactical questions. In the first he explains the fixed usage of the infinitive in a passive sense after the adjectives *mahts* and *skulds*. In the second he discusses the intransitive use of a number of transitive verbs such as *daupjan*, *bimaitan* and *ufarfulljan*. An important contribution to our knowledge of Old Saxon has been made by E. H. Seht in his exhaustive *Wörterbuch zum Heliand* (*Hesperia*, Nr. 14) which lists every occurrence and gives the latest etymology of each word. In a note on "Old Saxon *Fercal*" (*MLN.* xl. 62) since the publication of his dictionary, Seht derives this word, which occurs only once, from medieval Latin *vericulum* or *veruculum*, the ancestor of the French *verrou*—an etymology which appears very plausible. Mathilde Kleiner's dissertation "Zur Entwicklung der Futur-Umschreibung *werden* mit dem Infinitiv" (*Univ. of Cal. Publ. in mod. Philol.*, vol. 12, Nr. 1) is a scholarly and methodical treatment of this form in all Germanic languages,

but especially in German. She clearly shows that the use of *werden* with the infinitive has developed out of a confusion between the present participle and the inflected infinitive which began in the thirteenth century, but did not become common until the fifteenth; by 1450 the infinitive had completely supplanted the participle.

Three German authorities on early *NHG.* have contributed articles to American journals. Karl von Bahder "Die neuhochdeutsche Sprachforschung, ihre Ergebnisse und Ziele" (*PQ.* iv. 61-70) shows how many unsolved problems remain in this field. Konrad Burdach "Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 1-32), a paper originally presented before the Germanistic section of the M.L.A., traces the development from *MHG.* to *NHG.* Under the title "Die frühneuhochdeutsche Sprachforschung und Fischart's Stellung in ihrem Rahmen" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 163-188) Virgil Moser indicates the special fields that need to be investigated before a satisfactory history of the development of the *NHG.* literary idiom can be written, such as the *Kanzleisprachen*, the *Druckersprachen* of the different towns, individual writers and documents. He emphasizes the importance as well as the difficulties of a thorough investigation of Fischart's language.

Various articles are devoted to the treatment of individual words or phrases: thus Th. Geissendoerfer "The Concept 'Gemüt' in Novalis" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 197-205) traces the change in the connotation of this word from that of the 'unity of all the higher faculties of man' down to the modern limitation to the 'emotional side of our nature.' The authors of the Romantic School were primarily responsible for this narrowing of the concept, but Novalis used it prevailing in the older sense. N. C. Brooks, "Schrecke läuten" (*MLN.* xl. 76-79), gives early instances of this Swabian expression for the ringing of bells on festival occasions, including the Latin translation *terrores pulsare*, showing that *Schrecke* is the masc. plural and not the fem. sing. as Fischer states in his Swabian dictionary. In an article entitled "Alles für Ruhm und Ihr" (*MLN.* xl. 442-443) E. G. Gudde calls attention to a bad mistake on the part of Carlyle in quoting from Schiller's *History of the Thirty-Years' War*, where the original reads *Alles für Gott und sie*. John A. Walz, "Aldermann a Supposed Anglicism in German" (*MLN.*

xl. 449-461) proves that instead of being an English word introduced by Klopstock, as Grimm, and others have stated, *Aldermann* is a Low German word which appears in Latin documents as *aldermannus*. Walter Silz "Wieland's Letter to Kleist" (*MLN*. xl. 514-515) suggests that in the well known quotation: *Sie müssen Ihren Guiskard vollenden und wann der ganze Kaukasus und Alles auf Sie drückten* the word *Atlas* should be substituted for *Alles*.

Modern German literature is represented by many articles and some few concern themselves with the older period. Thus G. R. Coffman has briefly treated Hrotswitha of Gandersheim and Othlo of St. Emmeram under the caption "A New Approach to Medieval Latin Drama" (*MP*. xxii. 239-271). A translation of a late medieval Latin tractate on the art of preaching, together with some introductory remarks on medieval sermons in general was contributed by H. Caplan to *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking*, a memorial volume in honor of J. A. Winans. The unknown compiler, a German Dominican friar, based his tractate largely on an unknown treatise of Thomas Aquinas, but drew on other sources as well. E. C. Knowlton "Nature in Early German" (*JEGP*. xxiv. 409-412) shows how seldom nature is personified in *MHG*. literature. A new solution of the problem of Wolfram's source for *Parzival* is attempted by E. K. Heller "Studies in the Story of Gawain in Crestien and Wolfram" (*JEGP*. xxix. 463-503). He calls attention to the many parallels between Crestien and Wolfram in the Gawain episode which had been largely overlooked by earlier investigators. He sees no reason to doubt Wolfram's statement as to his inability to read and makes the ingenious suggestion that Kiot was a minstrel who recited Crestien's story to Wolfram in French. In sixteenth century literature Sebastian Brant's *Narranschiff* has been treated by A. C. G. Pompen under the title *English Versions of the Ship of Fools* (Longmanns). J. T. Hatfield "The Faustbooks and the Synoptic Gospels" (*Open Court*, xxxix. 464-472) draws an interesting parallel between the various versions of the Faust legend and the gospel accounts of the life of Christ, comparing Mark to the first Faust book and Matthew to Widmann's version. A modernized edition of the English translation of the first Faust book of 1592 and of the German Wagner book in 1594 has been edited by William

Rose. E. G. Gudde, in a paper, "Grimmelshausen's *Simplicius Simplicissimus* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*" (*PQ.* iv. 110-120), points out a number of slight resemblances between the two novels, which are hardly sufficient to establish Defoe's acquaintance with his German predecessor.

Coming to the eighteenth century Martin Schütze continues his studies of Herder with a thoughtful article on "Herder's Psychology" (*Monist.* xxxv. 507-554), emphasizing his influence on later philosophers and linguists. In another article "The Cultural Environment of the Philosophy of Kant" (*Monist.* xxxv. 200-224) Schütze sketches most readably the literary movements and the cultural conditions of Kant's time. Three articles on Bodmer are from the pen of C. H. Ibershoff: "Bodmer and Young" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 211-218), supplementing the borrowings by Bodmer previously collected by Ebert and others and taking issue with Price as to the influence of Milton on Bodmer; in "Bodmer's Indebtedness to Voltaire" (*MP.* xxiii. 83-88) Ibershoff discusses Bodmer's borrowings from Voltaire's *Mahomet*; in "Bodmer's Borrowings from an Italian Poet" (*MLN.* xl. 80-88) he interestingly shows how Bodmer was indebted for his 'airship' and a few other features to the Neo-Latin epic *Jesus Puer* of Thomas Ceva (1647-1737). Under the title "Musik und Dichtung im achtzehnten Jahrhundert" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 387-395) Philipp Seiberth points out the close connection between these related arts and shows how the development of music in the eighteenth century freed poetry from the barren intellectualism of the seventeenth century. W. Kurrelmeyer "An Early Poem of Anna Luise Karschin" (*MLN.* xl. 148-151) reprints a poem written by this greatly over-estimated poetess in 1757 to commemorate the battle of Leuthen. A departure from the traditional view concerning Haller is found in the article by H. M. Jones "Albrecht von Haller and English Philosophy" (*PMLA.* xl. 103-127) who rejects Bondi's view of Haller's indebtedness to Shaftesbury and tries to prove that he obtained his ideas rather from Newton. A. E. Wald discusses the *Æsthetic Theories of the German Storm and Stress Movement* (University of Chicago).

Several articles deal with various phases of Goethe's works. Thus F. S. Cawley "An Ovidian Prototype of a Character in *Wilhelm Meister*" (*MLN.* xl. 288-291) thinks the situation of

Mariamne between Vorberg and Wilhelm was suggested to Goethe by a similar one in the first book of Ovid's *Amores*, where the rich lover is preferred to the poor one. In an article entitled "Wilhelm Meister's Interpretation of Hamlet" (*MP.* xxiii. 89-101) William Diamond tries to show that Goethe's conception of Hamlet as a weakling, which has had a far-reaching influence on subsequent critics from Coleridge on, is incorrect, and that Hamlet was inhibited by external rather than by internal reasons. J. C. Blankenagel "Goethe, Madame de Stael and Weltliteratur" (*MLN.* xl. 143-147) interestingly shows the agreement of the views of these two authors as to what this term connotes and as to the desirability that the various national literatures should influence one another. Walter Wadepuhl has shown commendable diligence in gathering together all references in Goethe's works to America and publishing them in his monograph *Goethe and America* (Univ. of Ill.). They show that the great poet was keenly interested in the New World. Th. Geissendoerfer defends Goethe against the accusation of being unpatriotic in an article, "Ueber Goethes Geplantes Volksbuch" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 354-369). He shows how Goethe intended to educate the German people by the publication of a number of *Volksbücher*. A revised edition of Anna Swanwick's translation of Goethe's *Faust* and a new translation by John Huster have appeared. Walter Silz continues his study of Heinrich Kleist with an article "Kinship of Kleist and Otto Ludwig" (*PMLA.* xl. 863-873). Silz also discusses "Raabe's Pessimism" (*PMLA.* xxxix. 687-694) and concludes that it differs from Schopenhauer's in not being metaphysical but social and curable. In a Michigan dissertation *Tieck's Approach to Romanticism*, A. E. Lussky shows that this tendency is not due entirely to the influence of Wackenroder, but that one must take into account Tieck's romantic temperament, his interest in the Storm and Stress poets, in Shakespeare and in the literature of the Romance nations. In an article "Concerning a Passage in Heine's *Harzreise*" (*PQ.* iv. 239-240) C. H. Ibershoff suggests that Heine may have been indebted for his juxtaposition of "sausages" and "university" in the opening sentence of his *Harzreise* to an old poem on Göttingen where the expression *Berühmt durch Würste, Bibliothek und Zeitung* occurs. Any one who has studied in Göttingen and made the acquaint-

tance of the famous *Göttinger Mettwurst* knows that Heine needed no literary source for his jocular remark. Max Rudwin, "Balzac and the Fantastic" (*Sewanee Review*, xxxiii. 2-24), has shown how strongly the French writer was influenced by E. T. A. Hoffmann.

Coming to more recent times, we find an article by L. A. Shears "Theme and Technique in the Novellen of Ferdinand von Saar" (*JEGP*. xxiv. 398-408) which shows the great similarities in the themes of Saar's short stories and discusses at length their style and general characteristics. H. S. Cannon examines the "Rhyme and Alliteration in Carl Spitteler" (*MP*. xxiii. 189-200), noting many examples of the poet's impure rhymes and of his fondness for alliteration. An excellent anthology, *German Lyrics and Ballads from Klopstock to Modern Times*, compiled by B. J. Vos and P. A. Barba, includes poets as late as Rilke and Werfel and contains some welcome remarks on versification. J. Goll has written a short article on the "Expressionistic Poets of Germany" (*Menorah Journal*. xi. 28-32). Under the caption "Otto Braun, A Promise Unfulfilled" (*Univ. of Cal. Chronicle*), E. G. Gudde writes an appreciation of this talented German youth who would have developed into a brilliant lyricist had the war not put an end to his life when he was but twenty-one. A readable volume, *New Vision in the German Arts*, by H. G. Scheffauer, treats of the latest movements in German drama and art. In his *Study of Modern Drama* B. H. Clarke deals briefly with a few of Germany's most prominent dramatists. E. H. Zeydel surveys "The Trend of Literature in Germany Since the War" (*MLJ*. x. 165-169) appending a useful bibliography.

In an article entitled "W. H. Prescott and Jakob Wassermann" (*JEGP*. xxix. 555-559) Arpad Steiner makes the damaging accusation that the German novelist 'borrowed' at least two-thirds of his story *Gold von Caxamalca* from Prescott's *Conquest of Peru* and, to judge from the parallel quotations which he adduces, he amply proves his case.

The following translations of German novels and dramas have appeared: Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, Brentano's *Märchen*; Hauff's *Tales*; Hauptmann, *Dramatic Works*, vol. 8 containing *Indipohdi*, *Der weisse Heiland* and *Winterballade*; also a translation of *Die Insel der Grossen Mutter*; Georg Her-

mann's *Jettchen Gebert*; Frenssen's *Dorfpredigten*; Kellermann's *Der neunte November*; Wassermann's *Faber oder die verlorenen Jahre*; Schnitzler's *Fräulein Else*; Toller's *Schwalbenbuch* and *Masse Mensch*; Kaiser's *Gas*; Thomas Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig*. K. M. Stein has published a collection of German-American poems under the title *Die schönste Lengvitch* with an introduction by Richard Atwater and F. Schrader has written a work *Germans in the Making of America*.

The field of Scandinavian Languages is well represented this year. G. T. Flom's "Scandinavian Philology" (*AJPh.* XLVI. 52-71) is a general survey of what has been accomplished with a statement of the main problems of the present. A. M. Sturtevant, "Hiatuserscheinungen im Altisländischen" (*MLN.* XL. 25-29), attempts to explain the cases of hiatus in the numerals *niu* 'nine' and *tiu* 'ten' and also in the present optative of the verb 'to be.' E. H. Mensel, "Einige Norwegische Zauberformeln" (*JEGP.* xxiv. 309-314), contributes a Norwegian variant of the second *Merseburger Spruch* which he discovered in a manuscript collection of magic formulas in the possession of a Norwegian family in Massachusetts. Danish is represented only by an interesting article by H. Logeman on "Holberg's Use of 'sexten' as an indefinite Numeral" (*SS.* VIII. 151-155) for which he can find no further parallel, but which reminds one of the use of 'steen' in English. Several articles deal with Old Norse literature. A. M. Sturtevant "Regarding Circumlocutions in the Elder Edda" (*MLN.* XL. 216-219) discusses two cases, one of which has to do with an adverb of place, and is found extensively in *OHG.* and *MHG.* epics and in the *Heliand*; the other, the use of the word *brjósti* 'breast' in the sense of 'person,' seems to be confined to Old Norse, but may be paralleled by the *MHG.* use of *lîp*. Kemp Malone makes a detailed study of an Old Norse saga and its characters in his paper "*Widsith* and the *Hervararsaga*" (*PMLA.* XL. 769-813). A. E. Keary has written a volume *Heroes of Asgard* (Macmillan); the *Laxdaela Saga* has been translated by Thorstein Veblen (Huebsch), while W. C. Green has made *Translations from the Icelandic* as vol. 23 of the Oxford Med. Lib. In *Norsemen in the New World*, L. H. Roddis gives an account of the Kensington rune stone and of the voyages of the Vikings to Iceland, Greenland and other parts of this continent. "The Beginning of American Interest

in Scandinavian Literature" (SS. VIII. 133-141) by A. B. Benson traces this interest back to the early nineteenth century and includes such names as Longfellow, Emerson, March, Bayard Taylor and Fiske. Benson also discusses "Bayard Taylor's Interest in the Scandinavian North" (SS. VIII. 165-184).

A notable piece of work in Modern Norwegian literature is H. J. Weigand's work *The Modern Ibsen* (Holt) in which the author gives a keen analysis of Ibsen's later plays and seeks to obtain new points of view. "Ibsen's Political and Social Ideas" (*Am. Pol. Soc. Rev.* XIX. 25-37) are discussed by P. G. Nesperius. L. Kanner contributes a "Psychiatric Study of Ibsen's *Peer Gyn*" (*J. of Abnorm. Psych.* XIX. 373-382). A. M. Sturtevant contrasts "Berthold Auerbach's *Die feindlichen Brüder* and Björnson's *Story of the Two Brothers Bard and Anders in En Glad Gut*" (SS. VIII. 142-150) and concludes in view of the difference of treatment that Björnson at most could have been indebted to Auerbach only for the skeleton of the story. The centenary of the coming of the first Norwegian settlers to this country has produced a number of articles on this subject. Thus L. M. Larson, "A Century of Achievement" (*ASR.* XIII. 333-347), has given an account of successive migrations of Norwegians to this country since October 10, 1825. The voyage of the first ship to bring Norwegian settlers and the subsequent adventures of its passengers are described by R. B. Anderson under the title "*Restaurationen, the Norse Mayflower.*" Peter Testamen's account of his experiences in North America has been published in the original together with a translation by T. C. Blegen (*Minn. Hist.* VI. 91-114). Claflin Noble has written a long *History of the Norwegian People in America*. Knut Hamsun's *Benoni* has been translated by J. S. Scott; K. Elster in "Three Lyric Poets of Norway" (*ASR.* XIII. 653-665) discusses Nils Vogt, Herman Wilderwey and Olaf Brill.

In Swedish Carl Larsson has given an interesting account of Erik Axel Karlfeldt, Sweden's greatest living poet (*ASR.* XIII. 15-20). The notable Swedish books of the year have been treated by Yngve Hedvall under the title "The Book Mart in Sweden" (*ASR.* XIII. 671-676). Verner von Heidenstam's fascinating series of historical romances have been rendered into English by C. W. Stork as *Swedes and Their Chieftains* (Amer. Scand. Foundation). Two novels of early Sweden by the

same author have appeared in translation by A. G. Chater under the title *Tree of the Folkungs*. A new edition of Tegnér's *Fritiof Saga* has been prepared by C. D. Locock. A number of Swedish novels have appeared in English translation: Lagerlöf's *Treasure* and *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*; Strindberg's *Confessions of a Fool*; Bengt Berg's *Motherless*; Geierstam's *Book About Little Brother*; Frank Heller's *Thousand and Second Night*.

In the Danish field the personal side of Holberg's life has been sketched by R. Paulli in an article "Ludwig Holberg, Country Gentleman" (*ASR.* XIII. 423-429). Lillian M. Shortt, "H. C. Andersen Comes to Gadshill" (*ASR.* XIII. 595-598) has described two trips made by the Danish writer to England to visit Dickens. Two novels of Sigrid Undset have appeared in translation: *The Mistress of Husaby* and *Jeremy*.

Dutch is represented by only two numbers: A. J. Barnouw has written an excellent life of the dramatist Vondel, to which Edward W. Bok has prefixed an introduction. D. B. Shumway has discussed and reprinted in English translation "A Rare Dutch Document Concerning the Province of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century" (*Penna. Mag.* XLIX. 99-140).

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY

I.

THE "DONNA ANGELICATA" IN THE RING AND THE BOOK

IT CANNOT be denied that the personages in Browning's great poem, *The Ring and the Book*, are of the poet's own making, and he himself would have been the first to acknowledge them as his own creatures. On the other hand, his repeated assertions that, in mingling his fancy with the material derived from the *Old Yellow Book*, he has not misinterpreted the facts contained in his source, and the insistence upon the poet's historical fidelity by the editor of the "Book" and other critics, have been regarded with suspicion. Indeed, the question has recently been raised whether *The Ring and the Book* is not a glorious misinterpretation of *The Old Yellow Book*.¹

My own belief is that it is a glorious misinterpretation, but at the same time that the interpreter is sincere; and I hope, in the following pages, to show that it is possible to guess reasonably at the influences which determined the mental attitude of the poet when, as he ruminated upon the details of the tragedy he had discovered, he created the characters he presents to us as Pompilia, Caponsacchi, and Guido Franceschini.

Intrigued as Browning no doubt was at first by the complexity of the conflicting evidence and opinion, and delighted by the prospect of dramatising that complexity for us, he nevertheless concluded, satisfactorily to himself, that everything in his source which was creditable to Pompilia and Caponsacchi

¹ In a recent article, "Gold and Alloy" (*Studies in Philol.*, N. C., XXI, 467-479) Prof. Frances Theresa Russell, attacks Browning and the defenders of his historical fidelity, perhaps a little too fiercely. Among the alleged falsifications are: the wrong location of the house where the murders took place, but this seems to have been only a mistake of the poet's, cf. *O. Y. B.* note 292; the wrong date of the marriage and its secrecy, and the misstatement of Guido's age, but all these items were obtained from the *O. Y. B.* It must be admitted that Browning changed the date of the flight of Pompilia and Caponsacchi, and the writer succeeds in showing, more clearly than has been done before, that the "Ring" was made of far more "Alloy" than "Gold."

and discreditable to Guido should be accepted, and that nothing reflecting on the character of Pompilia could be admitted. Nevertheless, one who reads the *Old Yellow Book* without being prejudiced by Browning's view will, I am confident, reach a different conclusion.

In the first place, the conflict between the testimony of Pompilia and that of Caponsacchi, throws an unfavorable light on either one or the other. Pompilia testifies that before her flight with Caponsacchi she had never sent him any letters or received any from him, for the excellent reason that she did not know how to write and could not read manuscript. According to her account of the arrangements of the flight, everything was done by word of mouth; she stopped him as he was going by her house, and spoke to him from the stairs; she never admits that she spoke to him from the window, or sent him a letter.

Caponsacchi testifies that, after he had decided to go to Rome on his own account, a letter from Pompilia was brought to him by a servant of the Franceschini, asking him to take Pompilia with him. He declined by letter, but after that, several times, as he passed her house, Pompilia threw him notes repeating her request. When at last he made up his mind to consent, he gave her a letter which she drew up to the window with a string. Later she threw him another letter from the window. Last of all he spoke to her at the window, and made the final appointment, and they fled on the following morning.

Counsel for the prosecution of Guido suggest that all the letters which Caponsacchi received from Pompilia were forgeries, but even if they were, it still remains to explain that while, according to Caponsacchi's testimony, there was only one conversation between them, (in which, after a considerable correspondence, the final arrangements were made) Pompilia declares that there were three conversations between them in which the whole matter was discussed, and it was in the last interview but one that Caponsacchi agreed to take her to Rome.

Next comes the conflict of testimony as to their stay at the inn of Castelnovo, where they were overtaken by Pompilia's husband.

Caponsacchi's evidence is:

. . . . until, on Tuesday evening, the last day of the above-mentioned month of April, we reached Castelnovo. And because the said Francesca [i. e., Pompilia] said that she was in pain, and that she had not the courage to continue the journey without rest, she threw herself on a bed in a bedroom, dressed as she was, and I, likewise dressed, laid myself on another bed that was in the said room, telling the host to have us called after three or four hours, to continue the journey. But he did not call us, and meanwhile the husband of the said Francesca arrived and had us both arrested by the police, and from there we were afterwards taken to Rome.²

And again, on being cross-examined:

In the inn at Castelnovo, and in that bedroom where we stayed, (as I said when I was examined before, and that there were two beds) only one of them was provided with sheets by the landlord's servant, so that it might serve for the Signora Francesca. And I did not cause sheets to be laid on the other one, because I, of course, did not want to undress, although she did not undress either, as I said in my other examination.³

Pompilia's evidence is:

. . . . we came toward Rome, going night and day without stopping except when they took refreshments and changed the horses, until we reached Castelnovo, where we arrived at dawn, and were afterward taken there by my husband, as I told your lordship above.⁴

And again on cross-examination:

I truly arrived at Castelnovo at the red of dawn.

We stayed at the inn of Castelnovo for the space of more than an hour, and during this time we remained in a hall upstairs

I did not go to sleep or rest in the inn of Castelnovo during that time that I stayed there, as above.

I hear that your lordship tells me that the police assert besides that I slept at night in the aforesaid inn of Castelnovo, in a bedroom upstairs, in which Canon Caponsacchi slept also, and I say and reply that no one can say this truly, for I did not rest in any way in the said inn, and stayed there for the time I said above⁵

² *The Old Yellow Book*, etc., ed. C. W. Hodell, Washington, 1908, p. LXXXIX.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. LXXXV. The word "above" refers to her previous deposition. The language of all this testimony is that of the court recorder, a poorly educated scribe who puts grammatical mistakes into the mouths of both Caponsacchi and Pompilia.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. LXXXVI.

In the *Ring and the Book* this conflict is overcome by supposing that Pompilia, dazed by her terrifying escape, and exhausted by the constant traveling for two days and a night, having lost count of the time elapsed, mistook the setting sun, when they reached Castelnuovo, for the rising sun, and, after sleeping soundly from exhaustion all night, awoke to find the sun really rising, and supposed it was the same dawn. She is conscious of this mistake when, on her deathbed she describes the event:

From that sick minute when the head swam round,
And the eyes looked their last and died on him,
As in his arms he caught me and, you say,
Carried me in, that tragical red eve,
And laid me where I next returned to life
In the other red of the morning, two red plates
That crushed together, crushed the time between,
And are since then a solid fire to me.⁶

Caponsacchi testified that he had burned all the letters he received from Pompilia, but there are fifteen letters submitted in evidence by her husband, love-letters said to have been written by her and found at Castelnuovo when the lovers were arrested. Also two letters said to have been written by Caponsacchi, which were shown to him, and which he said were forgeries, adding that the handwriting of one of them resembled his own, but that of the other was wholly different.

Pompilia testified that she did not know how to write, and yet ten days before, just after being arrested at Castelnuovo, she had written a letter to her foster-parents in Rome, begging them to come to her help. In this letter she speaks of other letters she had written to them from Arezzo, as follows:

. . . . Guido my husband was going to kill me because he had certain untrue suspicions, and therefore was going to kill me, and I sent them to you on purpose, and you did not believe that those letters were from my hand, but I tell you that I finished learning to write at Arezzo. . . .⁷

There has never been any suspicion that this letter is a forgery. It is one of a number of documents *collected by the prosecution*: not evidence offered by counsel for Guido. The

⁶ *Pompilia*, 1577-1584.

⁷ *O. Y. B.*, p. CLvi.

documents accompanying it are: the bond given by Pompilia to keep to the house of the Comparini as a prison; an extract from the will of Pietro Comparini; a power of attorney given by Guido to his brother Paolo; and another letter from Pompilia to Caponsacchi in which she reproaches him for sending her certain indecent verses. This last letter again is hardly open to the suspicion of being forged, since it contains nothing that would help the defense, and is in no sense a love-letter.

The love-letters submitted by the defense are branded again and again in the *Ring and the Book* as forgeries by the hand of Guido. In fact the forging of these letters, as part of the whole elaborate plot to drive his wife into the arms of Caponsacchi, constitutes Guido's greatest crime. It is a peculiarly abominable piece of obliquity, such as would be revolting to many a criminal, especially when one thinks of the friendlessness of the child-wife. It is this plot that confers on the character of Guido the peculiar horror which makes him so distinguished a monster.

But if we believe that Pompilia could write and had written letters while she was at Arezzo, these love-letters are worth examining. They are—all but one, and excepting a sentence of two which seem to have been taken from a manual for letter-writing—the most naturally written letters imaginable. There is no attempt at literary style: they are written as the writer would naturally speak, in an apparently unpremeditated, rather hasty manner. The syntax is often laughable; the constructions are popular and lively; the grammar is fairly good; there are some dialect forms common to Tuscany, Umbria, and Rome; there is an alternation of *voi*'s and *lei*'s (polite form of address and ordinary form) which, however, is to be found in the writing of even educated persons of the time. One of the dialectal characteristics is worth noting: where the second person plural of an imperfect tense, either indicative or subjunctive is needed, there appears the second person singular. This feature occurs six times, and in two cases (*havevivo* p. xciii, *dassivo* p. xcvi) the forms are, I think, peculiar to the Roman dialect, since similar forms occur in the modern *Romanesco*. One of the letters, however, is different from all the rest, for it is written in a painfully pedantic style, and is full of precious conceits characteristic of the seventeenth century.

If these letters are forgeries they are admirably clever forgeries in which Pompilia's lack of education is not exaggerated, but represented exactly as one might expect it to show itself. And the one pedantic letter is a letter such as could not be written by anyone not conversant with the literary taste of the time in love letters. It might have been written by Pompilia, if she had before her a fashionable love-letter as a model. If it is a forgery, it is a clumsy one. If Guido forged these letters, it is curious that he should have contrived all but one of them so extraordinarily well, and that he should have made one of them with a style such as no one would expect of an uneducated girl.

Let us compare them with that other letter of Pompilia to the Abate Paolo Franceschini which was written under the supervision of Guido, and perhaps dictated by him.⁸ The latter is in an awkward stilted manner and the syntax is complicated in one or two places, but the striking difference between this and the love-letters is that it is written in far more educated language. There are some eight expressions which belong to an educated class, such as do not appear once in the love-letters, and the whole manner is superior.⁹ Why did not Guido make this letter like the others if he was able to imitate so cleverly the style of an uneducated girl?

If, on the other hand, we compare the love-letters with the two letters of Pompilia that we hold to be genuine, that is the extract from the letter of rebuke to Caponsacchi and the letter to her foster-parents from Castelnuovo, we find exactly the same hasty style that we have in the love-letters; and in the letter to the Comparini (her foster-parents) appears another example of that dialectal characteristic which occurs six times in the love-letters: the second person singular verb in the imperfect

⁸ *O. Y. B.*, p. LXXXvii. Bottini, prosecuting Guido, has no confidence in Pompilia's declaration that she had merely traced in ink the words penciled by Guido; apparently the examination of the letter did not support her statement. Cf. pp. CLXXii-CLXXiii, and p. 142.

⁹ The same is true of the note acknowledging the present of a fan—*O. Y. B.*, p. LXXXviii—which, as the contents show, was also inspired by Guido. Examples of learned expressions are: "senza veruna cagione," "mi haveva richiesto dell'honore," "hora che non hò chi mi sollevi la mente," "e che seco me ne fuggissi," "mi dispiace che li miei genitori lacerino la nostra casa" etc.

tense, with the second plural subject, *voi non credevi* instead of *voi non credevate*.¹⁰

These love-letters are much discussed in the pleadings, but the contention that they are forgeries is not pressed. Bottini, the counsel prosecuting Guido, does not forget to point out that their authenticity has not been proved, but continues:

Although, when their tenour is examined, they seem to disclose an intimation of excessive kindness, still that may have been feigned by her in order to beguile the canon, who was reluctant—as she herself confesses in her deposition—to offer her help in carrying out her pre-meditated flight, by accompanying her to the city. For it is evident that the letters were designed for that purpose. And so the wretched girl, without help and in danger of her life, should be considered worthy of pity, if with bland and perhaps affectionate words, she tried to entice the canon¹¹

The Pamphlet against Guido issued for public consumption during the trial, presumably by the Fisc, plainly asserts that Pompilia wrote these letters with the object of persuading Caponsacchi to take her to Rome, her only way of escape, and only some pages farther on refers to the possibility that the letters are not authentic.¹²

While the trial of Guido was still proceeding, suit was brought by the monastery which had harboured Pompilia, to recover her estate on the ground that she had been shown to be an adulteress. Lamparelli, the counsel for her heir Tighetti, bent on clearing her character, takes the same line regarding these letters as Bottini. He says, rather Irishly: first, it has never been proved that she wrote them, and secondly, she wrote them with a good purpose.¹³

Neither side in any of the three trials in which the letters figured, insisted on having them proved genuine or forged. No doubt Guido's counsel were aware that even if they were proved genuine, they would not convict Pompilia of adultery. On the other hand, if the Fisc had been able to prove that they were forged, he would have destroyed once for all Guido's contention that he had murdered Pompilia from motives of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. CLvi.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. LXXiii.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. CCxiv and CCxix.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. CCL-CCLi.

honour. In their sworn depositions both of the lovers show an anxiety to counteract the effect of any letters of theirs that might be produced against them. Pompilia says she wrote no letters and received none from Caponsacchi; the canon says that he burned all Pompilia's letters to him,¹⁴ and wrote only a very few to her, all about the proposed journey to Rome. When confronted with the two letters which had been placed in evidence as by him, he denied the authorship of both, for he was unaware that Pompilia, in her deposition, had given evidence sufficient to establish the authenticity of one of them.

This is the letter beginning "Adorata mia signora"¹⁵ in which the writer promises to let fall his handkerchief once as a signal that he has succeeded in securing a carriage for Sunday night. Caponsacchi had not mentioned this signal in his own deposition, but Pompilia had in hers,¹⁶ and who beside these two lovers could have known about the dropping of the handkerchief and its meaning? Either this letter is genuine or else Guido must have spied upon the lovers successfully, and so have been able to forge the letter. But in that case Guido must have been fully informed of all their plans, and if so, it is, to me, inexplicable that he should have allowed them to go two days journey before they were overtaken. His influence in Tuscany was considerable, as is shown by the letters on his behalf written by the governor and the bishop of Arezzo; by the condemnation of Pompilia in the court of Arezzo to prison for life; and by the confirmation of the judgment (although with modified sentence) by the court of Florence. If Guido could have caught the pair within the twenty miles that separated them from the Papal States, he would have had no more troubles.

Since, then, the denials of Pompilia and Caponsacchi are not to be trusted, what are we to think of the love-letters? I confess that I hold them to be quite genuine, and that they seem to me very pitiful little documents.¹⁷ They are full of references to people and incidents unknown to us, but still

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xc.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xcvi.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. lvi and lxxxv.

¹⁷ The translation of these letters in the edition of the Carnegie Institute, is spoiled by many errors, and errors are not infrequent in that of the other documents, both Italian and Latin.

manage to present the sad story of how a poor girl, living a most wretched life, did her best to find some happiness,, to make a life for herself in her bleak surroundings. She was thirteen when she was married and taken away like a slave to a strange city. She barely knew how to read or write: she told the court as we have seen, that she could not read manuscript, thus tacitly admitting that by that time she *could* read print. She says in her letter to the Comparini that she "finished learning to write at Arezzo" thus indicating that she could write a little even before going there. Her statement that she could not read or write, drew from the pedant Bottini, the Horatian: "splendide mendax!"—She was over three years at Arezzo before she escaped, and during that time she did not remain immured in her husband's house doing nothing at all. It would not be natural that a young girl of her age should resign herself to being abjectly miserable for three years—the fact that she got away at last shows that she was not resigned. Youth will not be denied; it naturally seeks comfort somehow and some sort of amusement.

She learned to read and write better than before. She read Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, to which she refers in one of her letters: "I hear you liked the *Pastor Fido*. [Perhaps she had presented Caponsacchi with a copy.] But I should like you to imitate him [i. e., Mirtillo, the faithful shepherd] and I will imitate another Vienna"¹⁸ Vienna is the heroine of the very popular story of *Paris and Vienna*, an example of incredible faithfulness in love.¹⁹ In a postscript she adds:

I do not know what name to give myself, whether Vienna or Amarilli or Dorinda or Lilla, but I prefer to call myself Arianna; I shall call myself so for I expect to be like her, [i. e. to be abandoned, as Ariadne was by Theseus] although you are not a Theseus but a chaste Joseph, or a precious Narcissus, or an Ilago or Adonis;²⁰ but Adonis took pity on Venus, but I am not like that [i. e., not a Venus] but rather a Medusa.

¹⁸ O. F. B., p. xcvi.

¹⁹ An Italian version in octaves by Angelo Albano di Orvieto, entitled *Immemoramento di doi fidelissimi amanti*, was published in Rome in 1626. Cf. Kaltenbacher—*Der altfranzösische Roman Paris et Vienne. Romanische Forschungen*, vol. XV, (1904), a reference which I owe to Prof. M. A. Buchanan of Toronto.

²⁰ The context shows that "*Fedone*" is an error for *Adone*.

"Dorinda" is the shepherdess in the *Pastor Fido*, who is wounded by her beloved Silvio. "Lilla" is the heroine of Marino's *Bruna Pastorella*. Pompilia may have made the acquaintance of "Arianna" either in Marino's poem *Arianna Abbandonata* or, more likely, in Rinuccini's famous *Arianna*, as she may have known "Narcissus" in Rinuccini's *Narciso*. "Adonis" she would know either from Marino's *Adone* or from one of the numerous plays about Venus and Adonis. Caponsacchi made her a present of Bernardo Morandi's *Rosalinda*, for which she thanks him. This was a prodigious romance published first in 1650, which, according to the sub-title, is a "work of amorous, moral and sacred subject, in which are descried from afar turbulent life in England and the movements of the Turk, and information is to be had on countries, glories of heroes, and other affairs of the world, all within a brief compass."²¹ In one place she says that if her husband catches her at the window he will do more terrible things than ever Æneas the Trojan did.²²

Her only places of amusement would be the church and the theatre. She speaks of seeing Caponsacchi at the church of the Capuchins, when she dared not look at him because, to use her own expressions, whenever she looked at him, "both of them" (perhaps Guido and his mother) looked at her, so that she suffered, not being able "to look at her sun."²³ In her deposition she tells how once, at the theatre, Canon Conti, her husband's brother-in-law, had thrown some sweets to her, when he and Caponsacchi were sitting together.²⁴ It is probable that a good part of her limited knowledge of history and literature was derived from the stage.

The men she met seem to have made love to her. They naturally would,—it was in the air. Think of the small society of a country town at the end of the seventeenth century, and imagine the attitude of the gay and would-be gay young sparks, denied the gaiety of Rome, toward the pretty girl-wife of a gloomy old person like Count Guido! *She* flirted too: to have refused would have been to be the miracle Browning made of her.

²¹ Cf. Belloni, *Il Seicento*, Milano, F. Vallardi, p. 378.

²² *O. Y. B.*, p. xciv.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. xcii.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. Lxxxiii.

I met the doctor as usual [she writes]. He asked me where I was going, and on the way he said: why had I written to him so crossly? I said he deserved worse because he spoke well but acted badly, because he said he was fond of me, whereas he is in love with the Sovara, and others He answered me that that was not the reason, but it was because of another gentleman that I was fond of, more attractive than he. I said, perhaps not as attractive as he, but at least more faithful. . . . ²⁵

Another letter says:

Don't be surprised if the "Signora Madre" [her mother-in-law] was at the window, for she was watching the man who was attending to the hemp, so that you can pass without fear. When I have time I will tell you some interesting things, and if they say anything to me I will warn you. ²⁶

You write me [she says in another letter] that you would be glad to come to see me at the villa, ²⁷ I would rather treat you like a husband than like a slave. You say that Conti will not bring you any more letters, but I tell you that I will pet him a little, and can get him to take them to you. For I speak a few kind words to him and he is charmed and will do anything I want him to. . . . You must know that the jealous man has gone to Sovara. If I could only speak to you! but my confessor won't hear of it, and that is why I don't let you come, and the street door is never open now, but you may be able to open the stable door. But that friar is obstinate and won't have it. Thank you for the kisses you send me, but I wish you could give them to me, and I give you others, and as many millions as you give me. ²⁸

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xciv. "Sovara" is the name of a village a few miles northeast of Arezzo, on the stream of the same name which, after joining with another mountain stream called Cerfone, runs into the Tiber near Città di Castello. Guido Franceschini may have owned property there, for in another letter Pompilia says: "the jealous man has gone to Sovara" (*O. Y. B.*, p. xcvi). The sentence "whereas he is in love with the Sovara, and others . . ." may mean that the doctor stays too much in the country to suit Pompilia, but if the words "and others" are really part of this sentence, and are not the beginning of another that is omitted in the document, Pompilia may be indicating some woman courted by the doctor, by the name of the place where that woman lives. I am inclined to this latter opinion.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xcii.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xcvi. "The villa" mentioned in this passage may be the villa at Vitiano mentioned by Guido in his deposition (*O. Y. B.*, p. cxxviii: "my villa of Vittiano"). Vitiano is on the main road between Arezzo and Castiglione Fiorentino, a very short distance north of the latter.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xcvi.

One or two of the other letters contain a hint of the opiate that was administered to the Franceschini family later:

I was forgetting to tell you that the "Signora Madre" has no more fever, and is drinking wine, but in her own room. Also, it is red, like ours; also tell me what to do and I will do it. I was going to send you a million kisses, but I know that you don't care for them in that way, and not much even if I gave them to you myself. But you like those of the singing-girl well enough, but I tell you they are poisoned. Be as careful with the others as you are with me, for you will be right, but with me you hadn't the opportunity²⁹

The pedantic euphuistic letter, in perfect Marinesque style, is as follows:

If your saying that I do not love you is not an error resulting from ignorance, but an error resulting from your not liking *me*, allow me, my dear, to be angry with you. For either you consider me blind, or you do not consider me loveable. You cannot say with truth that I do not love you, or rather you can say with truth that no one loves you as I love you. Look into my eyes,—(when my tears are wiped away, they will be most faithful mirrors to you),—and it will astonish you to see that your face is copied there; that the graces have regulated your movements with their own hands; that Venus in forming you took the measure of your limbs with her own girdle. Ah! I love you so that, on the one hand, I would be the only one in the world to love you, for I think I could love you for all the rest, and, on the other hand³⁰ I would have everyone love you, so that you might see that all of them together cannot equal my love by itself. My breast is envied by every other part of me because it alone can love you. These are things that cannot be understood by hearing, things that anyone else may be excused for not believing, except you, cruel beauty. For if you see your face composed of angelic miracles, you should not consider it impossible that there may be a heart all made of miracles of love³¹

This is writing of the kind against which the satire of Menzini and Salvator Rosa is directed. Pompilia may have copied it out of some precious romance, or she may have compiled it by putting together figures of speech culled from romances, plays, and the erotic lyric poetry of the time. It is a commonplace

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xciii.

³⁰ "Dal Latio centro" should be *Dall'altro canto*. I have omitted a part of the previous sentence, the text of which is hopelessly corrupt.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. xcv.

in this lyric to say that the eyes of the beloved are mirrors for the lover, for instance.²²

This monstrous farrago of figures of speech is the best index of the atmosphere which Pompilia breathed, and the pitifullest document of all. This was the bravest display of culture she could make, of what education she had managed to obtain. The only father and mother she had known were a fatuous old man and a vulgar old woman, maliciously cunning and silly too, who had sold her to a sulky and savage husband. She was living a dreary life of privation in a strange town with him and his grim old mother and his insidious brother. Outside the house she was followed by sniffing human hounds wherever she went. Her only serviceable friend was Caponsacchi the thoughtless and profligate young priest, but he at least had a noble tradition behind him, and the reputation of a resolute man.²³ No doubt he seemed to her a splendid creature, although he too showed her the seamy side of his character, when he sent her the verses to which she objected:

I thank you infinitely [she writes] for the octaves you have given me. They are quite different from the *Rosalinda*, which was as nice as this is rude, and I am astonished that you, who are so chaste, have composed or copied things so improper. I should be sorry if you were to act always as you have about these books,—for the first book was so nice, and these octaves are just the opposite,—and that you from being as nice as you are should become so bold,—but I don't believe it. . . .²⁴

The world of love and flattery was all the happiness she could dream of, but when she touched it she rebelled at the fleshliness underneath. Her death-bed confession in which she insisted that she had not committed the sin of adultery, is proof enough that she was innocent, as well as the light sentence that was imposed on her by the court, after the trial for flight.

It is evident, I think, that Browning's Pompilia is not the Francesca of the *Old Yellow Book*—she is "another guess" lady—

²² Even in the other letters, at rare intervals, occurs a precious expression of a similar kind, e. g. "as gold in fire so is love refined in suffering" *O. Y. B.*, pp. xciv-xcvi.

²³ The mother of Dante's Beatrice was a Caponsacchi.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. clvi.

but it is also evident that she is not merely a white-washed Francesca, she is not a bad girl made into a good girl; the testimony of Fra Celestino Angelo, in the *Book*, represents her as innocent, modest, and forgiving, dying like a saint.³⁵ The lies she seems to have told in self-defense aroused no condemnation in a country where literal truth-telling has never seemed as important as it does to puritanical peoples. As a victim of the sordid passions of her relatives she enlisted the sympathies of all charitable persons, and she had the charm of youth and no doubt of beauty. The difference is that in *The Ring and the Book* she has become transfigured with a holy light shed upon her by the poet, which clings to her. She has

God's gift of a purity of soul
That will not take pollution, ermine-like
Armed from dishonour by its own soft snow.³⁶
The snow-white soul that angels fear to take
Untenderly.³⁷

. . . . earth's flower
She holds up to the softened gaze of God!³⁸

She is likened to the Virgin Mary,³⁹ and, as Mr. Hodell remarks,⁴⁰ there is a suggestion of the "immaculate conception" in the words of Pompilia about her child. Francesca, with her origin, upbringing and married circumstances, could not be like Pompilia without a miracle;⁴¹ Browning accepts the miracle: she is no longer an ordinary mortal but an exceptional individual more like an angel:

" . . . to the astonishment of all the bystanders who canonised her a saint." *O. Y. B.*, pp. LVII-LVIII.

³⁶ *The Pope*, 677-679.

³⁷ *Giuseppe Caponsacchi*, 195-196.

³⁸ *The Pope*, 1017-1018.

³⁹ *Giuseppe Caponsacchi*, 701-707.

⁴⁰ *O. Y. B.*, p. 281 and 296, n. 22.

⁴¹ Cf. the will of Pietro Comparini, *O. Y. B.*, CLVII: "With the condition, however, that the said Francesca Pompilia return home and dwell in Rome her native city, etc. in which city I hope she will live chastely and properly and like a good Christian, and if she do not return, or if she return and live with brazen immodesty (which may God forbid) I desire that she be disqualified to enjoy the usufruct of my above-mentioned estate. . . ." Pietro is not accusing his foster-child of any impropriety, but he evidently estimates her potentialities in a way which would be altogether incongruous with the character of Browning's Pompilia.

And the one Christian mother, wife and girl,
—Which three gifts seem to make an angel up.⁴²

She is a "donna angelicata," as Bartoli called the typical lady sung by the Italian poets of the "sweet new style" in the thirteenth century, and, we shall see that it is an appropriate expression to apply to Browning's lady.

If we seek the motives that caused and enabled the poet to effect such an admirable transformation, it is natural to turn first of all to those which have been indicated more than once by students of Browning. Judging by the account he himself gives us of his reflections on the *Old Yellow Book*, the day he brought it home from the book-stall in the square of San Lorenzo, it seems that it was the chivalrous action of Caponsacchi in rescuing Pompilia that first struck his imagination:

... ; all was sure,
Fire laid and cauldron set, the obscene ring traced,
The victim stripped and prostrate: what of God?
The clearing of a cloud, a cry, a crash,
Quenched lay the cauldron, cowered i' the dust the crew,
As, in a glory of armour like St. George,
Out again sprang the young good beauteous priest
Bearing away the lady in his arms⁴³

and if so there can hardly be any doubt that much of the glow with which his imagination kindled came from the recollection of his own similar exploit, when he rescued the lady who became his wife from the life of illness and solitary depression to which she seemed condemned.

It seems probable, then, that even when Browning first studied the *Old Yellow Book*, Pompilia became associated in his mind with Mrs. Browning, but it is generally recognized that by the time he was writing *The Ring and the Book*, that association had become fertile and the memory of his dead wife had clothed the character of Pompilia with a new spiritual glory. As Professor Herford says:

... The story of Pompilia gathered a subtle hallowing association with what was most spiritual in that vanished past of which it was the last and most brilliant gift. The poem which enshrined Pompilia was thus instinct with reminiscence; it was, with all its abounding vitality,

⁴² *The Pope*, 1950-1951.

⁴³ *The Ring and the Book*, 580-587.

yet commemorative and memorial; and we understand how Browning, no friend of the conventions of poetic art, entered on and closed his giant task with an invocation to the "Lyric" Love, as it were the Urania, or heavenly Muse, of a modern epic.⁴⁴

Browning's naturally keen chivalrous instinct would be sufficient by itself to account for an inclination to disregard evidence discreditable to his heroine, and to dwell on her more attractive characteristics as the child-victim of hideous injustice. To think evil of her, unless it were compulsory, would have seemed to him vulgar and mean. And if she was innocent, then to make of her the angelic lady of his masterpiece was not to distort the facts:

Fancy with fact is just one fact the more.⁴⁵

Is not such an innocent creature a potential angel? Surely the poet has a right to actualize that potentiality, which, with his superior vision, he sees as the truth of her being—not indeed the whole truth, but the better part of the truth, the truth that it is important to relate:

No dose of purer truth than man digests,
But truth with falsehood, milk that feeds him now.⁴⁶

It is generally held that the analogy between himself and Mrs. Browning on the one hand, and Caponsacchi and Pompilia on the other, together with the poet's adoring memory of his wife, are adequate to explain his transformation of the two latter persons. There is, however, another analogy, involving another pair of lovers, which helps to complete the explanation by throwing a light of its own on the peculiarly transcendental qualities with which both Pompilia and Browning's "Lyric Love" are invested: I mean the analogy with Dante and Beatrice.

Beatrice was pale, with the colour of pearls,⁴⁷ and it has been thought, perhaps mistakenly, that this circumstance was

⁴⁴ C. H. Herford, *Robert Browning*, London, Blackford, 1915, pp. 170-171. Cf. also Mr. Hodell in *O. Y. B.*, p. 181, where he quotes Mrs. Orr as expressing her conviction that "Mrs. Browning's spiritual presence" "entered largely into the conception of Pompilia."

⁴⁵ *The Ring and the Book*, 464.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 830-831.

⁴⁷ Cf. Dante, *Vita Nuova*, XIX, 13. *Le opere di Dante*, Testo critico, Firenze, 1921.

the symptom of a frail constitution. Nathaniel Hawthorne described Mrs. Browning as "a pale, small person, scarcely embodied at all," and Browning told Domett that the description was "very good and correct."⁴⁸ Pompilia's was "A flower-like body, to frighten at a bruise."⁴⁹ Gentleness is the chief quality of all three ladies, they do not laugh, they smile rarely:

What she is like when she a little smiles
Cannot be told or harboured in the mind⁵⁰

says Dante, and Browning:

Some benediction anciently thy smile⁵¹

and

Little Pompilia, with the patient brow
and lamentable smile⁵²

All three ladies are symbols of love triumphantly revealing truth: Beatrice is called "Amore" by Love himself; Browning's lady is "Lyric Love," Pompilia is like the flower that

. . . . breaks all into a blaze,
Spreads itself, one wide glory of desire
To incorporate the whole great sun it loves
From the inch-height whence it looks and longs.⁵³

Dante and Browning had each parted with the object of his love and the source of his inspiration, but each had found her again in heaven; the attitude of the one poet in the dedication of *The Ring and the Book* is that of the other in the last chapters of the *Vita Nuova*. The words

. . . . raising hand and head
Thither where eyes, that cannot reach, yet yearn
Their utmost up and on⁵⁴

seem to be an echo of those of Dante's sonnet beginning:

Beyond the sphere that widest whirls
Passes the sigh that issues from my heart:
A fresh intelligence renewed with tears
By Love still bears it ever on and up.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Griffin, W. H. and Minchin, H. C. *The Life of Robert Browning*, London, 1910, p. 229.

⁴⁹ *The Other Half-Rome*, 5.

⁵⁰ *Vita Nuova*, ed. cit. XXI, 4.

⁵¹ *The Ring and the Book*, 1409.

⁵² *The Other Half-Rome*, 2-3.

⁵³ *The Pope*, 1042-1044.

⁵⁴ *The Ring and the Book*, 1405-1414.

⁵⁵ *Vita Nuova*, ed. cit., XLI (XLII) 10.

Each is confident that his love will "hearken from the realms of help" and give comfort to his widowed life:

. . . . with bent head and beseeching hand—
That still, despite the distance and the dark,
What was, again may be; some interchange
Of grace, some splendour once thy very thought,
Some benediction anciently thy smile;⁵⁶

But whatsoever my condition be
My lady sees it too, and I still hope
For grace from her.⁵⁷

Then, as I weep, my only mourning is
To call on Beatrice and say: Now art thou dead?
And while I call on her she comforts me.⁵⁸

Apart from the inferences I have been drawing, it is certain that the association of Beatrice with Mrs. Browning was present to the poet's mind while he was ruminating over the *Old Yellow Book*, for in a letter written in 1876 he says:

. . . . Dante wrote what I will transcribe from my wife's Testament wherein I recorded it fourteen years ago, "Thus I believe, thus I affirm, thus I am certain it is, that from this life I shall pass to another, there, where that lady lives of whom my soul was enamoured."⁵⁹

Fourteen years before 1876 is 1862, some months after the death of Mrs. Browning, and in September of that year he writes of "my new poem that is about to be; and of which the whole is pretty well in my head—the Roman murder story, you know."⁶⁰

All that we know, beyond what Dante himself tells us about his Beatrice, is that her name was Bice Portinari, and we know the name of her father and her husband, but Beatrice lives for us in his works as a creature half human and half angelic,⁶¹ the means of God's saving grace to the favoured poet, and the symbol of truth revealed by Love. From the historical Bice,

⁵⁶ *The Ring and the Book*, 1405-1409.

⁵⁷ *Vita Nuova*, ed. cit., XXXI (XXXII) 16.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXI (XXXII) 14.

⁵⁹ Cf. Griffin and Minchin, *op. cit.*, p. 297. The citation is from Dante's *Convivio*, ed. cit., II, VIII (IX) 16.

⁶⁰ Cf. Hodell, *O. Y. B.*, p. 237.

⁶¹ In *Convivio*, ed. cit., III, VII, 6-7, Dante proves on scientific grounds that there must be such creatures, since otherwise the hierarchy of denizens of the universe would be imperfect.

who was no more than human, Dante made "a thing come down from heaven to earth to show a miracle,"⁶² and just as Beatrice descended from heaven to hell to save her lover, Browning's lady, who is "half angel" and

All a wonder and a wild desire⁶³

is ready at "the first summons from the darkling earth"

. . . . to drop down,

To toil for man, to suffer or to die.⁶⁴

From the historical Francesca Pompilia, full of human weaknesses, Browning made a creature who is

The glory of life, the beauty of the world

The splendour of heaven⁶⁵

In building the character of Pompilia, however, Browning was not imitating Dante, and if the three ladies, Beatrice, "Lyric Love," and Pompilia dwelt together in his mind as he planned *The Ring and the Book* it was, I think, because of a community of belief between him and the Italian poet, a bond of sympathy which was of long standing, and which explains not merely the characters of Pompilia and Caponsacchi but that of Guido Franceschini and the whole poem. For *The Ring and the Book* is the dramatic exposition of Browning's theory of love, which is the most important part of his philosophy, and this theory of love is fundamentally identical with that of Dante.

Browning's theory of Love, which has been so often and so well explained⁶⁶ that the briefest possible summary of it is all that is needed here, is as follows:

1. Love of the good in all things is instinctive in human beings (as well as in other creatures) because it is derived from God who is the Supreme Good. The creation was the expression of the Love of God, and all the creatures of His universe have in them a divine element which tends to return to its source.

⁶² *Vita Nuova*, ed. cit., XXVI, 6.

⁶³ *The Ring and the Book*, 1391-1392.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1399-1400.

⁶⁵ *Giuseppe Caponsacchi*, 118-119 and 919.

⁶⁶ Especially in the admirable work of Sir Henry Jones, *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*, Glasgow, 1896.

That tendency is love and it manifests itself in growth. The creature, therefore, loving the Supreme Good instinctively, reaches after those forms of that good which it can comprehend, and so grows.

2. The struggle between good and evil in human lives is the growth of the divine element in man. There is no love of evil in itself, but, although loving the supreme good instinctively, man actively seeks only the good that he can comprehend. As his knowledge of good increases, he discards the inferior form of good for the superior. As soon as the superior form is comprehended, the inferior form becomes evil. Evil is therefore only the negative side of good,—the inferior good recognized as inferior in the light of the comprehension of the superior good. To comprehend the superior good and nevertheless to cling to the inferior is to cease to grow and to begin to degenerate.

3. Knowledge of good and evil—which is evidently necessary to growth—is not something separate from that growth, supplied by the intellect: it is an essential part of the growth. The human soul is by definition loving and intelligent at the same time and in the same degree. He who loves most knows most and vice versa. Knowledge that seems to be supplied by the discursive reason without love, is illusory. The will chooses between good and evil guided by instinctive knowledge. Knowledge, therefore, is properly, only the name of one of the qualities of love.

4. The nature of anything growing should be judged by the perfection to which it is tending, not by any of the stages or by the first appearance of growth. Accordingly we should say that matter, from which all things develop, is divine, and not that man is mere matter. And love, even in its humble stages, is love for God.

The above four statements, incomplete and summary as they are, will, I think, be admitted to contain the most important parts of Browning's doctrine of Love. As representing Dante's theory, the following citations and references are, I hope, sufficient to show its correspondence with that of Browning:

1. Not to acquire advantage for Himself,
—Which cannot be—but only that His light,
By simply flashing forth, might say "I am,"
In His eternity devoid of time,

Beyond all understanding, as He pleased,
Into new loves burst forth the Eternal Love.⁶⁷

That which may die, and that which dieth not,
Are nothing but the sheen of that idea
Of which our Lord, by loving, is delivered.⁶⁸

Your life is breathed forth by the Supreme Good,
And is by Him so powerfully enamoured
That ever after it must long for Him.⁶⁹

Every substantial form proceeds from its first cause, which is God. . . . Wherefore, because every effect retains something of the nature of its cause . . . every form must in some way be of a divine nature. . . . And the more noble the form the more it possesses of this nature, so that the human soul which is the most noble of these forms generated under heaven, receives more of the divine nature than any other. And since it is most natural in God that He desires to be . . . the human soul naturally, with all its desire, desires to be; and because its being depends on God and is in that way preserved, it naturally desires to be united to God in order to fortify its being. . . . And this union is that which we call Love. . . .⁷⁰

The greatest desire which every thing has, and the first desire instilled in it by Nature, is to return to its origin. And because God is the origin of our souls, and the maker of them like to Himself, . . . the soul chiefly desires to return to Him.⁷¹

2. From the divine goodness sown and infused in us at the beginning of our generation sprouts a young shoot which the Greeks call "hormen," that is the natural appetite of the soul.⁷²

I say therefore that at first it loves itself, although vaguely; then it begins to distinguish those things which are more and less loveable and more and less hateful, and so pursues and flees from these things, according as its understanding distinguishes. . . .⁷³

. . . this divine seed . . . sprouts at once in our soul, shooting forth and spreading through every faculty of the soul according to the requirements of those faculties . . . ; and it branches out through the virtues of them all, directing them all to their perfections and ever sustaining itself in them, until, with that part of our soul which never dies, it returns to the most high and most glorious heavenly sower.⁷⁴

And like a pilgrim who goes along a way by which he has never been before, who thinks that every house he sees in the distance is

⁶⁷ *Paradiso*, XXIX, 13-18.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII, 52-54.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, 142-144.

⁷⁰ *Convivio*, ed. cit., III, II, 4-9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XII, 14.

⁷² *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XXII, 4.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XXII, 7.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XXIII, 3.

his inn, and when he finds it is not so directs his trust to the next one, and so from house to house, until he comes to the inn; so our soul, as soon as she enters upon the new and untried way of this life, directs her eyes to the bourne of her highest good, and so whatever thing she sees that seems to have some good in it, she thinks that that is it. And because her knowledge is at first imperfect, since she is inexperienced and unlearned, small goods seem great to her, and therefore she begins by desiring these.⁷⁶

3. And as soon as it [the human soul] is produced, it receives from the virtue of the mover of the heaven the *possible intellect*. . . .⁷⁶
 . . . the first and most noble shoot that sprouts from this seed, to bring forth fruit, is the appetite of the soul which in Greek is called "hormen." ⁷⁷

The purpose of the last two citations is to show that since it is from the "*possible intellect*" that springs the "appetite of the soul," this appetite, i. e., the love of the good, is an intellectual appetite, and, conversely, the "possible intellect" is a loving intellect. Knowledge and love are therefore identified. This "natural appetite of the soul," as Dante calls it in *Convivio* IV, XXII, 4 (one of the passages cited above under No. 2) is the instinctive love of the good, which, in the *Purgatorio*, he distinguishes from other specific good and bad desires. It is the function of the will to make these other desires accord with the instinctive love of the good:

Every substantial form of either kind,
 Severed from matter or united with it,
 Has a specific power within itself
 Which only in its acts can be perceived,
 And gives no sign except in its effects:
 So only leaves can show the tree's alive.
 Therefore whence comes the comprehension of
 The first known things, no human being can tell,
 Nor whence the first desire of things first craved:⁷⁸
 These are in you as in the busy bee
 The zeal for making honey, a desire
 Too simple to deserve or praise or blame.
 Now, so that all the others may agree
 With this said power, you have the power of choice,

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XII, 15-16. ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XXI, 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XXI, 13.

⁷⁸ Notice that knowledge and love are united in the instinctive faculty that is being described.

Which should be throned upon your judgment seat.
This is the principle whence you derive
The right to be or not rewarded, as
It sifts and chooses good and evil loves.⁷⁹

4. . . . everything, providentially directed by its nature has an inclination toward its own peculiar perfection⁸⁰

The philosopher has this perfection in mind when he says, in the seventh book of the *Physics*: "Everything is most perfect when it touches and reaches its peculiar virtue, and it is then most in agreement with its nature; . . . [e. g., the peculiar virtue of a circle is to be round, and when a circle is completely round it has reached its perfection, and then it is most natural.]"⁸¹

The above meagre extracts from Dante's works will perhaps suffice to demonstrate the resemblance between his theory of love and that of Browning, but they fail to convey any adequate idea of the importance of the theory, which is the chief subject of the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convivio* and the *Divine Comedy*, just as the bare statement I have made of Browning's doctrine fails to show the importance of love in his philosophy. Of the English poet, Sir Henry Jones says: ". . . in one thing Browning stands alone. He has given to love a moral significance, a place and power amongst the substantial elements in which rest the dignity of man's being, and the greatness of his destiny, in a way which is, I believe, without example in any other poet."⁸² True words if spoken of modern writers, but as far as others are concerned the same could be said of Dante with strict propriety. Love is the subject with which he begins his literary career; his theory of love explains to him all the relation between God and His creatures—the plan of God in the universe, the penalties of the damned, the purgation of the saved, the happiness of the blessed—; love is the subject of the last sentence he wrote: "The Love that moves the sun and the other stars."⁸³

Hitherto I have spoken only of the fundamental principles in the two theories of love, but the remarkable feature that the two have in common is the extraordinary importance of sexual love.

It was the Provençal poets who first realized the ennobling influence of love for woman; built on that discovery their

⁷⁹ *Purgatorio*, XVIII, 49-66.

⁸⁰ *Convivio*, ed. cit., I, I, 1.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., IV, XVI, 7.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁸³ *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 144.

artificial system of courtly love modelled on feudal service, and taught chivalry to the world. The Italians received the tradition in the thirteenth century, but at first without understanding it. Among them sexual love had always been thought of as sensual, and even in those Provençal poems in which the fine rare plant of unselfish love still subsisted, it had already been overgrown and almost choked by the luxuriant growth of artificial ornament. But the discovery was, after a while, repeated by the Italians. Poets capable of appreciating the potentiality of unselfish sexual love, found in their new philosophical and religious studies, in the commentaries on Aristotle and the writings of Augustine and the Franciscan theologians, a light by which they interpreted its meaning: they found in the love of woman the love of God.

Dante was the greatest of these poets, and he succeeded in framing a philosophical theory of love, in which the love of woman was the most important feature. His belief in the essential unity of love in the universe conferred dignity on all its manifestations, and sexual love,—which in animals is mere fleshly lust, but in man is always suffused with spirit,—was to him only a stage on the way to the conscious love of the highest good. Even sensual love may grow into a spiritual passion, and this explains why we find that notorious magdalen Cunizza da Romano safe and happy in the heaven of lovers together with the Provençal troubadour Folquet. And in the *Vita Nuova* he traced the growth of the idea in himself, from a reverent admiration for one woman, accompanied by lighter loves for others, to an unselfish human passion for the one, and then to an adoring worship of her as the means of God's grace to him. So, in the *Ring and the Book*, did Caponsacchi who, like Dante, was a naturally religious-minded youth, turn from his frivolous worldly loves to the one devotion which summoned all the good in him, and which became a worshipping mystical passion for the lady who seemed to him so like "our lady of the sorrows."⁸⁴ "Discedunt nunc amores, maneat amor" says Browning quoting

⁸⁴ Cf. *Giuseppe Caponsacchi*, 1193-94: "You know this is not love, Sirs, —it is faith, The feeling that there's God,"

⁸⁵ *Juris Doctor Johannes Baptista Bottinius*, 240-241.

Catullus,⁸⁵ and so to Dante Love says: "Fili mi, tempus est ut pretermittantur simulacra nostra."⁸⁶

There can hardly be any doubt that Browning was well acquainted with Provençal poetry and with the early Italian poets who preceded Dante, or that he knew the history of that idea which has given to the literature of modern languages its chief subject—the ennobling power of sexual love—a concept foreign to the classical literature. He had, I think, the history of that idea in mind when, in *Paracelsus*, he made "Aprile an Italian poet" the exponent of life for love, opposed to Paracelsus himself and his life for knowledge. And when he writes his dedication of *The Ring and the Book*:

O lyric Love, half-angel and half-bird
And all a wonder and a wild desire, —
Boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun,
Took sanctuary within the holier blue,
And sang a kindred soul out to his face, —
Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart —
When the first summons from the darkling earth
Reached thee amid thy chambers, blanced their blue,
And bared them of the glory — to drop down,
To toil for man, to suffer or to die,—⁸⁷

he is thinking of an illustration famous in Provençal and Italian poetry, that of the lark which soars fast and high to meet the sun, is almost lost to sight in the blue of the sky, and then swoops almost vertically to earth again.⁸⁸ The name "Lyric love" too is what the Provençals called a "senhal," and it is almost the same as "Amore," the "senhal" which Dante uses for Beatrice.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ *Vita Nuova*, ed. cit., XII, 3. Professor Herford, (*op. cit.*, pp. 175-176), incidentally compares Caponsacchi to Dante, but he speaks of Dante's worldliness after the death of Beatrice, which is not appropriate to the comparison. He mentions appropriately, however, the saying of Caponsacchi (*G. Capons*. 457-58): "I doubt much if Marino really be A better bard than Dante after all."

⁸⁷ *The Ring and the Book*, 1391-1400.

⁸⁸ Cf. Bernard de Ventadorn, "Quant vey la lauzeta"; Bondie Dietaiuti in *Rime antiche volgari* ed. D'Ancona e Compareschi, II, 366; and Dante in *Paradiso*, XX, 73-75. In *Sordello*, VI, 866, Browning calls the lark "God's own poet."

⁸⁹ Cf. *Vita Nuova*, ed. cit., XXIV, 5. It may be a coincidence that just as Dante, in the *Divine Comedy*, introduces each of his "cantiche" with a prologue,

I do not believe that Browning learned his theory of love from the works of Dante or from any works of literature, but I believe he absorbed all of Dante's theory early in life, and assimilated all of it that was not peculiarly mediæval. In a letter to Miss Barrett, written before their marriage, he says of Dante "I have all of him in my head and heart."⁹⁰ Browning's theory was his own, embedded in his optimistic philosophy and the most important part of that philosophy, which was modern and evolutionary. But he was well aware of how much he had in common with the Italian poet, and when he saw in *The Old Yellow Book* the opportunity to dramatize the struggle of good and evil among men on a larger scale than ever before, and to glorify the triumph of good by means of unselfish love, he was conscious of the tradition of ennobling love for woman which had been handed down by the distinguished line of mediæval poets, and best of all by Dante. That tradition taught its precious truth by means of an æsthetic lie.⁹¹ with the authority of Aristotle: the truth was not endangered by the lie; it was made to shine forth from the transfigured facts, which otherwise would have obscured it. Granted the truth of Browning's and Dante's theory of love, it was inevitable that the facts of *The Old Yellow Book* should be transfigured so as to illustrate that truth; it was reasonable that new persons like the two Half-Romes and Tertium Quid⁹² should rise from the welter of fact and opinion to cast their light on the emerging truth, and that small dates and incidents should become relatively

consisting of an explanation of the contents of the whole poem, followed by an invocation, (a procedure which he justifies in his epistle to Can Grande (*Epistole*, ed. cit., XIII (X) 46-48) so Browning introduces his poem by a prologue—the first book—in which the description of the contents of the poem is followed by an invocation. Cf. E. H. Wilkins, *The Prologue of the Divine Comedy* in *Annual Reports of the Dante Society*. Cambridge, Mass., 1925.

⁹⁰ Letter of May 3rd, 1845.

⁹¹ ". . . una veritate ascosa sotto bella menzogna . . ." *Convivio*, ed. cit., II, I, 3.

⁹² Cf. Plato's *Tirnaeus*, VII, transl. by Archer Hind; "But it is not possible for two things to be fairly united without a third for they need a bond between them which shall join them both." Cicero's translation is: "Omnia duo ad cohaerendum tertium aliquid requirunt."

insignificant. The great poetical tradition which made a Beatrice of Bice, made of Pompilia too a "donna angelicata."⁸³

J. E. SHAW

* Mr. George Willis Cooke in *Browning's Theory of Romantic Love* (The Boston Browning Society Papers, New York, 1897) notes resemblances between Browning's idea of love and those of Plato, Dante, and Petrarch, but does not estimate the influence of any of the latter three. He does not forget that Plato ignores sexual love, but he does not remind us that Plato's writings were unknown to Dante, except perhaps the *Timaeus*. Browning's view of love, like Dante's, is neoplatonic rather than Platonic, and nothing that is peculiar to Petrarch finds any echo in Browning. I have not seen Mr. Cooke's earlier essay: *Browning's Interpretation of Romantic Love, etc.* in *Poet Love*, VI (1894), p. 225 ff.

II.

THE LYRIC INNOVATIONS OF GIOVANNI DELLA CASA

OF DELLA CASA'S life (1503-1556), little need here be said. Brought up in Florence and educated at Bologna, at first he showed, though a keen student, more interest in the amusements than in the serious things of life. In his middle twenties he went to Rome, where he continued his study of the classics and developed still further his aptitude for gaiety. A taste for high life and for classic study led inevitably to the church: at the age of thirty-one he definitely embarked on an ecclesiastical career, held various offices and commissions under different popes, and divided his time between Venice, Florence, and Rome. Towards the end of his life he became secretary of state to Paul IV, but was never made a cardinal. He was always interested in letters, was a member of various academies both gay and learned, and wrote much both in Latin and Italian, prose and verse.¹

His Italian lyrics have always been considered among the best of the century. Already in 1542 they were so regarded by Alessandro Piccolomini in his volume *De la Institutione Di Tutta La Vita De L'Homo Nato Nobile E In Città Libera*, which comprised, according to the subtitle, *Libri X. In Lingua Toscana. Dove e Peripateticamente e Platonicamente, intorno à le cose de l'Ethica, Iconomica, e parte de la Politica, è raccolta la somma di quanto principalmente può concorrere a la perfetta e felice vita di quello*.^{1a} In this work, the well-bred man is instructed to make some practice of the vernacular poetry, in order that "non molto spesso, ma con qualche occasione occorrendo, sappia comporre un Sonetto, una Canzone, un'Ode, o alcune poche Stanze, che ne mostrin la vivezza de lo spirito che in se possiede,"²

¹ For biographical material, see the *Lettera* of Gio: Batista Casotti in *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni Della Casa*, Venezia, 1728, V, 95-159. Also Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Milano, 1833, IV, 141); A. D'Anncona ed. O. Bacci, *Manuale della Lett. Ital.*, Firenze, 1910, II, 633-634; etc.

^{1a} Completed by 1540, this work was first printed, apparently, in 1542.

² *Op. cit.*, 2nd. ed., *Venetiis, apud Hieronymum Scotum* MDXLIII, f. 45.

and in that connection, Piccolomini soon afterward declares, ". . . giovando in tal cosa come ne l'altre, l'imitatione, giudico, che oltra il Petrarca, in questi tempi le rime del Bembo, del Molza, di M. Giovanni de la Casa, . . . e simili altri bellissimi ingegni, sien sommamente imitabili."³ And not long after Piccolomini so judged, the well-known Benedetto Varchi hailed Della Casa, in sonnet after sonnet, as a second Bembo:⁴ at a time when, lyrically speaking, "there was no god but Petrarch and Bembo was his prophet," this was high praise indeed. In the same decade Varchi took one of Della Casa's lyrics for the text of his lecture on Jealousy;⁵ and later in the century a greater than Varchi, Torquato Tasso, centered about another Della Casa poem a dialogue on Italian verse, in which it appears that what arouses admiration is the earlier poet's brilliant choice of the sestet rhyme scheme *cdecdec* in his sonnet rather than (for example) *cdecde*, and his marvellous genius in ending the poem with a potently sonorous word *opre* rather than with such a trivially thin one as *intese*: beauty of thought, fineness of phrase, or originality of any kind, Tasso hardly seems to have considered.⁶

And many others talked or wrote of Della Casa's poetry, always with eager praise;⁷ but, save for Tasso's rather strange detail, few of the earlier critics made their enthusiasm in any way specific. All noted that his poetry was great; none showed with any clarity wherein its greatness lay. This it remained for later writers to decide.

The modern critics here show no uncertainty: all are agreed that Della Casa's chief importance was as an innovator in lyric

³ *Ibid.*, f. 45v.

⁴ *De Sonetti di M. Benedetto Varchi, Parte prima, Fiorenza, MDLV*: p. 112, "Bembo novello . . ."; p. 113, "Bembo Toscano . . ."; etc.

⁵ *Lettura di Messer Benedetto Varchi . . . etc.*, afterwards printed (Mantua, 1545) with a dedication by Francesco Sansovino to that poetess of disputed character, Gaspara Stampa.

⁶ Torquato Tasso, *La Cavaletta, ovvero della poesia toscana* (e. g. in *Dialoghi di Torquato Tasso*, Pisa, 1822, I, 262 ff.), *passim*.

⁷ E. g. Alessandro Guarini, who in 1599 gave a lecture to the Accademia degli Invaghiti at Mantua on Della Casa's sonnet *Doglia che vaga Donna . . .*; Francesco India, "Dottor Medico e Filosofo Veronese," who read to the Accademici Ricovrati di Padova a *Discorso Sopra il Sonetto "Questa vita mortal . . ."*, subsequently printed in Verona, 1602; Orazio Marta, who in 1616 wrote a *Parallelo tra Mes. Francesco Petrarca e Mons. Gio. Della Casa . . .*, deducing the superiority of the latter; etc., etc.

form. If, to some of us, his main significance lies in the undoubted influence he exercised on John Milton, who closely studied a copy of the *Rime e Prose* which he bought in 1629 for tenpence,⁸ in this connection too Della Casa's most striking feature is said to be his bold departure, especially in the sonnet, from the accepted metrical principles of his day.

D'Ancona and Bacci note in him "lo studio industrioso di nuove forme, specie nel sonetto."⁹ These *nuove forme* cannot refer to matters of rhyme scheme, for Della Casa was rather conservative in this. He used three octave types (*abbaabba*, *abababab*, and *ababbaba*), and six sestet types (*cdcdcd*, *cdccdc*, *cdecde*, *cdecdd*, *cdedce*, and *cdedec*); while the lyric leader of the century, Pietro Bembo, was using (or had used) four forms in the octave, adding *ababbaab* to Della Casa's list, and ten in the sestet; including *cdcdcc*, *cdcdcd*, *cdcdcd*, and *cdcedc*, which Della Casa never employed. Della Casa thus brought in no novel rhyme schemes: what then were his *nuove forme*?

Flamini is specific on the point. In his invaluable literary history of the *Cinquecento*, he declares that "la sua gloria . . . non gli viene se non dallo studio industrioso di novità stilistiche"; and these consisted, he implies, in "l'allacciamento dei versi per via d'interne spezzature che non coincidono con le pause fissate dall'uso; qualche cosa come le *enjambements* de' Francesi."¹⁰ Guido Mazzoni, again, in his chapter on *La Lirica nel Cinquecento* writes that in Petrarch's sonnets

l'orecchio squisito del maestro aveva fissate le pause, con rispondenza continua tra il ritmo e la sintassi, il suono ed il pensiero Onde dovè apparire al Della Casa un gran fatto quando osò, contro le pause determinate dagli esemplari e dall'uso, svolgere i suoi periodi, nel sonetto, dall'una all'altra quartina, dalle quartine nelle terzine, e rompere il verso con quello che i romantici francesi chiamarono, in una riforma consimile, gli *enjambements*.¹¹

⁸ Cf. John S. Smart, *The sonnets of John Milton*, Glasgow, 1921, p. 33, footnote. Milton's copy of the *Rime* is said to be now in the New York Public Library. See the *N. Y. Literary Review*, June 25, 1921, p. 2.

⁹ *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze, 1910, II, 634.

¹⁰ F. Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, Milano, [1902], p. 190.

¹¹ G. Mazzoni, *Glorie e Memorie dell'Arte e della Civiltà d'Italia*, Firenze, 1905, pp. 163-164. The chapter *La Lirica nel Cinquecento* has, however, appeared in other volumes both before and after 1905: it is included in the volume of lectures by various scholars *La Vita Italiana nel Cinquecento*, published by Treves, Milano, "Nono miglajo" [1919], pp. 268-301; the lines quoted above occurring on pp. 287-288.

And most recently Professor John S. Smart, in his volume on Milton's sonnets, states that "In the composition of the sonnet Della Casa deliberately broke with the Petrarchian tradition of regularity and smoothness His sentences ignore the bounds of metre, passing imperceptibly from line to line, and ending abruptly where an ear attuned to Petrarch's modulations might least have expected."¹²

Quid plura? Every modern writer who has touched on the point says the same thing in words that hardly vary. Crescimbeni seems to have first voiced the notion, and it is from him, doubtless, that the later critics all derive.

Della Casa quando conosceva esser troppo ardui e difficili i battuti sentieri, per poco deviando dalla dolcezza del Petrarca a un novello stile diede principio, col quale le sue rime compose, intendendo sopra il tutto alla gravità; per conseguir la quale, si valse specialmente del carattere aspro, e de' raggirati periodi e rotondi, insino a condurre uno stesso sentimento d'uno in altro quadernario, e d'uno in altro terzetto, cosa in prima da alcuno non più tentata.¹³

And as we read Della Casa's sonnets with these dicta in mind, we cannot fail to note that his verses do run over both from line to line and between quatrains and tercets. The fact is manifest and unquestionable; but is it equally true that this was "cosa in prima da alcuno non piu tentata"? Was Della Casa in his enjambments (as literary historians unanimously declare him to have been) really a great and fearless innovator?

In the first place, what do we know of his character? It is true he made a bold and outspoken Papal legate when it was a matter of prosecuting the haplessly heretical Vergerio at Venice; but his letters paint him for us as a singularly timid person when it came to sonneteering.¹⁴ "Sono molto pauroso

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff. In the course of this passage Professor Smart also quotes (in translation) the lines already cited from Mazzoni.

¹³ G. M. Crescimbeni, *Istoria della Volgar Poesia*, Venezia, 1703-1731, II, i, 410.

¹⁴ He would probably have been still more timid could he have foreseen that his *Rime* (possibly on account of his youthful licentious *Capitolo del Forno*, though it was not included in this eminently harmless volume) were destined to be put on the *Index* by the difficult Pius IV in 1558, the year they were first printed, two years after Della Casa died. Bernardo Tasso complained (*Lettere*, Padova, 1733, II, 419) that the Pope's prohibition made it irritatingly difficult to get hold of a copy; it appears, however, that in the sixteenth century a thing prohibited could be purchased by payment of an artificially exorbitant price.

nelle mie magre poesie,"¹⁵ he writes in one of them; and he constantly urges his correspondents to correct his sonnets for him, but not to let other people see them. "Harò caro che siano tenute nascoste le mie vergogne a tutti gli altri, & a me mostre, accioche io le possa o emendar' o ricoprire"¹⁶ he states; and again of other sonnets "io vi voglio dire perche mi spiacciano accio che si possino aiutar da chi lo sa fare."¹⁷ In other letters he expresses his readiness to correct a phrase that did not please his reader;¹⁸ declares that if his correspondent wishes a different wording the change is to be made;¹⁹ expresses satisfaction with alterations that a friend had made for him;²⁰ or declares that he is dissatisfied with one of his sonnets and wants help with it.²¹ In these passages, and many others, he paints himself (in all the clarity of unconsciousness) as a poet of great diffidence, a man ready, nay eager, to accept at the hands of others alterations and corrections in his verses. Can this be the bold metrical crusader of our critics? If so, how came he to invent these innovations? Was there anything that could encourage him in this *gran fatto* when he "deliberately broke with the Petrarchian"?

Indeed there was, though modern scholars seem to have overlooked it. In his prosecution of Vergerio, it was doubtless the power of the Pope behind him that gave courage to his steps. In his enjambments, greater and less, he had even more authority, poetically, to back him. For both the god and the prophet of Cinquecento lyricism had marked as orthodox this "allacciamento dei versi per via d'interne spezzature": Petrarch and Bembo both had run verse into verse, quatrain into quatrain, tercet into tercet, and so following, just as definitely, and not much less frequently than did Della Casa. Professor Smart quotes the latter's sonnet *Si lieta avess' io l'alma . . .* as one of the most noticeable examples of a "striking departure" of his, "where the major pause vanishes, and a principal verb in the first tercet responds to its subject in the second quatrain."²² For this, however, Della Casa had exact authority in Petrarch's sonnet *Da' più begli occhi . . .*, of which the second quatrain and the first tercet run thus:

¹⁵ Della Casa, *Opere*, ed. cit., III, 178.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 234.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 280.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 231.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 230.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 234.

²² *Loc. cit.*

Dalle man, dalle braccia che conquiso,
 Senza moversi avrian quai più ribelli
 Fur d'Amor mai, da' più bei piedi snelli,
 Dalla persona fatta in paradiso,
 Prendean vita i miei spirit: or n' ha diletto
 Il re celeste, i suo' alati corrieri;
 Ed io son qui rimasto ignudo e cieco.

And to add to this, Bembo, the prophet of Petrarch, gave him further precedent in his sonnet *Se de le mie ricchezze*:

Io stesso mi disarmo: e queste piante
 Avezze a gir pur la, dov' io scopriessi
 Quegli occhi vaghi, e l'harmonia sentissi
 De le parole sì soavi e sante,
 Lungi da lei di mio voler sen vanno.
 Lasso, chi mi darà, Bernardo, aita?
 O chi m' acqueterà, quand' io m' affanno?

For running over from tercet to tercet, Della Casa found his models in Petrarch's *Vinse Annibal* sonnet:

Mentre 'l novo dolor dunque l'accora,
 Non riponete l'onorata spada,
 Anzi seguite là dove vi chiama
 Vostra fortuna, dritto per la strada
 Che vi può dar, dopo la morte ancora
 Mille e mill' anni, al mondo onore e fama.

and in Bembo's *Navajer mio*, :

Grave duol certo: pur io mi consolo,
 Ch' or ti diporti con quell' alme antiche,
 Che tanto amasti: e teco è 'l buono e saggio
 Savorgnan, che contese a le nemiche
 Schiere il suo monte, e fu d'alto coraggio,
 E poco inanzi a te prese il suo volo.

while run-overs between the quatrains he could see in Petrarch's *E' mi par d' or in ora udire il messo*, or Bembo's *Poi che 'l vostr' alto ingegno*.

As for simple enjambment from line to line, both Petrarch and Bembo provided many examples for the poet to follow. Petrarch had written:

Libere in pace passavan per questa
 Vita mortal,²³

²³ A piè de' colli vv. 5-6.

Son animali al mondo di sì altera
 Vista, che²⁴
 E così avvien che l'animo ciascuna
 Sua passion sotto 'l contrario manto
 Ricopre²⁵
 Or mi ritrovo pien di sì diversi
 Piaceri,²⁶
 Lasso, ben veggio in che stato son queste
 Vane speranze,²⁷
 Come sembante stella ebbe con questo
 Novo fior d'onestate²⁸
 Al volto, a quell' angelica modesta
 Voce,²⁹
 Dov' è chi morte e vita insieme spese
 Volte in frate bilancia appende³⁰
 Se quell' aura soave de' sospiri
 Ch' i' odo di colei che qui fu mia
 Donna,³¹

and Bembo:

Cingi le costui tempie de l'amato
 Da te già in volto umano arboscel, poi
 Ch' ella sorvola i più leggiadri tuoi
 Poeti, col suo verso alto e purgato.³²
 E se non più per tempo, o del presente
 Secolo speme,³³
 De le fatiche mie, che 'l dolce e scorto
 Vostro stil tanto onora;³⁴
 Contento pur di quel che solo il nostro
 Semplice stato e natural conservi.
 O alma in cui riluce il casto e saggio
 Secolo, quando³⁵

²⁴ *Son animali* vv. 1-2.

²⁵ *Cesare, poi che* vv. 9-10.

²⁶ *La donna che 'l mio cor* vv. 12-13.

²⁷ *Amor, Natura* vv. 13-14.

²⁸ *Se Virgilio ed Omero* vv. 10-11.

²⁹ *Repensando a quel* vv. 3-4.

³⁰ *L'aura soave* vv. 7-8.

³¹ *Se quell'aura soave* vv. 1-3.

³² *Cingi* etc. vv. 1-4.

³³ *Perchè sia forse* vv. 5-6.

³⁴ *Così mi renda il cor* vv. 6-7.

³⁵ *Trifon, che 'n vece* vv. 7-10.

Ma non la cange poi chiara od oscura
Vista del ciel³⁶

So one might continue at length. To be briefly mathematical, Della Casa has in five instances no stop at all between quatrain and quatrain, quatrain and tercet, or tercet and tercet, and in eighteen cases a comma only: Petrarch had seven cases of the former and fifty-eight of the latter. Of the one indisputable form of enjambment—that in which a noun is in one line and an adjective qualifying it (but not in apposition nor as predicate)³⁷ is in the next—Della Casa has thirty-three cases, Petrarch had thirty-seven. In short, Della Casa, “quando osò . . . svolgere i suoi periodi, nel sonetto, dall’ una all’ altra quartina, dalle quartine nelle terzine, e rompere il verso con quello che i romantici francesi chiamarono . . . gli *enjambements*,” was (with all apologies to the modern critics) simply being thoroughly Petrarchan, and following closely in the footsteps of the master’s prophet, Bembo, who had also frequently done all these things.

If it were possible to hold this freeing of sense period from metrical division as in any sense an innovation, then the bold innovator was not Della Casa, but that much maligned worthy, Pietro Bembo. It was, however, merely a return to Petrarch’s practice.³⁸

In concluding, we must note that, even if our analysis has given results somewhat at variance with the ideas of all the modern critics, we too, like Della Casa, are only spurious innovators. For almost two and a half centuries ago, if Bartolommeo Gamba is to be relied upon,³⁹ the youthful Antonfederigo Seghezzi composed a critical dialogue which he put

³⁶ *Se vuoi ch’io torni* vv. 12-13.

³⁷ Such lines as “Quel giorno ch’ i’ lasciai grave e pensosa / Madonna, e ’l mio cor seco” (from Petrarch’s sonnet *Qual paura ho*) I have not included as showing indisputable enjambment, since the adjectives *grave e pensosa* are here in appositive or predicative construction. For indisputable cases, compare the examples given above.

³⁸ It is true that the metrical theorists of the *Cinquecento*, if they mentioned enjambment, generally condemned its use: see, for example, Giovambattista Giraldi Cintio, *Discorso intorno al comporre dei Romansi* (first printed in 1554), edition of G. Daelli, Milano, 1864, pp. 122 ff. Such theorists, however, were clearly going contrary to the practice of the two standard lyric authorities.

³⁹ Gamba, *Serie dei Testi di Lingua*, Venezia, 1828, no. 241.

into the mouths of Torquato Tasso and one Alessandro Pocaterra; this was published in the eighteenth century as an appendix to the third volume of Della Casa's *Opere* and contains certain definite statements which the latter-day literary historians seem to have neglected.

Dallo spezzamento de' versi riconosce il Ruscelli l'altezza dello stile ne' Sonetti più gravi del Petrarca; e non senza ragione, poichè lo stile così spezzato rendesi sospeso, e per conseguenza grave e sostenuto E lo stesso osservasi nelle Rime del Bembo ne' suoi più sostenuti Sonetti; e se non erro, il Casa imparò da lui quell' arte Dal Bembo altresì crederei, ch' egli imparasse quel condurre il sentimento da uno all'altro de' quadernari e de' ternari; e quantunque prima del Bembo il Petrarca usollo, pure lungo tempo sembrò abuso alla gente, e primo fu il Bembo, che con l'autorità sua lo ponesse in qualche uso presso di noi.⁴⁰

This late seventeenth century judgment is borne out by our analysis and comparison of Della Casa's lyrics with those of Petrarch and Bembo. Giovanni Della Casa was, then, not a metrical innovator. That he was not an original lyric thinker has long been known.⁴¹ What is left to him? Only the strange melodious dignity that marks his lines still serves to set him apart from his lesser fellows. "Leggendo i suoi sonetti migliori, siamo a bella prima gradevolmente allettati dall' andatura solenne, . . . da una ridondanza sonora che ricorda il Monti."⁴² So says Flamini; and the music of Della Casa's verse remains, though his ideas were mere conventions, and though it now would seem that when he made his metrical *gran fatto* old Bembo held his hand, and Petrarch guided it.

WALTER L. BULLOCK

⁴⁰ Della Casa, *Opere*, ed. cit., III, *Aggiunta (in fine)* pp. 13, 14.

⁴¹ Of his better-known sonnets, for example, both that to Jealousy and that to Sleep were imitated from Sannazaro.

⁴² *Loc. cit.*

III.

ACTORS' NAMES IN THE REGISTERS OF ST. BODOLPH ALDGATE

LAST summer I undertook a systematic examination of the Registers of the London parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, in the hope that they might yield some new material in regard to the members of the Elizabethan acting companies. The Registers of this parish seemed worth the combing for several reasons. In the first place, within the limits of St. Botolph, along its western boundary, lay Houndsditch, which was tenanted by pawn-brokers and dealers in cast-off clothing, just such gentry as might attract the patronage of indigent players who were called upon to supply their own wardrobes.¹ Houndsditch, in turn, led directly to Bishopsgate. The proximity of this district to Aldgate supplied another reason for searching the records of St. Botolph's, inasmuch as Elizabethan actors were likely to establish themselves in the neighborhood of their employment;² and in and about Bishopsgate stood several playhouses: on Bishopsgate Street proper stood the Bull Inn (1575-1590); and on Gracious [Gracechurch] Street, the Bell Inn (1560-1576) and

¹ Houndsditch was known then, as it still is today, as a place for the sale of second-hand articles, particularly clothing. Its reputation in Elizabethan times is illustrated by the following passages:

Jonson, *Every Man in His Humor* (1599):

Wellbred: Where got'st thou this coat, I mar'le?

Brainworm: Of a Houndsditch man, sir, one of the devil's near Kinsmen.

Munday, *The Letting of Humour's Blood in the Head-Veins* (1601):

Oh Sir, whi that's as true as you are heere

With one example I will make it cleere

And far to fetch the same I will not goe

But unto Houndsditch to the Broker's Row

Lupton, *London and the Country Carbonadoed* (1632):

A man that comes here as a stranger would think there had been some great death of men and women hereabouts, he sees so many suits and no men for them. They should be well affected to the Romish church for they keep and lay up old reliques.

² Chambers, (*Elis. Stage*, II, chapter on "Actors") gives a large number of addresses which prove this point.

the Cross Keys (1588-1596). Or, following Bishopsgate to its northern end, one arrived within short distance at Shoreditch with its famous Theatre (1576-1599) and Curtain (1577-1634?). Nor were these neighboring playhouses the only ones which might have attracted actors to St. Botolph's. At least one theatre, the Boar's Head, existed within the confines of the Aldgate district. The exact location of this playhouse (or converted inn) is open to doubt,³ but whether it was within or without the Bars, the Boar's Head was clearly on Aldgate High Street and well within the parish of St. Botolph.

Under these circumstances, then, the Registers might be expected to supply information about actors who worked in nearby Bishopsgate and lodged in Houndsditch and other streets in St. Botolph Aldgate. Further, they might conceivably yield data about members of the companies who acted at the Boar's Head: specifically about Worcester's men and Oxford's men who in 1602 were there "joined in one company";⁴ and among Queen Anne's players whose patent of 1604 refers to the Aldgate Theatre as one of their "now usual houses."⁵

To the Vicar of St. Botolph's Aldgate, the Reverend J. F. Marr, M. A., I am indebted for opportunity to consult the Registers freely over a period of three weeks; and to the Lay Reader, Mr. John Robinson, who in Dr. Marr's absence but with his permission, allowed me to examine the churchwardens' accounts for the same parish.

Search of the Registers more than fulfilled my expectations by supplying information about fifteen actors of whom five⁶ were definitely stated to have resided in Houndsditch. Three of the players mentioned in the Aldgate Register seem to have had connection with the Boar's Head Inn: Robert Lee as a member of Queen Anne's Men from 1603-1609; Thomas Blackwood as Worcester's man in 1602-1603; and William Pavy, who may have acted there, if "the Prince's Players in White-chapel" are to be identified with that house.⁶ Incidentally,

³ For a summary see J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 17 and Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, II, 443-445.

⁴ Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 355.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 444.

⁶ Viz., John Jones, Robert Lee, William Penn, Richard Wood and Robert Wood.

the parish records prove that there lived in the district a large number of musicians, most of them employed about the court.⁷ On the evidence of the Registers we may conclude that in the time of Elizabeth there was here in St. Botolph's Aldgate, an artistic colony⁸ not unlike that in Bishopsgate and the Bank-side.

The actors to whom reference is made in the Registers, between the years 1592 to 1622 are: Robert Armin, William Augustine, Thomas Blackwood, Michael Bowyer, Richard Darbie, Richard Darloe, Thomas Goodale, John Jones, Robert Lee, William Pavy, Augustine Phillips, William Penne, John Read, John Townsend, Richard Wood, William Wood. In presenting the information relating to these actors the general method which I shall adopt will be, in the case of each one to set down first the entries which appear in the Register, and then to add a brief summary of the biographical data heretofore known. However, in the case of Robert Armin, the first name in the list, the material to be considered is so extensive that I shall begin with the known facts, and then cite the entries in the Registers and finally discuss the relations of Armin and the Goldsmiths' company.

ROBERT ARMIN

I. *The Known Facts*

According to tradition, Armin started his career as apprentice to a goldsmith in Lombard Street.⁹ I am now able to fix the apprenticeship as a fact, and as beginning on October 13, 1581. (*Vide* p. 96). In 1590 when he produced a preface to *A Brief Resolution of the Right Religion* he seems already to have made a reputation as a writer, and in 1592 he is referred to by Nashe as a "son of Elderton."¹⁰ He may be the R. A. who wrote

⁷ With the musicians who lived in St. Botolph Aldgate and the neighboring parish of Trinity Minories I shall deal in a later paper.

⁸ In the next two centuries, the Aldgate district takes on literary and dramatic interest which have eclipsed its fame in the time of Elizabeth. It was at St. Botolph Aldgate (the old Gothic Church) that Daniel Defoe was wedded to Mary Tuffie by Mr. Hollingsworth on January 1, 1683. And at a small theatre in Great Alie Street Garrick made his debut in 1741.

⁹ *Vide* Tarlton's Jests, London, 1638 (C. 2) for "How Tarlton made Armin his adopted sonne to succeed him."

¹⁰ Nashe, *Four Letters Confuted* in *Works*, I, 280.

verses to Robert Toftes' *Alba* (1598), and also the R. A. who compiled *England's Parnassus* (1600).¹¹

For some few years following, unless he wrote anonymously, he seems to have abandoned literature for the stage. He was successively a member of "Lord Shandoyes players,"¹² the Chamberlain's Men in 1599¹³ and the King's Men after 1603. His name appears in the patent granted to the King's men in that year; in the coronation lists of 1604; among the actors in the *Alchemist* as performed in 1610 (but not among those who acted in *Catiline* in 1611); and in the list of the King's men in the First Folio (1623). John Davies of Hereford in *The Scourge of Folly* (1611) pays tribute to the man and to the actor in thirty-two lines of sincere and friendly eulogy.

If we may trust the memory of Langbaine,¹⁴ Armin again turned to writing in 1604 with *A Discourse of Elizabeth Caldwell*. His *Foole Upon Foole* (1605) was followed by a sequel *A Nest of Ninnies* (1608) and a rambling play *The Two Maids of More-clacke* [Mortlake?] acted "by the children of the Kings Maiesties Revels." The preface with its words to "the friendly peruser":

I woulde have againe inacted John myselfe, but tempora mutantur in illis & I cannot do as I would

has been construed by Grosart to mean that in 1609 Armin was "poor" and "infirm."¹⁵ At all events his name does not appear on the 1608-9 valuation of the Blackfriars. A last publication, *Phantasma or The Italian Taylor and his Boy* (S. R. 6 Feb. 1609), has a dedication to Lord and Lady Haddington interesting for the author actor's claim to have been "writ down an ass in his time" and reference to his "constableness." From this we are probably safe in inferring that Armin had succeeded Kempe in the rôle of Dogberry. He adds that he "pleades under *forma pauperis*" and begs pardon for the "boldnes of a Begger," phrases which may be either the conventional patter of the dedication, or a true statement of the author's poverty.

¹¹ More likely the maker of the anthology was Robert Allott.

¹² See his *Foole Upon Foole or Six Sortes of Sottes* (1600).

¹³ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 300.

¹⁴ Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramaticke Poets* (1691), p. 6.

¹⁵ *The Works of Robert Armin*, ed. Grosart, London, 1880, p. viii.

II. *The St. Botolph Aldgate Registers*(1) *Christenings*

1603 Maye

Elizanna Armin daughter two Robert Armin player the Eleventhe [108a]¹⁶(2) *Burials*

1600 October

A woman Chyld daughter to Robert Armin a player of Enterludes the Eleventhe

1606 April

Robart Arminn sonne to Robart Arminn the fflowerthe

1615 November

Robert Arnim ffree of the Gouldsmithes and a Player, was buried the Thirtieth day

In 1846 Collier wrote of Armin: "We know not where nor when Armyn was buried," and again, "we are utterly destitute of information whether he had married or whether he left behind him any family."¹⁷ Up to the present time this statement held true. But now we have the evidence of the Registers that Armin married (though I have been unable to find out the lady's name); that he had three children, one of whom died before she could be christened; and that he himself died on November 30, 1615. Since Armin was buried from St. Botolph's church, we may safely conclude that he was a resident of this parish.¹⁸ Incidentally the conjecture of Collier that "he did not die in any of the parishes in or near our old theatres" is disproved: the Boar's Head if not actually in Aldgate was just outside; and the Curtain was at no great distance in Shoreditch, a locality easily reached *via* Houndsditch and Bishopsgate.

¹⁶ All the *Christening* and *Marriage* entries for 1558-1625 are found in Vol. J. of the Registers. The page references are always to Vol. J, since the *Burials* over the same period are found in Vol. F, which lacks pagination.

¹⁷ Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare*, London 1846, p. 201.

¹⁸ Entries regarding christenings and marriages do not constitute proof that the person concerned actually resided within a given parish. Burial entries, on the other hand, are practically evidence indubitable in this period. When the deceased was not a member of the parish, the clerk was at considerable pains to state as much. Cf. the entries concerning Anne Reade, "norse child" and daughter to John Read, *q. v.*

Before leaving the Registers I may add that I have searched the Churchwarden's Accounts in vain for reference to our actor. Since the clerk regularly embodied in his records the wills of persons who in great or less degree, were benefactors of the parish, we may infer from his silence that if Armin left a will, it carried no clause in favor of the church.

III. *Armin and the Goldsmiths' Company*

The statement that Armin died "free of the Gouldsmithes" is interesting as confirming the Tarleton tradition referred to above. Thanks to the courtesy of the Assistant-Clerk, Mr. G. M. Hughes, I was able to examine the *Prentice Books* of the Goldsmiths' Company in Foster Lane and there found the entry of Armin's apprenticeship signed in his own hand with a fine bold signature:

Robte Armyn Memorandum that I Robart Armyn ye sonne off John Armyn of Lynn in the county of Norff. taylor do put my selfe prentys vnto John Lowyson Sitizen and goldsmythe of London for the terme of xj yeares beginninge at the xijth day of October in Anno 1581

By me

Robert Armin¹⁹

A thorough examination of the Records of the Company might yield further information with regard to Robert Armin, who is not even mentioned in Sir Walter Prideaux's *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company* which gives merely "Gleanings" from the whole body of material.²⁰ Sir Walter provokes our curiosity by quoting from the accounts of the Lord Mayor's Pageant produced by the Goldsmiths in 1611, with "Whiffers Gallies Shows and Devices fit and convenient for the great Solemnity of the occasion."²¹ For this performance John Lowen, Armin's fellow at the Globe, was chosen to play Lepston. The choice of Lowen seems strange, considering that the Goldsmiths possessed in Armin a freeman of their own company and a man quite as famous as an actor. From the *Prentice Books* it appears,

¹⁹ The Goldsmith's Company, *Prentice Books*, I, 29. In this entry the words "ye sonne off" are interlined above the line.

²⁰ Sir Walter Prideaux (Clerk of the Company) *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company being Gleanings From Their Records Between the Years 1335 and 1815* (London 1896).

²¹ Prideaux, *op. cit.*, I, 115.

however, that possibly John Lowen may have been also a free-man of the company, if he is to be identified with the youth who took up his apprenticeship at "Cirstmas Anno 1593" for "the terme of eight yeares."²² Unfortunately, at the time of my visit to Goldsmiths' Hall, the original records were at the binder's so that they could not be consulted. It would be interesting to know what light they throw on the reasons for Armin's non-participation in the pageant of 1611. Was he, as Grosart guesses, "infirm"? Was he out of London? Was he out of favor? Or was he one of those good faithful-dealing folk who never know how to use a connection to the best advantage?²³ He must have been proud of his company to take up the freedom long after he had abandoned the trade, and to be inscribed in the Botolph Aldgate Register as "free of the Gouldsmiths."

WILLIAM AUGUSTINE

1595 November [Christened]

Penelope Augustine daughter to Wm. Augustine player the
nynetenth [83b]

²² Vol. I of the *Prentice Books* gives two men of the name. Only the first is under any circumstances to be connected with the actor John Lowen, and possibly not he:

p. 98 M^d that I John Lowen the sonne of Richard Lowen of London [an illegible word here] have put my self prentise to Nicholas Rudyard for the terme of eight years begininge at Cirstmas in Anno 1593

By me

John Lowen

p. 132 Memorandum that I John Lowin the sone of Thomas Lowin of broxborne in the counte of Harford [a blotted word, illegible] yeoman hath put my selfe prentis to Thomas belfeld for ix yeares begening at the feast of saint mighele the archangell in anno 1600

John Lowin

p. 134 Memorandum that I John Lewin the sonne of Thomas Lewin gentl. of broxbourne in the counti of Hartf have put my selfe prentis to Thomas Laurence for ix yeres beginnyng at the fest of sant michol in ano 1600 By me John Lowin

It should be borne in mind that even if John Lowin the actor was the John Lowin, apprentice to Nicholas Rudyard, he may not have taken up the freedom of the company.

²³ Anthony Munday was of a different calibre. For his connection with the same pageant and the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, see below, p. 107 ff.

Henslowe's *Diary* provides us with the only other bit of information which we have about this actor. There Henslowe records that on December 18, 1597, he bought his "boye Jeames brystow of William agusten player . . . for viij li."²⁴ The fact that little Penelope was christened in the church is no proof that her parents were resident in the parish. She may have been one of the many babies "norsed" in Houndsditch.²⁵

THOMAS BLACKWOOD

1592 September [Married]

Thomas Blackwood A Player and Ann Clarke The Eighte
[39b]

Blackwood belonged to Worcester's Men in 1602-3 and may have been in Germany on tour from 1603 to 1606.²⁶ He authorized payments on behalf of the company from 19 August, 1602 to 7 March, 1602-3, and on 12 March of that same year borrowed ten shillings of Henslowe "when he [rode] into the countrey wth his company to playe."²⁷

MICHAEL BOWYER

1621 August [Christened]

William Bowyer, sonne to Michael Bowyer, a Stage Player
and Isabell his wife christned ye xvjth daye [179b]

1621 August [Buried]

William Bowyer, sonne to Michael Bowyer a Stage-player
the sixteenth

1622 September [Christened]

William Bowyer sonne to Michael Bowyer Stage-player and
Elizabeth his wife the fferst [184a]

1622 September [Buried]

William Bowyer, sonne to Michael Bowyer, a stage-player
was buried the Eleaventh day.

This actor belonged to Queen Henrietta's Men, with whom he acted Beauford in Shirley's *Wedding* (ca. 31 May, 1626);

²⁴ Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg, London, 1904, Part I, F. 232. l. 26.

²⁵ The nurslings in Houndsditch and Eastsmithfield lived so briefly that the Parish Clerk, hardened to infant burials, remarks *sub* 31 October, 1623: "There are verie few children prosper long in our Parish that are Nursed in such Places." There is no further mention of Penelope in the pages of the Registers. She may actually have survived.

²⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 303.

²⁷ Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg, Part I, F. 113, l. 11.

King John in Davenport's *King John and Matilda* (1629); Vitelli in Massinger's *Renegado* (printed March 1630); Mr. Spencer in Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* (acted Christmas 1631); and Scipio in Nabbes' *Hannibal and Scipio* (1635).²⁸ By 22 January, 1640 he was sworn in as a member of his Majesty's Company "at ye Blackfriars," appearing as "Michael Bowyer."²⁹ And according to Trueman in *Historia Histrionica* (London 1699) he was one of "those of principal note at the Cockpit" before 1642.

RICHARD DARBIE

1602 Maye [Christened]

Allstide Darbie sonne to Richard Darbie a playor the first of [105c]

I have been unable to find any information on Richard Darbie, Player. Is it possible that the clerk mistook the unusual name Darloe for the more common Darbie? *Vide infra*.

RICHARD DARLOE

1595 September [Christened]

Margaritt Darloe, daughter to Richard Darloe player the nynetenth [83a]

1596 Maye [Buried]

Margaritt Darloe the daughter of Richard Darloe, the one and twentieth

1598 Maye [Christened]

Jeane Darloe daughter to Richarde Darloe player the nynetenth [93a]

1598-9 Januaire [Buried]

Jeane Darloe daughter to Richard Darloe the fyve and twentieth

1599-1600 January [Christened]

John Darlo sonne to Richard Darlo a player the fyve and twentiethe [99a]

1602 August [Buried]

John Darloe, sonne to Richard Darloe a Player the Twentith and nine

Of Richard Darloe, Chambers says only that he was of the Admiral's Men from 1590.³⁰ And Greg even entertains a

²⁸ Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, London, 1910, I, 266.

²⁹ C. C. Stopes, *Jahrbuch*, XLVI, 431.

³⁰ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 313.

momentary doubt that there ever was such a player since "no actor of the name appears elsewhere" than in the "plotte of the deade mans fortune" (1593).³¹ In this "platt" Darloe is down for the part of Tesephon in the same scene with Robert Lee, another of the Botolph Aldgate actors. Here he appears as *Darlowe* and later as *Dar*. With Strange's Men he played the part of an unnamed attendant.³²

The fact that the Darlowe children were buried at Botolph Aldgate indicates that their father was a member of the parish over some of the years (1595-1602) during which his name appears in the Registers.

THOMAS GOODALE

- 1594 Maye [Christened]
Symon Goodale sonne to Thomas Goodale player the
twelvth [77b]
- 1595 Aprill [Buried]
Symon Goodale sonne to Thomas Goodale, A player the
thirtith
- 1599 Auguste [Christened]
Richard Goodale sonne to Thomas Goodale player the
nynetenth [97b]
- 1599 November [Buried]
Richarde Goodale sonne to Thomas Goodale a Player the
Three and Twentieth

The "Joane Goodale a Widdowe" who was buried 26 March 1603-4 may be connected with Henry or Edward Goodale of the same parish with as much propriety as with the actor; and the following entry may refer to yet another Thomas Goodale:

- 1609 Marche [Buried]
Alice Goodall, wife to Thomas Goodall in Houndsditch
the the [sic] same day [the fifth]

Our Thomas Goodale acted with Berkeley's Men in 1581, and probably with Strange's 1590-1591.³³ He was with the Chamberlain's Men at the time of their production of *Sir Thomas More* since "T. Goedal" prefixed to Act. III, Sc. 1 in the MS of that play clearly indicates that he played the part

³¹ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, London, 1907, p. 133.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³³ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 319.

of the Messenger.³⁴ He appeared with "Burbadg" in the dumb show of King Gorboduc in the "platt of the secounde parte of the Seven Deadlie Sinns" in 1592, sustaining the part of a "counsailer,"³⁵ of Damasus³⁶ and of Phronesias.³⁷ It is doubtful whether the Thomas Goodale, mercer, who entered (with John Alleyn and Robert Lee) into a bond to Edward Allen on 18 May, 1593 is to be identified with our actor.

JOHN JONES

- 1607 February [Married]
John Jones and Joane Jones, were maryed the 7th day
[63b]
- 1609 May [Christened]
John Joanes sonne to John Joanes in Houndsditch the
Twenty eight Day [126b]
- 1610 October [Christened]
Mary Jones daughter to John Jones in houndsditch the same
day [xxxj³⁷] day [131b]
- 1615 June [Christened]
John Jones sonne to John Jones a Player in Houndsditch
was christned the ffourteenth day [152b]

Although it is possible that more than one John Jones lived in Houndsditch, I am inclined to take the second and third entries as referring to the actor. Of the first I am in more doubt.³⁸ The last entry clearly fixes the place of residence of our player in June 1615.

Of John Jones, actor, Chambers gives no information, but I hazard the guess that he is the Jack Jones whose name appears in 1602 in the plot of the first part of *Tamar Cam*. Greg follows Fleay in assigning to Jack Jones the part of Palmeda in this play.³⁹ If my identification be correct, John Jones was a member of the Admiral's Company in 1602.

³⁴ Tucker Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, Oxford, 1908, p. 437.

³⁵ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 130, l. 16.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131, l. 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131, l. 62.

³⁸ There was a John Joanes living "in the highstrete" on 26 Dec. 1611 [136b]; and another residing in Rosemary Lane on 15 Aug. 1613 [*Register F*].

³⁹ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 151.

ROBERT LEE

- 1595 Februarie [Married]
 Roberte Lee and Constance Balderstone The Eighte [46b]
 1596 November [Christened]
 Rachel Lee daughter to Robert Lee, player, the one and
 twentieth [87b]
 1598 October [Christened]
 Robert Lee sonne to Roberte Lee, Player, the twoe and
 twentieth [94b]
 1608 Aprill [Buried]
 Mary Lee daughter to Roberte Lee a Stage player in Hounds-
 ditch, the thirde day

Since the only other Robert Lee to whom I find reference in this section of the Registers spelled his last name *Ley* and is further distinguished as "of eastsmithfield" I am inclined to think that in the marriage entry we have record of the wedding of the actor Robert Lee.⁴⁰ The other entries admit of no doubt.

Lee belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's Company in 1592, acting the part of Euphrode in the "plotte of the deade mans fortune" in 1593 in the same cast with Darlowe.⁴¹ Five years later we find his name in Henslowe's *Diary*:

Layd out vnto Robarte lee the 22 of febreary 1598 for a booke called the myller some of xx s.

This must have been an old play of which possibly, though not necessarily, Lee was the author.⁴² Greg conjectures that when the Chamberlain's Men moved to the Globe in 1599, Lee joined Kemp, Beeston, Duke and Pallant who reappear among Worcester's Men in 1602.⁴³ At all events, by 15 March, 1603, he had joined the Queen's Players, since livery was issued to him as of that company at the time of the Progress of James I.⁴⁴ In 1615 he was summoned with other of the Queen's Players to explain to the Privy Council why the company had acted

⁴⁰ Moreover, since the marriage entries at this date do not specify the husband's occupation, the absence of "player" in this record is negligible. By 1603 a *Robert Lee butcher* appears in the parish, too late to be confused with Robert Lee, player.

⁴¹ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 133, l. 5, and p. 134, ll. 34-36.

⁴² *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, F. 44, l. 8.

⁴³ Chambers, *op. cit.*, III, 407.

⁴⁴ Stopes, *Jahrbuch* XLVI, 93.

"this prohibited time of lent."⁴⁵ He was still with the Queen's Men when they became Children of the Revels in 1619. Greg says that our last mention of him comes on 8 July, 1622.⁴⁶ But Professor Wallace has since found proof that he was living in 1623 in Clerkenwell Close, and that at the time he owed to Gervase Markham the dramatist the sum of five shillings.⁴⁷ Robert Lee, actor, may be the Robert Lee of London gent. who with Thomas Goodale entered into bond to Edward Alleyn on 18 May, 1593.

WILLIAM PAVYE

1608 September [Buried]

Wylliam Pavye one of y^e princes players⁴⁸ dwelling by the Mynoryes the viij day.⁴⁹

This entry throws a little additional light on the actor whose appears in fragmentary form in *the plott of the second part of fortune's tennis* (1600?). The bit which concerns us is

Enter orleauunce musing [;] to him Com [Mauritius, Boniface, M^r singer Pau [y]⁵⁰

From it we may deduce that Pavy played Boniface.

The only other occurrence of the name comes in a letter written to Edward Alleyn by Charles Massye, presumably in 1613, which makes mention of the

composicions betwene ovre compenye that if [any] one gi[ve] over wth consent of his fellows, he is to r[ece]i[ve] thr[ee] score and ten povnde (antony Jefes hath had so mu[ch]) if any on dye his wi[dow] or frende, whom he appoynte it tow reseve fyfte povnde (*M^{tes} pavye* and M^{rs} tovne *hath had the lyke*).⁵¹

⁴⁵ Chambers, *op. cit.*, IV, 342.

⁴⁶ *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, Part 2, pp. 294-295.

⁴⁷ Wallace, *Jahrbuch* XLVI, 348.

⁴⁸ Chambers (*Elis. Stage* II, 242) chronicles the first appearance of the Prince's Men in the provinces in 1608. They performed in Ipswich on 20 October, and later in the year at Bath. On neither of these expeditions did Pavy accompany them since he died in September of that year. The first of their extant patents (30 March 1610) is too late to contain Pavy's name. Cf. also Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 228-231, 239.

⁴⁹ There was in the parish one Wm. Pavey, brewer, described as deceased in May 1617. He may have been a relative.

⁵⁰ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, 144.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64, ll. 9-13. The italics are mine.

Greg identifies the husband of this "M^{rs} pavy" as the actor in *Fortune's tennis*. If he is the person referred to in the Registers, Mistress Pavy would indeed have been a widow in 1613. Is it possible that our William Pavy, whose Christian name is now for the first time known, was the father of the little actor Salathiel Pavy for whom Jonson wrote the famous epitaph in his *Epigrams* (1616)?

WILLIAM PENNE

- 1616 June [Married]
William Penne of S^t Leonarde parish in Shordich and Sibilla West of our parish were married the Thirtieth Day [74b]
- 1617 November [Christened]
Marie Penne, daughter to William Penne, a Stage-player and Sibbill his wife of Houndsditch, the one and Twentieth day [163a]
- 1619 Aprill [Christened]
William Penne, sonne to William Penne, a Stage-player, and Sibill his wife . . . christned the xxxj of Marche [169a]

Here the Registers are unusually valuable in proving residence for our actor in St. Leonard's Shoreditch before 1616, and providing us with the Houndsditch address for 1617 (and probably 1619 as well). Unlike so many Houndsditch children the little Pennes seem to have survived, no doubt because they were in the care of their own mother.

Penne was a member of the Revels in 1609 and appears in the list of Charles' Men as early as 1616; he was with that company when it became the King's in 1625.⁵² On 20 March, 1615-6, he and eight other actors⁵³ entered into an agreement to meet a debt of £400 originally owing to Henslowe but then due to Edward Alleyn. They agreed to put down £200 and make daily payment of one fourth of the profits "of the whole galleries of the playehowse comonly called the hope scituate in the parishe of S^t. Savio^r in the countye of Surrey or in anye other howse private or publique" in which they played.⁵⁴ A document concerned with the same business in the next year

⁵² Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 332.

⁵³ William Rowley, Robert Pallant, Josephe Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton, Hughe Ottewell, William Backstede, Thomas Hobbes and Antony Smyth.

⁵⁴ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 91.

does not bear the name of Penne, who had evidently left the company with Barksted and Hobbs after the signing of the articles in March 1616.⁵⁴ The next mention of Penne is in the Warrant Book of the Lord Chamberlain, *sub* 6 May, 1629. On that date he was allowed four yards of Bastard Scarlet for a cloak and a quarter yard of crimson velvet for a cap, the usual allowance to the King's Men every second year.⁵⁵ The same book for the years 1634-1641 records the issue of players' passes to William Penne, among others who are "commanded to attend his Majesty and be nigh unto the Court this somer progresse, in readinesse when they shall be called on" and allowed "in either going or coming [to] act in any common halls, moot-halls [or] school-houses."⁵⁶

In 1623, he appears under less creditable circumstances as one of the defendants in the Gervase Markham suit. He is at that time described as a resident of "the George alley in Gouldinge lane" and debtor to Markham for the sum of "ffyve shillings" which he had failed to pay over on the completion of the dramatist's famous journey from London to Berwicke by leaping staff.⁵⁷ He evidently remained in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate where children of his (possibly by another wife) were baptized and buried in 1636.⁵⁸

AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS

1597 September [Buried]

A childe daughter of Augustine Phillipps, A player, the seaventh

For Phillips probably more information is available than for any other one actor except Edward Alleyn. Chambers devotes to his biography two closely printed pages.⁵⁷ It is sufficient to state here that the Parish Token Books of Southwark supply proof that he resided in Horse Shoe Court in 1593 and in 1595; that he was near the Swan in Paris Garden, in Montagu Close in 1601; in Bradshaw's Rents in 1602; and again in Horse Shoe Court in 1604. The entry in the Register of St. Botolph Aldgate strongly suggests that in 1597 he belonged to that parish.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Stopes, *Jahrbuch*, XLVI, 95.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 333-334.

⁵⁷ See Note 17. The tender age of the child (she was evidently not even christened) and the fact of her father's residence in Southwark both before and

Armin appears in the St. Botolph Registers as early as 1600, and he may well have been living in this parish even earlier. Accordingly, it is possible that he and Phillips were neighbours as well as co-workers; and that Phillips in leaving a bequest of twenty shillings to Armin⁵⁹ remembered him not only as his "fellow" but as a communicant of the same church.

JOHN READ

1600 September [Buried]

A woman Chyld daughter to Jhon Read a Player, the Thirtieth [sic]

1608 June [Buried]

Anne Reade a norse [sic] childe daughter to John Reade of Saviours parish in Southwarke the xiiij daye

Nothing is known of this actor. Chambers mentions an Emanuel Reade (a relative?) who belonged to Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1613 and to Anne's in 1617,⁶⁰ and Murray a Timothy Read.⁶¹

The second entry concerning John Reade is of interest not only because it supplies one of two facts we have about him but chiefly because of the light it throws on the value of the burial entry in proving residence for the father. The child is buried in Botolph Aldgate, true, but the clerk specifically provides us with the parent's address, St. Saviour's Southwark, because it is different. From the fact that no such statement is contained in the entry of 1600, I am inclined to believe that at that time Read lived in the parish of Botolph Aldgate.

JOHN TOWNSEND

1619 November [Buried]

Christopher Bodie servant servant [sic] to John Townesend a Player of Enterludes, buried the xvth day.
Stab'd with an All.

Although the entry proves nothing about the residence of John Townsend, it constitutes evidence that despite the *fracas*

after her death, makes it possible that Phillips lived in the Borough without interruption, and that the child was (somewhat irregularly) buried in the parish where she was "nursed."

⁵⁹ By Will proved 13 May, 1605.

⁶⁰ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 335.

⁶¹ Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 266 n.

with the Mayor of Norwich in 1623⁶² and other financial trials, the actor was at one time affluent enough to have a servant.⁶³ To Bodie himself, there is no reference beyond this mention of his bloody taking-off. Presumably he was a resident of Botolph Aldgate, though it is possible that he was buried hugger-mugger in the district where he was murdered.

WILLIAM WOOD

1615 September [Christened]

Abraham Wood, sonne to William wood, a Player of Interludes in Houndsditch, Christened the xxvijth day [153a]

I have been unable to discover anything further about this actor. He may have been related to Richard Wood.

RICHARD WOOD

1613 April [Christened]

Robert Wood, sonne to Richard Wood, a Stage-player in Houndsditch on Sunday the Eighteenth day [142b]

Chambers, Greg and Murray offer no information about Richard Wood who like John Jones, Robert Lee, William Penn and William Wood, lived in Houndsditch.

A NOTE ON ANTHONY MUNDAY

Munday was never a member of the parish as far as I have been able to discover.⁶⁴ However the Churchwardens' Accounts provide an interesting note on the activities of the dramatist who may be here included since among other versatilities he seems to have plied the profession of an actor. In the minutes of a "Generall Vestrey houlden in April Anno Dni 1618 in the vestreyhouse adioyning to the church" is this statement:

Also yt was at the same time Ordred, That Anthonie Munday (who gave a Booke vnto the parish intituled *The Survey of London*) should have given vnto him for a Gratuitie a peece of Gold of two and twentie shillings.⁶⁵

⁶² Vide Murray: *op. cit.*, II, 347.

⁶³ Augustine Phillips was similarly provided since on the evidence of his will he left thirty shillings to his "servant," Christopher Beeston (Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 334.)

⁶⁴ Entries in the Christening Register of St. Giles Cripplegate would indicate that he was resident there from 1584 to 1588 since during that period his children Elizabeth, Roase, Priscilla and Richard were baptized.

⁶⁵ St. Botolph Aldgate Churchwardens' Accounts, unpagcd.

The book is clearly the third Edition of Stowe's *Survey* "continued corrected and much enlarged by A[nthony] M[unday]," published in 1618 in small quarto. As Seccombe says, Munday was "in a certain sense Stowe's literary executor."⁶⁶ He probably felt perfectly justified in accepting the reward because the new edition contained about four hundred pages of original matter.

Anthony seems to have been an adept in drawing such awards to himself. In 1610 he had been voted a gratuity of 6£ 13s 4d by the Goldsmiths' Company "for a book called A brief Chronicle of the Succession of Times wherein it is conceived he hath remembered the worship and antiquity of this company."⁶⁷ If it were not that Munday was unofficially the City of London's official "pageanter," one might conclude that it was to this subtle device that he owed his opportunity to write *Chryso-Thriambos: the Triumphs of Golde: at the Inauguration of Sir James Pemberton in the Dignity of Lord Maior of London*, a pageant which it was the proud privilege of the Goldsmiths' Company to produce on 29 October, 1611.⁶⁸ Although the church-wardens of Botolph Aldgate were in no position to reward Munday so handsomely as the Goldsmiths, their twenty-two shillings in gold cannot be considered a paltry gift. It would be interesting to know if Anthony "gave" his edition of the *Survey* to any other London parish, and if so how he fared in the matter of gratuity.

I fancy, however, that he had special reason for complimenting our particular parish. For a citizen of Botolph Aldgate, Robert Dow (1522-1612) the Merchant Tailor had not only assisted Stow himself, but proved a cause of charity in other men. In the *Records* of the Merchant Tailors we read *sub* 12 March, 1600:

Upon the mocon of Mr. Robert Dowe an ancient master and one of the assistants of this Howse in favour of John Stow a loving Brother of this Company, who taketh much paynes in wryting of Chronicles and matters of Antiquities. It is granted and agreed that the pencon

⁶⁶ *D. N. B.*, Art. "Anthony Munday" (XIII, 1190).

⁶⁷ Prideaux: *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, I, 117.

⁶⁸ At all events he made the tidy sum of 80£ for writing the book and providing "apparell for the Kings in the Chariot, for Farrington, the Mayor, for Tyme and for all other persons and children in the mystery and for all those that ride on beasts" (Prideaux, *op. cit.*, I, 118.)

of iiiij^s per ann gyven him out of the Common Stocke of this Howse shal be encreased xl s and made up vi £ per ann, to begine at our Ladie daye nexte, soe as with the iiiij^s he receaueth out of this Howse (as one of the Almesmen of the said Mr. Robert Dowe) he is in the whole to receaue yearly duringe his life, a pencon out of and from this companie amounting to the sum of tenn pounds per annum.

As Stowe's friend, Munday could hardly have escaped knowledge of this benefaction on the part of a man whose gifts to the Merchant Tailors and to the parish of Botolph Aldgate were, even for the time, on a princely scale.⁶⁹ He must have known of Dow's death and of the monument set up to him in the church late in 1612.⁷⁰ In his gift of the third edition of the *Survey*, then, Munday may well have been making grateful acknowledgement to the parish out of which had come such timely assistance to the indefatigable old antiquarian who had been his friend.

EMMA MARSHALL DENKINGER

⁶⁹ He kept in perpetual maintenance two almes-women in the Company's almshouse on Tower Hill, he privately assisted needy merchant tailors like Stowe, and he left annual provision for sixty-four poor folk to be selected by the ecclesiastical authorities of Aldgate parish. Further he provided 20£ a year to be expended for the release of prisoners in the Compters of Ludgate, the Poultry, Giltspur Street Ward and Newgate. (Cf. Atkinson, A. G. B. *The History of St. Botolph Aldgate*, London 1898, p. 163.)

⁷⁰ This early monument is the one listed in Fisher Payne's *Catalogue of the Tombs In the Churches of the City of London, A. D. 1666*; it was spared by the Fire but shared the demolition of the old Gothic church in 1741. The monument which may now be seen in the East Gallery of the modern church (designed by the elder Dance) was erected within comparatively recent times by the Merchant Tailors' Company. The three doves in the coat of arms preserve the Elizabethan pun on the name of Botolph Aldgate's great benefactor.

IV.

QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIONS

THE so-called formal dialogue constituted between the years 1640 and 1700 a substantial part of ephemeral as well as serious literature. Like the present-day dialogue of fiction and of the stage, it was only approximately natural, and to a varying degree. In modern novels or in popular "talky" plays it is not hard to find passages which neither advance the plot nor build characterization, and wherein the interest is emphatically centered on the topics discussed. Yet, as every one recognizes, important changes in taste have taken place since the days of the formal dialogue. Disputations no longer hold their former sway in college and university. Other methods are now employed for discussing problems of politics, of religion, of philosophy, of science, which were once commonly argued in the formal dialogue. It is my purpose to show, through the consideration of some of the by-products of the dialogue in the day of its vogue, that its popularity was occasioned by a controversial or dialoguing spirit, and conversely that the form itself was largely responsible for the creation and continuance of this atmosphere of conflict.

The essence of dialogue is, as has been said, its conversational quality. When, however, the characters are distinguished only as representatives of conflicting views, the transition is easy, first to conversation between A and B, then to mere conflict of ideas cast in the mechanical form of dialogue yet lacking wholly human representation.

Of such pseudo-dialogues two chief varieties claim attention; one which uses objection, or quotation, and answer; the other, the familiar question and answer. Both have been used for centuries. But, unlike the dialogue itself, they find no place in great literature. Even when adopted by an Erasmus, a Bacon, or a Milton, the results are hopelessly pedestrian. Always, their capabilities are limited.

For the origin of the objection and answer one must go back into mediaeval days of scholastic disputations and interminable

theological arguments. Though the principle of the discovery of truth through the opposition of ideas is Aristotelian, the method which was to become so popular was outlined by Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II, †1003), developed in *Sic et Non* by Abelard (†1142), and carried further by Peter Lombard (†1164) in his *Sententiarum libri quatuor*, and by Alexander of Hales (†1245), originator of the *Summa* as a form of composition. Whereas Abelard in the treatment of a topic gives the opinions of the fathers on first one side and then the other, without explaining away the points of difference, Peter and Alexander both aim to attain the ultimate truth, Peter by conciliating opposing views, Alexander by answering the objections to the thesis which he supports. This, too, is the method of Aquinas, whose *Summa Theologica* became in turn the text of many following lecturers.¹ The larger divisions or "Questions" are divided into "Articles," also phrased in the form of questions; and each of these contains a series of objections answered in order. With the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard a part of the curriculum in Theology at the University of Paris, and the tremendous prestige of Aquinas behind the practice, its persistence was natural. It should, however, be noted that Aquinas was not a slave to the method, a fact demonstrated by his *Summa Contra Gentiles*.

In controversy the original treatise was organized with a complexity calculated to shame any modern brief maker; yet, as a rule, the author of the reply felt it his duty to follow his opponent through all his peregrinations, taking up each point in its proper order.

Wyclif affords instances of this sort of writing, as witness his *De Religione Privata*, his *De Quattuor Sectis Novellis*, or his *Tractatus de Officio Regis*; so, at a later date, does Sir Thomas More whose *Debellacion of Salem and Bizance* is entirely devoted to rebuttal of the arguments of Saint Germain.

For centuries the device remained popular in literary controversy, thanks to its transparent simplicity and easy technique. Of course, discerning men must quickly have realized its limitations, but, even so late as 1730, Matthew Tindal, in preferring dialogue for his purposes, is still on the defensive.

¹ For this, as for other valuable suggestions, I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown.

"And certainly," he says, "the Reader may be better entertain'd thus, than by that dry way of Objection and Answer, with which Controversies are usually manag'd."

But, although the use of objection and answer as an aid to literary controversy is not uncommon, it was among religious compositions that it really came into its own. The devotional literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was, in general, fearfully and wonderfully made. It abounded in heads and subheads. Scholastic traditions conspired with its own unwieldy length to enforce a system of elaborate divisions. Processions of "Errours" met processions of "Resolutions." Sins were tabulated, blessings counted, with more than revivalistic exactitude. Of such a system the objection and answer were the backbone. Objections could naturally enough be mustered against every rule of Christian conduct, while in the process of answering the speaker exercised his ingenuity, interested his audience, advanced his exposition, and helped the sands of the hour glass on their deliberate way. Anywhere one looks in Richard Baxter he encounters the device; Bunyan, Sherlock, Thomas Hooker, (and, it may be added, the American, Cotton Mather) all use it liberally. It was one of the recognized conventions of pulpit rhetoric.

Nor was its field limited to the sermon and the activities of the theologian. Hobbes uses it for his *Objectiones ad Cartesii Meditationes de Prima Philosophia*, and Boyle thus expounds his *Hydrostatical Paradoxes made out by New Experiments*. Writers on economic subjects employed it in the consideration of the question of usury and in demonstrating "That the Clamours, Aspersions, and Objections made against the present East India Company, are sinister, selfish, or groundless." Works of still another sort, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts, and Tongues*, *An Answer to a Book, Intituled The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, and even the Rooseveltian *Discourse concerning the having many Children. In which the Prejudices against a numerous Offspring are removed; and the Objections answered*, all find the device a present help.

In the stress of the political strife of the Civil War it was invaluable. Scarcely one of Roger L'Estrange's innumerable tracts which was not pure dialogue fails to employ it. The

libellers, as he always terms his critics, are answered seriatim and with thoroughness. The voluminous William Prynne, in *The Sword of Christian Magistracy Supported*, and in *The Antidote Animadverted*, follows the same practice. A single glance, indeed, at the pages of the Thomason Catalogue will show how wide-spread was the usage. Periodicals, even, as far separated and as dissimilar as the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* (1678ff) and the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731ff) afford dozens of examples. For at least two centuries this close approximation to dialogue was a staple on the rhetorical market.

Many writers, too, secured additional vividness through quotations from the works of opponents, or from the text under discussion. The former scheme is at least as old as Erasmus, the quoting from a text to be discussed is common even in Alcuin. Of the practice as a whole, examples may be cited from practically every writer of consequence. Politicians like Nash in the Elizabethan age, L'Estrange in the Restoration, and Charles Davenant in the period of the Restoration, all afford examples. L'Estrange says, in *An Answer to a Letter to a Dissenter* (1687), "By a Thorough Answer, I mean, the taking of the Letter Paragraph by Paragraph, and speaking to the Whole, and to every Part of it all under one." For four pages of his *Anti Arminianism*, William Prynne prints in parallel columns the statements to be answered, and his replies.

Among theologians the scheme was equally common. Sir Thomas More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Aunswere made Anno 1532*—is so made up throughout. Milton and his opponent Bishop Joseph Hall, Chillingworth, Sherlock, Burnet, Gother, Henry More, John Knox, Bunyan, and Wesley, all made frequent use of quotations and answers. Hobbes uses this method in replying to Bishop Bramhall, and even Dryden, in a theological tract, his *Defence of the Paper Written by the Duchess of York, against the Answer made to it* (1686) falls into the well-worn rut. Some of these men doubtless felt, as did John Balguy, that it was "the fairest way," but More never thought about it at all, writing thus merely because it was the fashion. A few writers, only, employed it sparingly. Bacon avoids it; so, ordinarily, does Dryden. Neither, however, ever took the trouble to express a dislike for it, or to justify his own more literary restraint.

No less significant than the popularity of the objection or quotation and answer is that of the catechism. The form which here reached such an astonishing vogue had been one weapon in the armory of a long line of theologians. Not only had it been used by Luther and his brother reformers, but centuries before, in the early days of the church, similar means had been adopted in training candidates, or, as they were then called, catechumens, for the rite of baptism.²

In England the catechism had been known so long that its beginning was clean forgotten. Originally a lecture with questions by the listener rather than the master, it had, by the middle of the fourteenth century, assumed its modern form, in the catechism of Archbishop Thoresby, issued in 1357 simultaneously in Latin prose and English verse, and expanded within a few years by interpolations very likely from the hand of Wyclif. Well before the middle of the sixteenth century, Cranmer had translated his catechism from the Latin of Justus Jonas. Within four years, Robert Legate had published *A Brief Catechism and Dialogue between the Husbnde and his Wyfe: contaynyng a pythy declaracyon of the Paternoster, Crede, and tene Commaundements, very necessary for all men to know* (1545); while by 1552 even the Catholic church was recognizing the rising tide of Protestantism by printing in Scotland a catechism of its own, written by Archbishop Hamilton, and usually known as Hamilton's Catechism.

In the hands of the church it reached, during the seventeenth century, and particularly from 1640 on, a popularity nearly immeasurable. Hundreds of catechisms were in the course of a few years put upon the market, while of the more popular titles editions followed in rapid succession. Moved by an impulse not unlike that which impels college instructors to print textbooks of their own devising, ministers, on every hand, weary of teaching other men's books, published their private versions of the great truths of the church.

² In the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach a dialogue of an instructive sort is carried on in the form of an inverted catechism with "Novicius" as the questioner, and "Monachus" as the giver of information.—Quite outside the church, evidence of the antiquity of the form is afforded by the *De partitione Oratoria* of Cicero. Here, in a dialogue between father and son, the son is the questioner.

Such a development was, of course, favored by the supremacy, for the time being, of congregational, or at least dissenting, sects. With the central authority of the established church set aside, and a party in power which was tacitly bound to a kind of limited freedom of speech, not only by its principles of church government, but also by the disagreements within its own ranks, it was only natural that statements of doctrine should seem something which one mouth might express as well as another.

That a like development did not manifest itself among Catholics and adherents of the Established Church need excite no surprise. Though not unknown to either, the catechism had never been with them particularly popular. The catechism of Archbishop Hamilton was issued more in response to the challenge of Protestant rivals than as a normal expression of Roman practice, while the manuals of the Established Church were seldom altered. Joseph Hall issued in 1634 a *Briefe Summe of the Principles of Religion, fit to be knowne of such as would addresse Themselves to Gods Table*; and other works of the kind must have appeared from time to time; but in general the creed and principles of the church were so well known as to need little exposition, while such instruction as was devised for the lambs within the fold was regulated and made uniform by the church's sense for decorum.

The dissenting sects, however, had seized upon the catechism as an ideal means for propagating their peculiar doctrines; and, even after the days of their supremacy were over, retained a liking for it. Richard Baxter in *The Poor Man's Family Book* (1672), *The Mother's Catechism* (1707), and *The Catechizing of Families* (1707), provided instruction for youth and age; George Fox showed the proselyting spirit always conspicuous in young and vigorous sects by publishing a *Primer and Catechism* (1670) "Intended to make a Quaker of the Student"; Isaac Watts wrote no fewer than five catechisms; while, well into the eighteenth century, John Wesley varied the monotony by publishing a *Roman Catechism Faithfully Drawn out of the Allowed Writings of the Church of Rome with a Reply thereto*.

Among so many catechisms there was naturally a considerable variety. Outside the English language were the palatinate catechisms in Greek and Latin (1646-7) and the *Welch catechism called the principles of the oracle of God* (1640). There was

a *Roundheads Catechism* (1643), a *Cavaliers Catechisme* (1634, 1646), a *Rebells Catechisme* (1644), a *Souldiers Catechisme*; (1644), and a *Farmers Catechism* (1657). *The Doctrine of the Bible; or Rules of Discipline, Brifly gathered thorow the whole course of the Scripture* (1658) expounds the books, chapter by chapter; while a similar work, *The Somme of the Christian Religion* (1613), appends to the answers long lists of Biblical references.

Moreover, at the time of its greatest popularity for distinctly religious purposes, adaptations of the form occur. *A profane Catechism, collected out of Mr. Chillingworth's works* (1644) is interesting as the work of an enemy who tries to expose Chillingworth's heresies by making up a set of questions to be answered by quotations from his writings. Again we have an outright parody in *A Conference betweene a Popish Recusant and a Protestant Maid* (1642). The pamphlet opens as follows:

Q. What is your Name?

A. Roundhead.

Q. Who gave you this Name?

A. My Persecutors and Slanderers in my infamie, wherein I was made a wonder to Wise men, a jeering stocke to Fooles, and an inheritor of the scorne and contempt of all the rabblement of Hell.

Q. What did your Persecutors and Slanderers then for you?

A. They did Promise and vow three things in my name; First, that they will make me odious to all that be of their fraternity; Secondly, that they will worke my ruine and confusion; And thirdly, they wish that God would sinke them many miles into Hell, if they doe not so doe.

Since the catechism was so largely devoted to the religious education of children, it was to be expected that it would early be combined with more secular matter in order to compose a complete manual for school use. *The Catechisme of Christiane Religion, taught in scholes* of Bastingius, printed in Edinburgh in 1591, had the A B C prefixed to it, a combination repeated at London in 1636. The practice thus initiated was continued until comparatively recent times, both in England and in America; for, as Paul Leicester Ford has shown, the *New England Primer*, widely used within the memory of men, and still preserved in many homes, regularly contained the catechism.

The immense popularity of the catechism may serve as a simple and sufficient explanation of the widespread use of

question and answer for other purposes. Of these, the most obvious was religious instruction. From the catechism itself it was only a step to exposition of the Creed, of the Liturgy of the Church of England, the institution of the Sacrament, and the Lord's Prayer. So far did such practises go that the supremacy of the sermon was threatened. In 1630 Archbishop Laud ordered that throughout England afternoon sermons should be turned into catechising. Authorities on the art of preaching, like Wilkins and Glanvill, recognized the value of the catechism to the minister, and some even regarded catechising as their most important activity. Henry More, for example, expresses himself in one of his theological works, *Of Publick Worship*, as follows:

Concerning Preaching, that which is most remarkable is this, That whereas there are three chief kinds thereof, namely Catechising, Expounding a Chapter, and Preaching usually so called, whereof the first is the best, and the last the least considerable of them all, this worst and last is the very Idol of some Men, and the other rejected as a Thing of little worth. But assuredly they are of the most value for the effectual implanting the Gospel of Christ in the Minds of Men, and of the two, as I said, Catechising is the better; because it enforces the Catechized to take notice of what is taught him, and what is thus taught him is not so voluminous but that he can carry it away and remember it forever: and withal the most Useful, as being the very Fundamentals comprized in the Christian Creed, or the first and most naturall Results from them tending to indispensable Duties of Life; and therefore will alone, if sincerely believed and faithfully practised, carry a man to Heaven.

Glanvill, too, considers the question, whether catechising "is better and more useful than so much preaching"; but insists that "such comparisons are odious. One duty should not be commended to the disparagement of another; each ought to have its place."

With the catechism thus firmly fixed as the proper method of conveying religious instruction, it was natural that the schools, which were to so large an extent under the control of the church, should extend this catechetical procedure to the teaching of more secular subjects. The English and Latin languages, which may almost be said to have rivalled one another in the schools, each had text books written in question and answer. Such training was, moreover, extended beyond mere grammar

to the study of orthography, spelling, and reading. Isaac Watts got out in 1720 a work of this sort, entitled, *The Art of Reading and Writing English*, while a *Rhetoric Epitomiz'd* was issued as late as 1747. Mathematics was explained in like fashion, as, by the middle of the eighteenth century, were also Roman history, the constitution of Germany, and Geography. Indeed, as was also the case with the dialogue text book, the popularity of the catechism text was slow in declining. One Hugo Reed published in rapid succession in the years 1837, 1840, and 1841, catechisms of Chemistry, of Heat, and of Astronomy; while an investigation of the scientific books in America shows an even later circulation.

Beyond the boundaries of the school, the catechism found scattering use. In *Aristotle's Family Jewel, or Newest Problems in Question and Answer* (1705), were included "Directions for Midwives, Wet and Dry Nurses, and those that have Children." Surgery, which had been taught occasionally by dialogue, was taught by question and answer also. One Edward Taylor undertook in 1691 to unfold "in divers considerations and demonstrations . . . Jacob Behmen's Theosophick Philosophy," giving answers "to the remainder of the 177 Theosophick Questions propounded by J. Behmen." Witchcraft was expounded in a tract entitled, *The Discovery of Witches; in answer to severall Queries, the symptoms enumerated, and the author's method of investigation elucidated* (1647). In the *Somers Tracts* there were reprinted two treatises concerned respectively with money, and with proposals for the relief and employment of the poor. In lighter circles the device was turned to the asking and answering of riddles, and to the telling of fortunes; while the *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence, or The Arts of Wooing and Complimenting, as they are managed in the Spring garden* (3d ed. 1685) are furnished with "450 delightful Questions and Answers."

A modified variety of question and answer sprinkles liberally the literature of formal controversy, both religious and political. Instead of assisting the process of instruction, the question is here made merely a convenient accessory to general exposition. It is to the pamphleteer what his "thirdly" and "fourthly" was to the sermonizer. One undertakes *An Answer to Sixteen Queries, Touching the Rise and Observation of Christmas* (1654),

another *An Answer to a Quaker's Seventeen Heads of Queries containing in them seventy seven Questions* (1660); another presents *Sixteene Questions propounded unto Mr. John Cotton of Boston in New England, together with his Answers* (1644), and still a fourth, *Seven Questions about the Controversie betweene the Church of England and the Separatists and Ana-baptists* (1645). No simpler method of organizing a controversial pamphlet could be imagined, particularly if, as in so many cases, the author's task was merely that of replying categorically to a list of questions propounded by an opponent. One pamphlet by Prynne asking four uncomfortable questions regarding the late archbishop drew four replies in three months, all of which undertook to answer his four queries.

The plan also found its way into periodicals. Of these the first was Care's *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* (June 24, 1681). But it remained for John Dunton in his *Athenian Gazette* (1691) to put the scheme to interesting and important uses. Here it was made the framework of the periodical. A board of editors, of which Dunton himself was one, undertook to answer all questions which should be sent to their journal. The result was the most heterogeneous set of questions, and the most astonishing lot of replies ever got together. The popularity of the scheme was immediate and tremendous, calling forth a short-lived rival publication from the irrepressible Tom Brown, entitled *The Lacedaemonian Mercury*. But while Drake, Brown's biographer, insists that "Abundance of Critical Questions are here answered with a great deal of Solidity and Judgment, as well as Wit and Humor," the public in general agreed with Dunton in regarding it as an inferior imitation of the original.

In later years the plan reappeared in *The British Apollo* (1708-1711), the *Daily Oracle by which Questions are answered in every Art, and Science, either Serious, Comical, or Humorous, both in Prose and Poetry, with other Amusements, By a Society of Gentlemen* (1715). This is the periodical of which a German traveler who visited Cambridge in 1710 says, "I found it more solid and better than the *Athenian Oracle*, which otherwise is of the same kind, and some volumes of which I bought printed in London as a collection." Other imitators are *All Alive and Merry, or the London Morning Post* (1739-40), and *The Eccho, or Edinburgh Weekly* (1730).

Even the literary journals published correspondence as today and answered numerous questions. Many of these are, however, imaginary and devised to satirize some custom or opinion.

The cause of such fondness for dialogical literature may be sought both in training and in tradition. Elementary education, both religious and secular, was full of the spirit of the dialogues. Erasmus, Cicero, and Lucian appear in numerous curriculums; catechisms and books of colloquies abound. Like the liturgy of the church, which accustomed young and old to antiphonal compositions, these kindred types emphasized the opposition of ideas, and, less definitely, of speakers.

In the universities, until the middle of the seventeenth century, disputations were common in all subjects. Despite the criticism of such reformers as Vives, the practice, initiated by Abelard, retained its hold. The mediaeval student at the end of his fourth year was expected to maintain public disputations with the Masters of the Schools before the University officials, at the successful conclusion of which ordeal the grade of a Bachelor was conferred. For three more years he was compelled by diligent attention at disputations to qualify himself for the dignity of Master of Arts. In August, 1564, when Queen Elizabeth visited St. John's College, Cambridge, in state, she heard public disputations in philosophy, divinity, and other subjects. The end of the public disputations at Oxford came officially in 1636 when Laud substituted for them formal public examinations. At Cambridge we learn in 1647 of the riotous banquets which followed each series of disputations, in 1667 how those prevented by the plague from appearing for the ordeal were granted extensions, and so late as 1714 of elaborate disputations publicly conducted. The first Harvard commencement, August 1642, was similarly celebrated, with a long list of participants suggesting the roll of the New England Society.

Obviously no child could be brought up in churches and schools on the catechism, study text-books cast in dialogue or question and answer, learn from such books as Johnson's *Scholar's Guide from the Accidence to the University* (1665) the meaning of such words as *colloquy* and *dialogue*, practice to acquire facility in their composition, and at university enter into disputations, without being imbued with a dialogical spirit. Of such a spirit the dialogue and its allied forms were thus both a cause and an effect.

As we examine the larger field of controversial prose we encounter much to support our contention. Everywhere we find a style, intimate, personal, spirited, even virulent.

For a beginning take a representative paragraph from that one of the Marprelate tracts known as *The Epistle* (1588):

Now, Masters Prelates, I will give you some more counsels; follow it. Repent, Clergymen, and especially, Bishops. Preach faith, Bishops, and swear no more by it. Give over your lordly callings; reform your families, and your children: they are the pattern of looseness.

Thomas Nash, chief spokesman of the church in the controversy, writes in as intimate a tone, and with more vivacity. First and second personal pronouns abound; he suggests at once a letter and an audience.

The chief controversies of the period of the Commonwealth—that between Bishop Hall and Milton (seconding the Smectymnuans), and that between Milton and Salmasius—give evidence of the persistence of an oral tone. Milton's *Of Reformation in England*, composed as a letter, employs *I, me, you* and *sir* at frequent intervals. *An Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus*, though less personal than some of his writings, is full of detailed refutation. *Colasterion: A Reply to a Nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* is absolutely personal. So, also, are *Of Education*, his notes upon a sermon by Matthew Griffith, and his *Defence of the People of England*

The effect of controversy upon style is perhaps even more apparent in Hall. The *Humble Remonstrance*, though eloquently persuasive, is dignified, restrained, and devoid of personal feeling. But the *Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, Against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus* abounds in the second person and the usual piecemeal rebuttal. By the time Hall has come to write *A short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus* he has thoroughly lost his temper. Persuasiveness is forgotten; these are opponents to be answered, not doubters to be convinced. As when a man who decides to run for political office throws dignity aside and, tacitly consenting to the rules of the game, agrees to bear insulting remarks with as good grace as he can while exchanging blow for blow, so Hall accepts the tone of his opponents as his own standard.

Of a like tendency during the Restoration Sir Roger L'Estrange is an admirable illustration. In no sense a writer for future generations, he knew to a nicety the taste of his own age. His numerous pamphlets possess but a meretricious value, and no one today but a specialist in the period of the Civil War could remember anything but his *Observer* of all that he ever wrote. In his own day, however, no controversial writer was better known or more talked about. The prominence of his official position combined with the timeliness of his subjects and the vigor of his style to keep him constantly in the forefront of discussion. And yet his manner was that of his predecessors, and the influence he exerted upon his contemporaries was only instrumental in preserving a little longer an established style.

In the next two or three decades controversial literature underwent a gradual change. The slow disappearance of the causes of political unrest, coupled with an increased emphasis upon the amenities of controversy, strengthened the tendency to sink the personal identity, and center attention upon the topics discussed.

In literary criticism the situation is complicated by the long established practice of framing criticism in the form of letters. Aside from the force of convention the plan had two excuses. One was the necessity of addressing as a patron some nobleman or wealthy person. The other was that it provided a plausible excuse for a sort of literary activity which seemed rather to need justification. Criticism was not for many years a clearly recognized field of literature, and even a masterful figure like Dryden embodies the most of his significant pronouncements in dedicatory prefaces.

But that the use of the letter is another evidence of the prevalent dialogical spirit is clear from the familiar tone encountered everywhere. From Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* I quote:

Is it then the Pastoral Poem which is misliked?—Or is it the lamenting Elegiac, which in a kind heart would move rather pity than blame?—Is it the bitter but wholesome Iambic—No, perchance it is the Comic whom naughty playmakers and Stage-keepers have justly made odious.

The rhetorical summary suggests the end of an oration:

Since then Poetry is of all learning most ancient;—since it is so universal that no learned Nation doth despise it—since both Roman and Greek gave divine names unto it

In the last paragraphs parallel structure is prominent. A *Since* series is followed by a *To Believe* series, and this by a *Thus doing* series, bringing the essay to an effective, if over-ingenious, close.

Among the immediate contemporaries of Sidney, several might be noted whose style is quite as plainly oral. *Certaine Notes of Instruction* by George Gascoigne, was "written at the request of Master Edouardo Donati" and never lets one forget that a pupil is being instructed. After a foreword comparable to the opening of Cicero's *De Oratore*, we have a series of compact, numbered instructions, expressed in lucid English, for the making of English verse. Both first and second person appear in profusion, there is abundance of illustration, and altogether the essay is so written as admirably to serve its purpose.

Many examples are also forthcoming in Ascham's *Schoolmaster*. In Book II, after mentioning objectionable incidents in the *Morte Arthure*, he continues:

This is good stuffe for wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I know when God's Bible was banished the Court, and "Morte Arthure" received into the Prince's Chamber.

Irony and indignation here struggle for the mastery, and, even in reading the lines, one unconsciously modulates his voice as he thinks the speaker would have done. "I have been," says Ascham at another point, "a looker on in the Cockpit of learning these many years." "A Bishop now liveth, a good man, whose judgment in Religion I better like that his opinion in perfittness in other learning, said once unto me:" . . . "Therefore thou that shotest at perfection in the Latin tong, think not thyselfe wiser than Tullie was."

Of Ben Jonson's works, both the Dedicatory Epistle to *Volpone* and the *Discoveries* abound in first person and direct address. The latter in particular sound often like a short hand account of one half of a conversation; if only one will imagine the interlocutor as somewhat overawed, and given to expressing

his dissent by his countenance rather than orally. One paragraph begins:

Nothing in our Age, I have observ'd, is more preposterous than the *running Iudgements* upon *Poetry* and *Poets*; when wee shalle heare those things commended and cry'd up for the best writings, which a man would scarce vouchsafe to wrap any wholesome drug in; he would never light his *Tobacco* with them.

Similar examples might be cited from the *Defence of Poetry* (a second reply to Gosson) of Thomas Lodge, but we pass to a brief notice of another famous literary quarrel, that between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nash. Following a convention which we have shown to be well nigh universal, Nash devotes a part of his *Reply to Harvey* to a detailed answer to points made by his opponents. The manner is, however, markedly free and original. For example, "The Hexameter Verse I grant to be a gentleman of an ancient house," . . . "Thy Hexameter I do not so deeply commend" . . . "As for Flores Poetarum, they are flowers that yet I never smelt to" . . . "The flowers of youre Foure Letters it maybe I have overlooked more narrowly" . . . "You will never leave your old tricks of drawing Spenser into every pybald thing you do." . . . "I'll pawn my hand to a half penny, I have read more good poets through than thou ever hardst of."

In a contest of this sort, Harvey is not to be outdone, and in his reply characterizes his opponent thus:

. . . oh, but Agrippa was an urcheon, Copernicus a shrimpe, Cardan a puppy, Scaleger a baby, Paracelsus a scab, Erastus a patch, Sigonius a toy, Cuiacius a bable to this Termagant, that fighteth not with single words, but with dubble swords. . . .

Were it necessary one might refer to the correspondence of D'Avenant and Hobbes initiated by the preface to *Gondibert*, to the conversational quality of Shadwell's preface to *The Sullen Lovers*, to Glanvill's *Essay concerning Preaching*, to Young's *Conjectures of Original Composition*, but enough has surely been said to make plain the substantial basis for our general assertions.

It is not, of course, contended that the practice was universal. Just as Bacon avoids in his controversial writings the conventional quotation and answer, or objection and answer, enumerat-

ing instead at the first of an argument the points of the opposition, and then answering them in order without restatement; so, in his critical essays he strikes out for himself by the elimination of direct address and personal appeal; and substitutes for the easy, diffuse style so common, the meaty brevity for which Jonson expressed such admiration. Rymer, who replaced with his solid treatises the customary epistolary criticism, also belongs by himself, despite the vigor of his style, the frequency of his allusions and quotations, and the unconscious humor of his criticisms. Sir William Temple, one of the acknowledged stylists of the seventeenth century, writes critical prose which no more suggests the presence of a listener than does ordinary prose today. But, though scattering instances illustrate the inevitable variation among authors, the trend is plain. Its oral style is one of the prominent characteristics of the critical prose of the period.

The significance of this fact is best appreciated in the light of what has gone before. In the earlier pages, much was made of certain concrete forms, the catechism, both religious and secular, and the plainly related use of question and answer for rhetorical purposes. Religious and political controversy, we have seen, utilized with some uniformity the quotation and answer, and objection and answer. Here, in a field of literature to which none of these special devices was adapted, we find the oral quality which underlies all these forms and is itself one of the fundamental constituents of the dialogue. In its essence the dialogue is more than a contest or exchange; it is an oral contest or exchange. The speech must approximate the speech of men; the speakers must be differentiated sufficiently to give their speech the semblance of reality. Inasmuch as the period during which the style of English prose most plainly exhibits this quality is also the period of supremacy of the dialogue, a sympathetic relationship is not hard to postulate. Mutual influence there must have been. The special forms here studied may be regarded as the contribution of the dialogue, just as the dialogue itself found sustaining favor in a public tendency toward oral expression.

BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD

V.

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE IN THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

THE outstanding history of the Prussian Academy of Sciences has been written by Adolf Harnack in his *Geschichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*,¹ a monumental work which supersedes the earlier French account of Christian Bartholmèss² in every respect. But naturally Harnack, in his voluminous treatise, does not offer a connected narrative of the fortunes of the German language in the Academy throughout the two centuries of the existence of that body. This phase is dealt with continuously and brought nearer to date in an article by Gustav Roethe.³ Roethe, however, is interested chiefly in the modern Deutsche Kommission and considers the entire question from the point of view of this interest. The present paper aims to direct attention once more to the subject as a whole, in the belief that it constitutes in a sense a chapter in the history of the German language.

The Academy, or "Societät der Wissenschaften," as it was originally called, was founded on July 11, 1700 by the Elector Frederick III. But it is necessary, in studying the genesis of the Academy, to go back to the late seventeenth century, when interest in the mother tongue was first gaining momentum in Germany, thanks to the efforts of such men as Schottel, Leibnitz and Thomasius and the learned academies of the time.⁴

¹ Berlin, Reichsdruckerei, 1900. 3 vols. in 4. Cf. also the shorter account of Wilhelm Dilthey, *Die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, ihre Vergangenheit und ihre gegenwärtigen Aufgaben* (Deutsche Rundschau, CIII, 416 ff., and CIV, 81 ff.).

² *Histoire philosophique de l'Académie de Prusse, depuis Leibnitz jusqu'à Schelling, particulièrement sous Frédéric le Grand*. Paris, 1850-1851. 2 vols.

³ Gustav Roethe, *Die Deutsche Kommission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ihre Vorgeschichte, ihre Arbeiten und Ziele* (Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur, hrsg. von Johannes Ilberg, 31. Band, 16. Jahrg., 1913, pp. 37-74).

⁴ The statement made by Ludwig Keller, *Comenius und die Akademien der Naturphilosophen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vorträge und Aufsätze der Comenius-Gesellschaft, III, 1), Berlin, 1895, p. 15, to the effect that these academies used the promotion of the German language only as a blind to conceal their real esoteric, political objects from their enemies has not been proved.

As early as 1641 Schottel had published the first edition of the *Teutsche Sprachkunst* and in 1663 there appeared his *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haubtsprache*, a work which shows a genuine affection for the German language and blazed the trail for future philological studies. Six years later, in 1669, Leibnitz wrote the second draft of his *Bedencken von Aufrichtung einer Academie oder Societät in Teutschland, zu Aufnehmen der Künste und Wissenschaften*.⁵ But the *Bedencken* does not hold a direct brief for the German language; it argues only indirectly in its favor by urging the creation of a German academy of arts and sciences. Not until 1676, in his Latin *Consultatio de naturae cognitione ad vitae usus promovenda instituendaque in eam rem Societate Germanica, quae scientias artesque maxime utiles vitae nostra lingua describat patriaeque honorem vindicet*,⁶ does Leibnitz expressly combine the two propositions, that a German academy should be established, and that its language of communication ought to be German:

Et vero malim pleraque ista Germanica scribi lingua, quemadmodum in communi usu versantur: nam latine pleraque non satis aut commode aut proprie reddentur, cum vocabulis veterum et multo magis phrasibus eorum aptis destituamur, et nihil causae sit, cur non eundem linguae nostrae honorem asseramus, quem alii suae.⁷

Two pages later he develops the same thought further:

Germanico autem sermone omnia scribenda sunt, tum ut ostendamus exteris, posse et a nobis scribi, quae se non intelligere ipsi doleant, tum ut nostratium studiis velificemur. Negandum enim non est, mire apud exteros acui ingenia excitarique curiositatem, dum foeminae etiam et pueri et homines, quos a scholis frequentandis vitae ratio aut juventutis infelicitas exclusit, nihilominus aditum sibi ad omnes artes scientiasque cognoscendas apertum vident. Dum interea nostri homines etiam discendi avidi in rerum cognitionem non nisi post herculeos superatarum linguarum labores admittuntur, quibus saepe animi acies obtunditur.⁸

⁵ The work appears in Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 19 ff. It contains this passage: "Und wird mir kein Teutscher fruchtbringender verdencken, dass ich, deutsche, lateinische und andere barbarische oder zierliche Wörther ohne Wahl, wie sie sich zuerst offeriret, jure primogeniturae gebraucht und gnug gehabt, verstanden zu werden."

⁶ Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 26 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Indeed, under the influence of Schottel, Leibnitz often showed a leaning toward his mother tongue, which appears most clearly in his two principal treatises on that language, the *Ermahnung an die Teutsche, ihren Verstand und Sprache besser zu üben samt beigelegten Vorschlag einer Teutschgesinten Gesellschaft*⁹ and the *Unvorgreifliche Gedancken betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der Deutschen Sprache*.¹⁰

The *Ermahnung* opposes the Latinist party and presents a convincing, clever argument, in line with the thought that dominates all of Schottel's linguistic work. It champions the development of the mother tongue in every field, practical as well as theoretical, so that it may become clear, euphonious, graceful and able to deal adequately with all subjects, including the scientific branches, which the *Sprachgesellschaften* neglected. While admitting the existence of but few good books in German,¹¹ and berating the arrogance of German scholars who write only in Latin for a small, exclusive audience of colleagues,¹² Leibnitz is convinced that the Holy Scriptures, for example, could not be rendered better in any language than they have been in German.¹³ Toward the end of the treatise the author sums up his final conclusions as follows:

Es solten einige wohlmeinende Personen zusammentreten und unter höherem Schutze eine Teutschgesinte Gesellschaft stiften; deren Absehen auf alle dasjenige gerichtet seyn solle, so den deutschen Ruhm erhalten oder auch wieder aufrichten können, und solches zwar in denen Dingen, so Verstand, Gelehrsamkeit und Beredsamkeit einiger

⁹ The *Ermahnung* has been published from the manuscript in the then royal library of Hanover by C. L. Grotefend, Hannover, 1846, and was republished in *Weimar Jahrbuch*, III, 88-110 (1855). For its probable date, 1679 or 1680, see Schmarsow, *Quellen und Forschungen*, XXIII, 15-16. The most recent edition is that of W. Schmied-Kowarzik: *Leibniz, Deutsche Schriften*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1916.

¹⁰ It has been published in more recent times by Schmarsow, *loc. cit.*, Strassburg, 1877. Its original title, which serves to disclose its original purpose, later considerably broadened, was *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken betreffend die aufrichtung eines Teutschgesinnnten Ordens*. Schmarsow dates it a few years later than the *Ermahnung*, not as late as 1697, as was previously done. It had first been published in 1717 by Leibnitz's assistant Eccard. See also Schmied-Kowarzik, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Grotefend ed., p. 10.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

massen betreffen können; und dieweil solches alles vornehmlich in der Sprache erscheint, als welche ist eine Dolmetscherin des Gemüths und eine Behalterin der Wissenschaft, so würde unter andern auch dahin zu trachten seyn, wie allerhand nachdrückliche, nützliche auch annehmliche Kernschriften in teutscher Sprache verfertigt werden möchten, damit der Lauff der Barbarey gehämnet, und die in den Tag hinein schreiben beschähmet werden mögen.¹⁴

The argument of the *Unvorgreiffliche Gedancken* is in general similar to that of the earlier work. German literature, Leibnitz declares, is rather backward in its treatment of abstract subjects,¹⁵ and its vocabulary seems like a veritable hodge-podge (p. 51). The complete abandonment of the language, however, would be nothing short of a calamity, because the adoption of a foreign tongue might bring with it foreign domination and would be followed by more than a century of linguistic confusion (p. 52). Germans, he argues, have learned much from foreigners, but especially France and the French language have been excessively idolized by them (pp. 53-54). From these premises, Leibnitz proceeds to lay down his philological principles and method of procedure in lexicography and etymology for the purpose of purifying and stabilizing his native tongue. He proposes three great fundamental works, first a *Sprachbrauch*, then a *Sprachschatz* and last a *Sprachquell* (pp. 55-57). These volumes should profit by the experience of such bodies as the Italian and French academies and should not ignore the lessons to be derived from comparative philology (pp. 57 ff.). The last five paragraphs (115-119) in the original version, in which Leibnitz urged, much as he had done at the conclusion of the *Ermahnung*, the creation of a German society or order for the purpose of carrying out his theories, are omitted from the second redaction.

The influence and authority of Leibnitz with the Elector Frederick III and his wife Sophie Charlotte were ultimately great enough to move the Elector, in 1700, to found the Societät with Leibnitz as its first president. In a letter dated Berlin, March 23, 1700, Hofprediger Daniel Ernst Jablonski announced to Leibnitz that the Elector had approved the project for a

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁵ Schmarow ed., p. 47. Subsequent page references in this paragraph refer to the same edition.

Societät and that he will found and protect it with the proviso: "dass man auch auf die Cultur der Teutschen Sprache bey dieser Foundation gedencken möchte."¹⁶ In his reply, Leibnitz writes: "Es wird nur zu denken sein, wie die teutsche Sprachkunst mit den übrigen Wissenschaften zu verbinden sein wird."¹⁷ Two weeks later, on April 6, Jablonski reported to Leibnitz that certain edicts pertaining to the Societät had been returned to their author by Wedel, the *maltre des requêtes*, "weil zu viel lateinische und frantzösische Termini darinnen gefunden worden . . . damit der Stylus gemäss der deutschliebenden Intention des gnädigsten Fundatoris eingerichtet werde."¹⁸

The *Stiftungsurkunde* of the Societät, signed by Frederick III, contains the following passage:

Solchem nach soll bey dieser Societet unter anderen nützlichen Studien, was zu erhaltung der Teutschen Sprache in ihrer anständigen reinigkeit, auch zur ehre und zierde der T. N. gereicht, absonderlich mit besorget werden, also dass es eine Teütsch gesinnte Societet der Scien-tien seyn . . . solle.¹⁹

To this document was added a *General-Instruction* for the members:

Damit auch die uralte teutsche Hauptsprache in ihrer natürlichen, anständigen Reinigkeit und Selbststand erhalten werde, und nicht endlich ein ungereimtes Mischmasch und Undeutlichkeit daraus entstehe, so wollen Wir die vormalige fast in Abgang und Vergess gekommene Vorsorge durch mehrgedachte Unsere Societät und andere dienliche Anstalten erneuern lassen.²⁰

The *Instruction* speaks also of avoiding "fremde unanständige Worte und übel entlehnte Reden" and of preserving "gute teutsche Redarten." Furthermore it proposes a dictionary such as was begun by the Grimm brothers about a century and a half later. A comparison of these various plans with the proposals offered by Leibnitz especially in the *Ermahnung* and the *Unvorgreiffliche Gedancken* makes clear the profound influence exerted upon Frederick III by these two treatises, which were probably broached to the Elector on more than one

¹⁶ Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 71.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 79.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 83-84.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 94.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 98.

occasion,²¹ and indicates that by virtue of his writings Leibnitz became the real moving spirit in the establishment of the Societät. The traditional treatment accorded to the *Ermahnung* and the *Unvorgreiffliche Gedancken* by the literary historians, as utterances that were devoid of any immediate success or influence because of their posthumous publication, is at least partly discredited by these considerations. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that Leibnitz in urging the establishment of a German academy was by no means principally interested in philology.

There were others, too, who had different plans for the cultivation of the German tongue and the dissemination of knowledge. Important among these is Professor Christian Gottlieb Grau, who in 1695 wrote a work advocating the establishment of a popular German academy. Its proposed object was to offer instruction in German to the younger generation, somewhat on the order of modern university extension courses.²² Leibnitz evinced an interest in the plan, and induced the author to submit a short report on its principal features. Thereupon Leibnitz himself drafted a memorandum on the project for the Elector, but nothing came of it, as apparently it was considered too immature.

The labors and achievements of the Societät in philology during the earliest years of its existence are described in a me-

²¹ In a letter to Jablonski of August 30, 1700, Leibnitz mentions a memorandum he wrote for the Elector on the German language. It was probably based upon the *Unvorgreiffliche Gedancken*. For the letter see Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 123-124.

²² The full title of Grau's work was: "Die unmassgeblich-neu-angegebene hoch-teutsche Grund- und hoche Landes-Unterrichtung, darinnen durch eine neue Lehr-Art dargethan wird, wie nicht allein die allgemeine angehende Landes-Jugend von dem 4ten Jahr an bis zu Ausgang des 12ten in allerley vernünftigen Gründen der Künste und Wissenschaften, auch wahrer christlicher Furcht Gottes, sondern auch die ferner aufwachsende bis zu Ausgang des 20ten Jahrs, neben dem Lauff anderer lateinischen Classen und hohen Schulen zu der 4 Haupt-Sprachen und hohen Haupt-Wissenschaften reicher und genügsamer Erkänntniss, in der regierenden Fürsten-Sprache so anzuführen seyn, dass dem gantzen Lande ungewöhnlich viele und grosse Seelen- und Leibes-Nutzen mit wenigern Lern- und Lebens-Kosten glücklich und gesegnet können zugewendet werden, zu hoher Erwehung und gnädigster Beförderung an das teutsche Licht gelegt von Christian Gottlieb Grau, der Welt-Weisheit Professore und des göttl. Wortes Predigern," Herborn 1695.

morandum written by Leibnitz for the King early in 1702, prior to the departure of the former from Berlin, in which it is stated:

Man hat in dem Alterthum der teutschen Sprache nicht wenig entdeckt, das Celtische mit dem Teutschen zusammen gehalten, alte teutsche Manuscripta nützlich angewendet, auch Monumenta der teutschen Historia ans Licht bracht und hoffet, dermaleins zu einem rechtschaffenen teutschen Wörter-Schatz gelangen zu können.²³

Genuine interest in the German language was shown by one early member of the Societät in particular, namely Johann Leonhard Frisch, among other things a fair lexicographer and student of the German dialects. He published a total of sixteen contributions in the *Miscellanea Berolinensia ad incrementum scientiarum, ex scriptis Societati Regiae Scientiarum exhibitis edita, Berolini, 1710-1743* (7 vols.), the official collection of Societät publications. His earliest paper, of 1710, bears the title: *Origo quorundam vocabulorum Germanicorum et cum aliis linguis affinitas*.²⁴ It may safely be said that of the first members of the Societät Frisch more than anyone else endeavored to give that body the stamp of a *deutschgesinnte Societät*, in accordance with the Elector's purpose as expressed in the *Urkunde*.

In 1711, when the regular sectional meetings of the Societät began, under the statutes of 1710, which provided among other things for a class whose purpose was to be the development of the German language and the study of German ecclesiastical and political history, it was decided to proceed at once with the compilation of a complete German dictionary. But as early as February 7, 1711, the secretary of the Societät, Johann Theodor Jablonski, the brother of the Hofprediger, reported to Leibnitz:

Künftigen Donnerstag wird die teutsche Zunft zusammenkommen, und da insonderheit auf K. Befehl über die Verfertigung eines "vollständigen," wie der König sich ausdrückt, Wörterbuchs zu rathschlagen sein, wozu aber die hie gar wenige Glieder, die etwas beitragen könnten, vorhanden, und auch auswärtig, wie Herr Neukirch davor hält, nicht viele durften gefunden werden.²⁵

²³ Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

²⁴ The *Origo* is published in the *Miscellanea*, I, 60-83. It contains many inaccuracies.

²⁵ Harnack, "Berichte des Secretars der brandenburgischen Societät der Wissenschaften J. Th. Jablonski an den Präsidenten G. W. Leibniz (1700-

So it was decided for the time being to translate the *Germania* of Tacitus into German. However, this project, too, suffered long delay and was finally abandoned.

Nevertheless, under the direction of Hofprediger Jablonski, the Societät continued to carry on studies in German orthography. In spite of warnings on the part of Leibnitz, who knew that the Jablonskis, being of non-German origin, were not competent in this field, some material on this subject was actually published in manuscript form and sent to a number of scholars.²⁶

In the *Akademisches Archiv* (Wissenschaftliche Verhandlungen und Aufsätze, 1699-1737) appear several papers on the project of a German dictionary, most of them written by Daniel Jablonski. In one of these papers, dated 1711, he speaks of: "Die Ausarbeitung eines dreifachen Lexici oder deutschen Wortbuchs, nemlich Etymologici, Technici und Usualis, als wodurch die Sprache aus ihrem Grund herfürgesuchet, derselben Reichtum entdeckt, die Grundrichtigkeit erforschet, verbessert und bevestiget, und ein beständig bleibender Sprachschaz zusammengetragen werden könnte."²⁷ According to Jablonski's plan the dictionary was to contain all pure German words, as well as those of foreign provenience, together with the indication of their origin, also derivatives and archaic, dialectal and technical words, so far as they might not be too specialized. The technical words were to comprise a separate *Kunstwörterlexicon*. Poetic and vulgar expressions were to receive attention too. Jablonski thus outlines his plan:

Die Ausleg- und Erklärung der Wörter, soll nicht durch fremde, etwa die latein- oder französische Sprache, sondern mit andern deutschen gleichdeutigen Worten oder verständlichen Redarten, und Umschreibungen geschehen, damit der Gebrauch des Buchs allgemeiner, und auch denen, so keiner andern Sprache kundig, diensam gemacht werde. Es wäre dann dass man lieber dem Exempel des italiänischen Dictionarii della Crusca folgen wollte, welches neben die eigene auch die lateinische Auslegung setzet.²⁸

1715) nebst einigen Antworten von Leibniz," *Abhandlungen der königl. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1897, No. 124.

²⁶ See Harnack, "Berichte des Secretars," Nos. 156, 157, 159.

²⁷ Harnack, *Geschichte*, II, 223.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 224.

During the absence of Leibnitz from Berlin Frisch kept him informed by letter as to what was going on in the Societät. With regard to the Germanistic work of the Jablonskis, in particular the translation of Tacitus' *Germania* which was engaging Secretary Johann Jablonski, Frisch wrote: "Es moquieren sich viel darüber und sagen, man spüre den Pollacken gleich im ersten Periodo."²⁹ Leibnitz agreed with his correspondent.³⁰ Again when Frisch wrote of the same translation that it contains: "so grosse Fehler wider den Genium unserer und der lateinischen Sprache . . . , dass es eine Schande wäre, wenn sie unter der Societät Namen publicirt würde" (*Berichte*, No. 33), Leibnitz was in full accord with him.

The Societät as such finally dropped the plan of translating the *Germania*, as well as the dictionary project. But in 1741 there appeared in Berlin the Teutschlateinisches Wörterbuch of Frisch, a work not supported by the Societät but which later won even the praise of the Grimms. A few years earlier, in 1737, Johann Georg Wachter, a member of the Societät from 1720 to 1722, and the author of an interesting study *De Lingua Codicis Argentei*, had published his *Glossarium Germanicum continens Origines et Antiquitates totius linguae Germanicae*.

In passing, it is worth noting the fact that all the official publications of the Societät as they appear in the *Miscellanea* are in Latin. A motion made by Frisch in the session of February 10, 1734, to the effect that a part of these papers be published in German was unanimously carried but not executed.³¹

When Frederick the Great ascended the throne, he effected a thorough reorganization of the Societät, which during the reign of Frederick William I had become rather disrupted and somnolent. His cabinet secretary, C. E. Jordan, kept him informed as to new developments in French literature; Christoph

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 205. This letter of 1711 is undated. The word "Pollacken" is misleading, for the Jablonski family came originally from Bohemia. But the father of Daniel and Johann migrated at an early age to Polish Lissa, where the two boys, whose maternal grandfather was Amos Comenius, lived for some years. See *A. D. B.*, XIII, 523 ff.

³⁰ Harnack, "Berichte des Secretars," No. 32. Cf. also J. L. Fischer, *Frisch's Briefwechsel mit G. W. Leibnitz*, Berlin, 1896 (reprint from vol. 2 of *Archiv der Brandenburgia*), p. 41.

³¹ Harnack, *Geschichte*, I, 238.

Ludwig Stille (ob. 1752), a colonel in the army and later curator of the Academy, did everything in his power to arouse the King's interest in German literature as it existed at that time, and to imbue him with a sense of his duty toward it. Stille had little sympathy with French literature because of its artificiality³² and tried to urge this fact upon Frederick. However, he met with but small success in impressing the King and the Academy after Maupertuis had become president of that body, and so he restricted his efforts to combating the influence of Voltaire. In Frederick's *Éloge* of Stille³³ the King praises him profusely but passes silently over his patriotic endeavors in the interest of the German language.

In December, 1743, a plan for reorganizing the Societät was evolved by von Jariges and Bielfeld, especially the former. In this plan the German language and German history are still named as subjects of special importance,³⁴ but an unsigned report on the plan, found in the *Akademisches Archiv*, remarks with reference to the statement that the King desires German history and the German language to be cultivated: "wie weit aber Sr. Maj. Gedanken hiervon entfernt sein, kann Wenigen unbekannt bleiben."³⁵

The *Statuta der Königlichen Academie der Wissenschaften* de dato 24. Januar 1744, uniting the Academy with the Société littéraire de Berlin, are in German, although Formey in his *Histoire de l'Académie* (1752) prints also a French version.³⁶ According to the *Statuta* the Academy is to exclude from its program revealed theology, civil jurisprudence, pure poetry and eloquence, but shall include "das übrige gantze Wissenschafts- und Kunstwesen, imgleichen . . . die alte und neue Historie, sonderlich von Unseren Landen und dem Deutschen Reiche, nicht weniger . . . die Erhaltung der deutschen Sprache in ihrer anständigen Reinigkeit" (pp. 263-264). The

³² For Stille see A. D. B., XXXVI, 240 ff. Koser, *Friedrich der Grosse als Kronprinz*, Stuttgart, 1886, p. 130, writes very favorably about him. See also Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, Stuttgart, 1893, I, passim.

³³ Formey, *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences et des belles lettres de Berlin; avec les mémoires pour la même année, tirés des registres de cette académie*, 1752, p. 152 ff.

³⁴ Harnack, *Geschichte*, I, 275.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 279.

³⁶ For the original German text cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 263-268.

official title of the institution is given as *Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*. But in 1746 the statutes were revised by the president Maupertuis and the title of the Academy became *Académie royale des sciences et belles-lettres*.

It is apparent, then, that Frederick the Great did not wholly abandon the purpose set forth by the original founders of the old Societät when they made express provision for the fostering of the German language. But this part of the work Frederick entrusted to a single academician and made it distinctly subordinate, of much less importance than it had been under Leibnitz. In 1745 the King issued an order that all printed publications of the Academy must appear in French.³⁷ German and Latin could be used only as auxiliary languages in texts published alongside the official French version. In practice, however, such a bilingual system was never used in the academic publications. As for the *oral* mémoires, on the other hand, they could be presented in French, German or Latin. But whoever knew any French at all used it, if for no other reason, in deference to Frederick's new academic president, the Frenchman Maupertuis, who was entirely ignorant of German. Consequently it was not uncommon for reports to be presented before the Academy by non-French members in the most atrocious French.³⁸ Frenchmen were very early represented in the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 294-295. The order itself is not preserved, but the letter of the curators of July 19 referring thereto is found in the *Akademisches Archiv*. This order did not of course affect the essays submitted by contestants in the annual prize competitions. They could be written in French, German or Latin.

³⁸ See Prémontval's partly satirical *Préservatif contre la corruption de la langue française en Allemagne*, Berlin, 2 vols., 1759-1764, mentioned in Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, 312. Cf. also Formey's anonymous *Souvenirs d'un citoyen*, 1^{re} tome, 1789, p. 165. Maupertuis, the president of the Academy, and Formey, the avowed disparager of Leibnitz, both championed the use of French in the Academy. See Harnack, *loc. cit.* French of his day, says Formey in the preface to the academic *Mémoires* of 1745, is almost in the same position as Greek was in the days of Cicero. Maupertuis, in his discourse *Des devoirs de l'Académie*, printed in Formey's *Histoire de l'Académie royale*, 1752, p. 144 f., speaks in the same vein, mentioning the perfection of the French language, its facility of expression, French progress in the arts and sciences, and the great number of excellent books in French. Still he feels constrained to defend French against the charge of oversubtlety and of possessing too much *bel esprit*. His strongest argument in favor of the use of French in the Academy, however, is the statement that the King has willed it so.

Academy.³⁹ In the latter part of the reign of Frederick the Great they became predominant.⁴⁰

The almost complete victory of French in the Prussian Academy at this time would probably not have been won some thirty years later. Yet there is both truth and fairness in Harnack's opinion⁴¹ that for the age under consideration there were distinct advantages in French, especially in Berlin, a city of Huguenots. Above all, it facilitated communication with the outside world—an important requisite in a cosmopolitan era such as the reign of Frederick the Great. No other German academy adopted French, however. In Munich the language was German, in Göttingen, Latin.

In 1748 Maupertuis, realizing that the language restriction was sometimes irksome to members, wrote a letter to the King under date of July 22, requesting permission to publish some of the Academy articles in Latin.⁴² Certain Latin *mémoires*, especially those in the field of chemistry, says Maupertuis, can be translated into French only very unsatisfactorily, either because French lacks terms equivalent to those used by the German chemists, or because such terms are not known to the translators. Other *mémoires*, again, he continues, possess a merit of style in the original Latin which disappears in a translation. "Les uns et les autres de ces auteurs," concludes Maupertuis, "se plaignent des traductions, et peut-être même le public s'en plaindra-t-il aussi." (p. 338). But apparently the request was refused or was never acted upon.

Frederick the Great and his French adviser d'Alembert had but little regard for German literature. D'Alembert, in most respects a fair-minded man, displayed ignorance and harshness in his comments on conditions in Germany. His influence with the King, together with Frederick's own prejudice against the German language⁴³ and against those of his countrymen

³⁹ Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, 237.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 362.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 306-307.

⁴² The letter appears in *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, XVII (tome II of the *Correspondance*), Berlin, 1851, pp. 337-338.

⁴³ An interesting commentary upon Frederick's attitude toward German is furnished by the following incident reported by Dieudonné Thiébauld, a member of the Berlin Academy at this time. Thiébauld came to Berlin early in 1765 to assume his duties as French grammarian at the Berlin military school. In

who insisted upon its use, help to explain why during the latter part of Frederick's reign not a single prominent German was elected to membership in the Academy.⁴⁴ Thus Herder, for example, was not a member of Frederick's Academy, although that body honored him three times (1771, 1775 and 1780) with prizes for German essays submitted in the annual Academy competition. The paper of 1771 was his *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*. Süßmilch, a member since 1745 and one of the few Germans of any standing admitted to the Academy, did not feel at home in the French atmosphere that prevailed during the sessions. He contributed only a few papers to the *Mémoires*, probably because he disliked the compulsion of having to publish them in French. But he delivered a considerable number of lectures in German before the Academy. Notable among these are two discourses given in 1756 and entitled *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*.⁴⁵

The reaction of patriotic Germans toward the language restrictions imposed upon the Academy by Frederick the Great was decidedly unfavorable. Gottsched censured the Academy severely in his *Journal* for choosing French. Klopstock and Lessing were no less outspoken in their disapproval of Frederick's predilection for a foreign tongue.⁴⁶ Büsching⁴⁷ speaks unfavorably of Maupertuis (p. 122), regrets the evil influence of Frenchmen upon the King (pp. 49 and 204), and calls attention to his unfair attitude toward German (p. 56). Goethe also planned to launch an attack against the Academy, as will be seen later.

his first interview with Frederick the conversation turned to the subject of languages. Frederick inquired: "Ainsi, monsieur, vous ne savez pas l'allemand?" Thiébauld replied: "Non, Sire, mais je l'aurai bientôt appris, par le plan que je me suis tracé à ce sujet." Whereupon the King, fearing that a knowledge of German might contaminate the French grammarian's French, answered: "Au contraire, monsieur, je vous engage très-fort à ne jamais l'apprendre. C'est un bonheur que vous ne le sachiez pas." See Thiébauld's *Souvenirs de vingt ans de séjour à Berlin*, 2 vols., Paris, 1860 (published in Barrière's *Bibliothèque des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France pendant le 18^e siècle*, vols. 23-24), I, 25. A German translation of Thiébauld's *Souvenirs* appeared in Stuttgart in 1901.

⁴⁴ Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte*, I, 362.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 459-460.

⁴⁶ Cf. Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, I, 513.

⁴⁷ *Charakter Friedrichs des zweyten Königs von Preussen, beschrieben von Anton Friederich Büsching*, 2nd ed., Karlsruhe, 1789.

Prior to 1768 the German language still prevailed at least in the *Acten* of the Academy. But in that year French superseded German even here, and maintained its position until 1790. It was in vain that such men as Süssmilch, the German, and Sulzer, the representative of the German Swiss group, struggled against the powerful French current. The prize contest of 1784 on the reasons for the universality of the French language is characteristic of the trend of that time. With regard to subject-matter, on the other hand, the Academy pursued a much broader policy. In philosophy, for instance, all the important movements of the time, Scotch, English and German, as well as French, were discussed and studied.

During the last decade of his life Frederick the Great altered somewhat his attitude toward German. The utter apathy which he had manifested up to this time was replaced by a lively, though still decidedly unfavorable, interest in the German language and literature. This change of feeling first became apparent in his well known letter of July 24, 1775, to Voltaire.⁴⁸ The German language, says Frederick, is too verbose and the higher circles shun it in favor of French. It has too many dialects and lacks taste as well as discernment. Its best works, he continues, are in the field of public law. He maintains that since Leibnitz no philosophy has been produced in the German tongue and that the German drama occupies a notoriously inferior position. Yet in spite of all these deficiencies the future of German seems to him bright and promising:

Le goût des lettres commence à se répandre [i. e., in Germany]; il faut attendre que la nature fasse naître de vrais génies, comme sous les ministères des Richelieu et des Mazarin. Le sol qui a produit un Leibnitz en peut produire d'autres. Je ne verrai pas ces beaux jours de ma patrie, mais j'en prévois la possibilité (p. 337).

In 1780 Frederick surprised his subjects and the world with his *De la littérature allemande*.⁴⁹ In this work, it is true, the

⁴⁸ *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, XXIII (tome VIII of the *Correspondance*), Berlin, 1853, pp. 335-338. For a discussion of the whole subject of Frederick's attitude toward German literature see A. E. Berger, *Friedrich der Grosse und die deutsche Litteratur*, Bonn, 1890.

⁴⁹ The title page of the first edition reads: *De la littérature allemande; des défauts qu'on peut lui reprocher; quelles en sont les causes; et par quels moyens on peut les corriger*. A Berlin, chez G. J. Decker, imprimeur du roi, 1780.

author reiterates his unfavorable comment upon his native tongue and its literature. But he is inspired to prophetic utterance (Geiger, p. 37):

Voilà, Monsieur, les différentes entraves qui nous ont empêchés d'aller aussi vite que nos voisins; toutefois ceux qui viennent les derniers, surpassent quelquefois leur prédécesseurs: cela pourra nous arriver plus promptement qu'on ne le croit; si les Souverains prennent du goût pour les Lettres; s'ils encouragent ceux qui s'y appliquent, en louant et récompensant ceux qui ont le mieux réussi; que nous ayons des Médecis, et nous verrons éclore des génies. Des Augustes feront des Virgiles. Nous aurons nos auteurs classiques; chacun, pour en profiter, voudra les lire; nos voisins apprendront l'allemand, les cours le parleront avec délice; et il pourra arriver que notre langue polie et perfectionnée s'étende en faveur de nos bons Ecrivains d'un bout de l'Europe à l'autre. Ces beaux jours de notre Littérature ne sont pas encore venus; mais ils s'approchent. Je vous les annonce, ils vont paroître; je ne les verrai pas, mon âge m'en interdit l'espérance. Je suis comme Moïse; je vois de loin la Terre promise, mais je n'y entrerais pas. Passez moi cette comparaison. Je laisse Moïse pour ce qu'il est, et ne veux point du tout me mettre en parallèle avec lui; et pour les beaux jours de la Littérature, que nous attendons, ils valent mieux que les rochers pelés et arides de la stérile Idumée.

Frederick mentions also the subject of lexicography (Geiger, p. 36): "Vous savez qu'il n'y a pas longtemps qu'a paru le premier Dictionnaire de la langue Allemande qu'on ait connu: Je rougis de ce qu'un ouvrage aussi utile ne m'ait pas devancé d'un siècle."⁵⁰

The *De la littérature allemande*, which Frederick himself immediately had translated into German by C. W. von Dohm,⁵¹

A modern edition is provided by L. Geiger in Seuffert's *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. XVI, 1883. Cf. also Suphan, *Friedrichs des Grossen Schrift über die deutsche Literatur*, Berlin, 1888.

⁵⁰ But Josua Maaler's dictionary, *Die Teütsch spraach*, called by Jakob Grimm (*Wb. I*, xxi) "das erste wahrhafte deutsche Wörterbuch," appeared as early as 1561.

⁵¹ *Ueber die deutsche Literatur, die Mängel, die man ihr vorwerfen kann, die Ursachen derselben und die Mittel, sie zu verbessern. Aus dem französischen übersetzt.* Berlin, gedruckt bei G. Jac. Decker, Königl. Hof-Buchdrucker, 1780. This first edition does not mention the name of the translator, but a second edition of 1781 does. Three other German translations also appeared in the latter year.

caused a veritable sensation and aroused a flood of replies. Geiger in his introduction gives the principal facts and references on the subject. Goethe's reply, *Gespräch über die Litteratur*, begun in 1781 and read by a number of intimates, among them the Duchess, Herder and Goethe's mother, has since been lost and was probably never intended by the author for publication. It is said to have contained, among other things, an attack against the Prussian Academy because of its un-German character.⁵²

During the very last years of Frederick's reign there was perhaps no one in his immediate entourage or in the Academy who took a greater and deeper interest in German than the cabinet minister and honorary member of the Academy, Ewald Friedrich Graf von Hertzberg. He it was above all with whom Frederick argued the relative merits of the French and German languages. And it was Hertzberg, too, who, in order to prove to the skeptical King that it was possible to translate Tacitus into readable German, rendered passages from that author in German. These translations pleased Frederick and caused him to admit that he may have been too harsh in some of the judgments in his *De la littérature allemande*. Again it was to Hertzberg that Frederick committed the publication of his work; but, when the minister suggested revising it and toning down some of its severities, the King forbade him to tamper with the text in any way. The cautious reply to the *De la littérature allemande* written by Jerusalem in 1781 and entitled *Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Litteratur*, in which the author admits that French is more euphonious than German but maintains that German surpasses it in forcefulness and is quite as euphonious as Greek, was sent to the King by Hertzberg.⁵³

After Frederick's death in 1786 no formal oration in his honor was delivered in the Academy, but Formey, always an eager defender of the French faction and one of its chief spokesmen, made only a few remarks, as also did Hertzberg, though in a rather perfunctory manner. Finally in the session of January 25, 1787, Denina, an Italian by birth, a member of the Academy

⁵² Suphan, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff. Herder argued with Goethe in defense of the Academy.

⁵³ Harnack, *Geschichte*, I, 462-465.

since 1782, and an outspoken opponent of French, who took a lively but unscientific interest in German,⁵⁴ delivered an address entitled: *Sur la préférence que le feu roi paraissait accorder à la Littérature Française et sur les progrès qu'a faits la littérature Allemande sous son règne*. This address contained more implied criticism of the dead King than eulogy.⁵⁵

Upon the progress of German letters the Academy of Frederick did not consciously produce any effect. Unwittingly, however, it exerted a certain positive, although indirect influence on German literature and thought. This influence was manifested in the Academy's relations with Herder, in eliciting contributions from him and in encouraging him by well merited recognition; in the rôle that it played in the Enlightenment;⁵⁶ in the unconscious influence of the Academy upon Lessing and his Berlin circle; and finally in the awakening of a popular interest in the results of scientific and philosophical research, achieved by such men as Sulzer.⁵⁷ These considerations, while they do not require us to modify Wilhelm Scherer's statement, "für die deutsche Literatur hat sie [sc., the Academy] unmittelbar nichts geleistet,"⁵⁸ yet make it clear that the Academy had at least an important *indirect* influence upon German literature.

Frederick's successor, Frederick William II, had also enjoyed a French education and possessed only a poor knowledge of literary German. But after his coronation his interest in his mother tongue grew and, under the influence of the minister of state and curator of the Academy, Hertzberg, he became in a sense a protector of the cause of German in the Academy.

⁵⁴ Cf. his *Sur l'Origine de la langue Allemande*, in the *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres*, 1783, pp. 531-546. *Supplément*, 1785, pp. 468-482. See also his *La Prusse littéraire sous Frédéric II*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1790-1791.

⁵⁵ See Harnack, *Geschichte*, I, 394. Somewhat later, however, the attitude of the Academy toward Frederick became more favorable. Cf. the oration of the Swiss historian Johannes von Müller, *De la gloire de Frédéric*, delivered before the Academy on January 29, 1807 (publ. in his *Sämml. Werke*, Stuttgart, 1831-1835, vol. 26, pp. 276 ff.).

⁵⁶ Cf. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Die deutsche Aufklärung im Staat und in der Akademie Friedrichs des Grossen* (Deutsche Rundschau, CVII, 21 ff.).

⁵⁷ Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, 426-431, for the entire question of the Academy's influence on German literature.

⁵⁸ Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 15. Aufl., Berlin, 1922, p. 417.

For German had been more and more ignored by that body, until it could with justice be called a negligible factor.

Besides placing more emphasis upon German literature and permitting the publication of papers in German, the Academy now reduced its foreign membership. Only eighteen active members had remained after the death of Frederick, and of these but five were Germans, the rest Swiss, French and Italians. As the result of Hertzberg's persuasion, fifteen new German members were now elected, among them the poet Ramler. The French faction protested. Formey in his *Souvenirs d'un citoyen*⁵⁹ went so far as to charge a conspiracy against the French language. But for the time being at least, these charges remained unheeded. A more distinctly German spirit was entering the Academy, although, as Harnack observes,⁶⁰ it was still the formalistic, phlegmatic spirit of the moribund Enlightenment.

As has been stated, Hertzberg more than any one else was responsible for the Germanization of the Academy. But of course his suggestions required the approval of the King, and this they did not always receive, for Frederick William II, while in principle favoring Hertzberg's innovations, sometimes opposed the counsel of his minister as being too precipitate. Furthermore Hertzberg fell into disfavor in 1791.

It was a fundamental principle with Hertzberg that a German academy should cherish as one of its prime objects the cultivation of the German tongue. To this end he advised a reversion to the ideas and aims propounded in Leibnitz's *Unvorgreiffliche Gedanken*.⁶¹ He put into writing and submitted to the King⁶² a plan which provided for a systematic effort by the Academy to perfect the German language, similar to the efforts of the French Academy in the case of French. Both a grammar and a lexicon of German were suggested by the author as features of the project. Hertzberg also favored the creation of a special *Deut-*

⁵⁹ Vol. I, p. 154.

⁶⁰ *Geschichte*, I, 502.

⁶¹ Cf. the quotation from Hertzberg's academic lecture of January 26, 1792, *ibid.*, I, 18.

⁶² It is preserved as *Des Staatsministers von Hertzberg Eingabe an den König, betreffend die Vervollkommenung der deutschen Sprache durch Mithülfe der Akademie, nebst verwandten Actenstücken* (January 4 and 9 and April 15, 1792), *ibid.*, II, 322 ff.

sche Deputation composed of the German members of the Academy, thus tending to split that body into two distinct factions, a German and a French. The German member Zoellner developed the plan further and Moritz, Goethe's friend, read a paper *Ueber die Vervollkommnung der deutschen Sprache*. But since the King never gave his formal approval and the other German members of the Academy were quite passive and un-receptive,⁶³ the Hertzberg proposals remained, practically speaking, mere drafts—milestones on the road toward a realization of the true mission of the Academy.

An examination of some of the questions proposed by the Academy during these years for its annual prize contest throws light upon the change of attitude that was taking place in that body. For 1792 the following subject was announced but later deferred to 1794: *Vergleichung der Hauptsprachen Europas, lebender und todter, in Bezug auf Reichthum, Regelmässigkeit, Kraft, Harmonie und andere Vorzüge; in welchen Beziehungen ist die eine der anderen überlegen, welche kommen der Vollkommenheit menschlicher Sprache am nächsten?*⁶⁴ A comparison of the wording of this subject with that proposed only eight years earlier: *Wodurch ist die französische Sprache zur Universal-sprache geworden?*, throws light upon the changes that had been wrought in the Academy. In 1793 the theme was the then popular subject: *Ueber die Vervollkommnung der deutschen Sprache*. The prize went to Campe. In 1800 the Academy solicited essays on the subject *Ueber die Gothen und den Gothicismus*. But this contest was postponed to 1802, repeated in 1804 in a revised form, and again postponed to 1806, when no paper worthy of the prize was submitted.⁶⁵ The paper of Moritz, *Ueber die Vervollkommnung der deutschen Sprache*, has been mentioned. He also presented another entitled: *Ueber den Despotismus in der deutschen Sprache*. In 1793 several *Beiträge zur deutschen Sprachkunde* were published by the Academy.

An outstanding fact in the annals of the Academy for the years under consideration is that from 1793 on there appeared

⁶³ Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, 522, records that the German members of this time endured all sorts of tyranny and oppression with sheepish indifference. Most of them joined the *Philosophische Gesellschaft*, a private society in which they enjoyed more freedom and respect.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 612. The prize was awarded to the Berlin preacher Jenisch.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 610, 613.

beside the *Mémoires a Sammlung der deutschen Abhandlungen, welche in der königl. Akademie . . . vorgelesen worden*. Three volumes of this *Sammlung* were published between 1793 and 1806, covering the years 1788, 1789 and 1801-1803.⁶⁶

Complaint was lodged, as has already been noted, by the French members of the Academy against the encroachments of Hertzberg upon their supposed rights and privileges. The most significant of these protests, perhaps, has not yet been mentioned. It is the long *mémoire* of the French member Verdy du Vernois, dated April, 1792, and preserved in the *Akademisches Archiv*. This *mémoire* dwells upon the dangers which would confront the Academy if the proposed Germanization of that institution should be carried out. The author asserts with confidence that the academy owes its splendid reputation during the reign of Frederick the Great, solely to its French character.⁶⁷ In agreement with Hertzberg, it would seem, du Vernois suggests, coincidentally with Hertzberg's similar proposal, that the Academy be divided into two *Comités*, a French and a German. It is indeed surprising that the Academy preserved its unity throughout these stormy years, when French and German members were almost continually engaged in bitter quarrels.

In 1795, after Hertzberg had become mentally incapacitated, the French faction succeeded in effecting a number of changes in the Academy. Among these was the reinstatement of French to its former position of preëminence by requiring all papers to be published in French.⁶⁸ But this reacquired prestige of French was destined to be shortlived. As early as 1799 the requirement was again relaxed and, although French still nominally remained the official language of the Academy, many members now published German papers in the *Acten*.

In 1807 Alexander von Humboldt made new proposals for reform in the Academy, suggesting German as the official language but French as the language of communication with foreign academies. He also proposed the stipulation that all members must know either German or Latin, while French may be used in papers requiring that language.⁶⁹ These pro-

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 509-510 and 532.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 510.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 519-520.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 575.

posals, in conjunction with the awakening of the German spirit in Prussia, finally, in 1807-1808, secured the predominance of the German language in the Academy. The last volume of French *mémoires*, those of 1804, was issued in 1807. Thereafter all Academy publications appeared in German, although the prize questions were also announced in French and Latin.⁷⁰

In connection with this ultimate triumph of the German language in the Academy, there should be considered also the greater measure of honor and recognition now bestowed upon prominent, deserving Germans. In achieving this, Alexander von Humboldt again played a leading rôle. On July 25, 1806, he wrote a long article calling attention to the shortcomings of the Academy, especially its failure to elect really great Germans. He nominated a list of such candidates, among them Goethe, saying: "Eine deutsche Akademie sollte hauptsächlich sich durch Beigesellung derer ehren, welche dem deutschen Namen einen unvergänglichen Ruhm verschaffen."⁷¹ For this period in the history of the Academy Alexander von Humboldt together with his brother Wilhelm assumed a part almost as prominent and influential as that once played by Leibnitz himself.

Once the new position of the German language in the Academy had been established and such men as the Humboldts and Goethe were recognized as members, regardless of whether they were resident or non-resident, ever increasing attention was paid to things German. Thus the Academy took an indirect part in conceiving the plan of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.⁷² From 1826 on E. G. Graff received support for the preparation of his *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*. Similarly the Academy later supported the *Althochdeutsche Glossen* of Steinmeyer and Sievers, Förstemann's *Altleutsches Namenbuch*, Henning's *Deutsche Runendenkmäler*, and, in a measure, some of the works of von der Hagen. In 1830 Karl Lachmann became a member, and with him and his fundamental, epoch-making lectures on Germanic accent and metrics the formal study of German literature and philology was introduced into

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 604.

⁷¹ Humboldt's article is found in the *Akademisches Archiv*. See Harnack, *Geschichte*, I, 554.

⁷² Harnack, *Geschichte*, I, 677.

the Academy. In 1841 the Grimm brothers became regular members, Jakob having already been a non-resident member since 1832. Not to mention their work in grammar and mythology, the dictionary project, now a century and a half old, was, thanks to them, launched at last and carried far toward its consummation.

In 1861 Moritz Haupt in an address took up once more the question whether the Academy should devote its attention to the formal purification and cultivation of the German language, on the analogy of the French Academy. He arrives at a very definitely negative answer. Germany, he says, has no great unifying point of convergence, such as France has in Paris; furthermore the German genius is too independent to tolerate such dictation, and rebels against academic rules superimposed upon it. Nor has the French Academy in its capacity as linguistic dictator been an unmixed blessing to France and to the French language. Accordingly it will be better and wiser, he argues, to let the German language continue to develop quietly, naturally and uncontrolled by any official censorial organ. The Academy has in the past been guided, and, in his opinion, should continue to be guided, by the patriotic ideals of Leibnitz, which mark out a sufficiently broad field of activity.⁷³

In the succeeding years distinguished Germanists continued to be elected members of the Academy, and the work which they have left us from the period of their membership is connected at least indirectly with their activity as members. Karl Victor Müllenhoff was elected to membership in 1864 and developed his *Deutsche Altertumskunde* in the Academy. In 1884 Wilhelm Scherer became a member. Among the more recently named academicians are Karl Weinhold, Erich Schmidt and Gustav Roethe. Of Germanistic works undertaken or supported by the Academy in late years, and now well under way, the Grimm Wörterbuch (being continued in conjunction with the Zentralsammelstelle under the supervision of Edward Schröder of Göttingen) and the Luther edition, and, since the establishment of the Deutsche Kommission, the Wilhelm von

⁷³ Part of Haupt's address appears in Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, 991-992. For the full text see *Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1861, p. 636.

Humboldt edition, the *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, the Wieland edition, the Leibnitz edition and, among the *Idiotika*, such a valuable lexicographical contribution as Josef Müller's *Rheinisches Wörterbuch* deserve mention. There is now also a committee for the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, and a collection of German folk songs is being undertaken.

The enthusiasm aroused by the war of 1870-1871 led to the suggestion that the Academy codify the German language, and in 1874 Emil Heinrich Du Bois-Reymond proposed, more concretely, the creation of a separate Akademie für deutsche Sprache.⁷⁴ But this idea found as little favor as the project of 1878 to establish a special class in the Academy for the German language.⁷⁵ Once more the question of a separate German academy came up in 1888-1889,⁷⁶ but again it met with general disapproval.

In 1900, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Academy, Emperor William II allotted three new Germanistic positions to the Philosophical-Historical Class. This action suggested to the Academy, and especially to its two Germanists, Weinhold and Schmidt, that the time was ripe for broadening the scope of its work in Germanic philology. Thereupon a far-reaching plan was drawn up for this purpose, and in 1903 the Deutsche Kommission was organized. According to the present constitution and procedure of the Academy, projects of a clearly Germanistic character are entrusted to the Kommission, which is now an important subsidiary of the Academy. The history, achievements and future plans of the Kommission can be traced in its annual reports,⁷⁷ rendered at the *Friedrichssitzung* late in January, and

⁷⁴ Monatsberichte, 1874, pp. 257-274.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Bericht der Akademie an den Staatsminister Falk, betreffend die Einrichtung einer besonderen deutschen Klasse bei der Akademie*, 1878. It appears in Harnack, *op. cit.*, II, 600 ff.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Verhandlungen über die Einrichtung einer Deutschen Akademie*, 1888-1889. *Ibid.*, II, 603 ff.

⁷⁷ See especially *Sitzungsberichte*, 1905, p. 694 ff. On account of death and resignations the personnel of the Kommission naturally is subject to changes. In 1925 it was constituted as follows: Gustav Roethe (geschäftsführendes Mitglied); Konrad Burdach; Wilhelm Schulze; Paul Kehr; Johannes Bolte; Julius Petersen; Edward Schröder of Göttingen; Bernhard Seuffert of Graz, and the ausserakademisches Mitglied Wrede of Marburg. Dr. Behrend is Archivar and Bibliothekar. Not every member of the Kommission is necessarily a

have been well described, as far as 1913, by its member Gustav Roethe in an article mentioned early in this paper.⁷⁸ These sources make it clear that the interest of the Academy in Germanistic problems is real and practical and that the criticism to which it has been subjected on that score is largely unfair. Among the prominent objectives of the Kommission is a full history of the New High German language and civilization, suggested as early as 1900 in connection with Konrad Burdach's name, an inventory of the German manuscripts of the Middle Ages, Wrede's *Hessen-Nassauisches Wörterbuch*, Ziesemer's *Preussisches Wörterbuch*,⁷⁹ a *Sprachatlas*, and a collection of German folk songs. The method of procedure and attainments of the Kommission thus far serve as a valuable illustration of the advantages of cooperative scholarship.

We have noted the changing spirit that prevailed in the Prussian Academy throughout the various periods of its venerable history. Its earliest days, when it was hampered by lack of means, spiritual as well as physical, and when it was stimulated only by the brilliant example of its first president, were followed by two generations of foreign domination. Then there came about a gradual awakening of German consciousness, which, however, required the oppression of a Napoleon and the disaster of a battle of Jena for its final consummation. Since that time the position of the German language and of Germanic studies has been secure in the Academy. To be sure, it does not seem that the Academy will, in view of its latter-day development, ever again create a special class for dealing with Germanic problems, such as existed according to the statutes of 1710,

Germanist. Thus Hermann Diels, for many years a member, was a classical philologist, and Paul Kehr is an historian. Andreas Heusler of Basel (Ehrenmitglied), the philologist Hugo Schuchardt of Graz (auswärtiges Mitglied), Eduard Sievers of Leipzig (korrespondierendes Mitglied), Gustav Ehrismann (korrespondierendes Mitglied), and Wilhelm Braune of Heidelberg (korrespondierendes Mitglied) are members of the Academy but not associated with the Kommission. Unpleasant incidents have sometimes occurred in connection with appointments to the Academy and Kommission. There have been charges of partizanship made against some of the members. This is not the place, however, for judging the justification of such complaints.

⁷⁸ See note 3, *supra*.

⁷⁹ Since the war this work is confronted by serious obstacles due to the alienation of Prussian linguistic territory from the Reich.

although one may hope that out of the Kommission there will develop in time a Deutsches Institut whose sphere of research will cover German life in its multifarious phases. At all events, in the light of the experiences of the last one hundred years, it is certain that, either as a whole or by means of such subsidiaries as the Luther Kommission and the Deutsche Kommission, the Prussian Academy will always, within the limits of its resources,⁸⁰ encourage and support meritorious work in the field of Germanic research.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

⁸⁰ The very limited resources of the Academy available for Germanistic work have been somewhat increased by the *Julius Rodenberg Stiftung für die Wissenschaft vom deutschen Leben* (capital 250,000 Marks).

VI.

BODMER'S INDEBTEDNESS TO KLOPSTOCK

MANY were the sources of Bodmer's *Noah* and by no means the least of these was Klopstock's *Messias*. In the present article I propose to consider certain phases of Bodmer's indebtedness to Klopstock's biblical epic, but at the same time I shall have occasion to consider also other aspects of Klopstock's influence.

In Canto III of his epic Klopstock presents a description of the apostles.¹ This, as we shall see, contributed to Bodmer's portrayal of some of the figures in his storied tapestries. Compare, for example, the Bodmerian lines

Nahe bei ihm ist einer, in dessen bräunlichen Wangen
Strenge Tugend herrscht und Zorn auf das Laster; man sieht ihn
Brüderlich um den andern beschäftigt (*Noah*, p. 187f.)²

with the Klopstockian

wer ist jener, der dort auf männlicher Stirne
Feuer zur Tugend, und zürnenden Hass der Laster verbreitet
· · · · ·

. . . . O wie er sich um ihn beschäftigt!

Wär er sein Bruder, so könnt er ihm nicht vertrauter begegnen.
(*Messias*, III, 184 ff.)³

Again, Bodmer's

Unten steht nach den beiden gesellig und friedsam ein anderer,
Welchem das stille Gesicht ein freundliches Lächeln erheitert
(*Noah*, p. 188).

is obviously reminiscent of Klopstock's

Den du dort unten um beide gesellig und friedsam erblickest,
Dieser is Philippus. Ein menschenfreundliches Lächeln
Bildet die Züge des stillen Gesichts. (*Messias* III, 203ff.).

¹ *Messias*, III, 151 ff.

² References to *Noah*, unless otherwise indicated, are to the ed. of 1765.

³ Ed. of 1748.

The portrait of Klopstock's next figure

Der dort mit langsamen Schritten
 Unter den Zedern heraufgeht, wer ist der? Auf seinem Gesichte
 Glüht die edle Begierde nach Ruhm (Messias, III, 212ff.).

is reflected in Bodmer's lines

Unter den Zedern herauf geht munterer einer, ihm glühet
 Auf dem Antlitz Verlangen nach Ruhm und göttlichen Taten.
 (Noah, p. 188)

In the *Noah* we read

Noch ist ein liebenswürdiger Greis mit silbernen Haaren,
 Fromm und einnehmend (Noah, p. 188).

which clearly echoes Klopstock's

Der dort mit dem silbernen Haupthaar
 Jener freundliche Greis, ist Bartholomäus, mein Jünger.
 Schau sein frommes einnehmendes Antlitz (Mess. III, 288 ff.).

Klopstock's portrait of Lebbaeus has also its parallel in the
Noah. Consider first these lines in the *Messias*:

Da trat der stille Lebbäus unter sie hin

. . . . Von keinem Geschöpf, wie er glaubte, vernommen,
 Klagte der stille Lebbäus, und schlug im zärtlichen Klagen
 Über sein Haupt die Hände zusammen

Also klagt'er, und sank in Ohnmacht und Schlummer danieder.
 Elim bedeckt ihn mit Sprösslingszweigen des schattenden Ölbaums,
 Wehte zugleich mit wärmenden Lüften sein starrendes Antlitz
 Unsichtbar an, und goss ihm Leben und ruhigen Schlummer
 Über sein Haupt. (Mess. III, 340 ff.).

This passage left its imprint upon the following lines of Bodmer:

Man kann nicht unter den übrigen sechsen
 Einen vorbeigehen, der dort mit unsichern Füßen, voll Trauer
 Bergan steigt, er ringt die Händ', jetzt sinkt er in Ohnmacht
 Nieder, gleich kommen Gestalten von Licht in olympischem Glanze,
 Stehen um ihn herum
 jetzt legt ihm der wohlriechende Kräuter
 Unter sein Haupt, der schwingt die Flügel und weht ihm Erfrischung.
 (Noah, p. 188).

Also the following Bodmerian passage concerning Lebbæus is reminiscent of lines in the *Messias*. Bodmer says of him

Jetzo schwebt er noch in jenem Gefild, wo die Seelen
Auf die Empfängnisstunde, sich selbst noch unbekannt, warten;
Schwebt im Trüben da einsam nächst einer rinnenden Quelle,
Die durch windende Höhlen wie klagender Stimmen Geseufz' schallt.
(*Noah*, p. 297)

What is this but a repetition, virtually, of Klopstock's

Da ich aus jenem Gefilde sie⁴ rief, wo die Seelen der Menschen
Schweben vor des Leibes Geburt, sich selber nicht kennend,
Fand ich sie im Trüben an einer rinnenden Quelle,
Welche, wie fernherweinende Stimmen, klagend ins Tal floss
(*Mess.* III, 302 ff.).

Bodmer's one alteration above is the introduction of "die Empfängnisstunde" which is Milton's "nuptial hour" in *Paradise Lost*.⁵ Of this expression and the Miltonian passage in which it is found, Bodmer, as I shall show elsewhere, availed himself repeatedly in the course of his epic.⁶

In the *Messias* we read

Dies Haupt, das über die Häupter
Aller Jünger hervorragt, vollendet sein männliches Ansehen.
Aber darf ichs wohl sagen, und irr ich nicht . . .
Wenn ich in diesem Zuge des Angesichts Unruh entdecke,
Und in jenem nicht Edles genug? (*Mess.* III, 375 ff.).

a passage which obviously is the basis of Bodmer's

Über die Häupter der andern erhebt ansehnlich sein Haupt sich;
Aber in einem Zuge des Angesichts grämte sich Unruh,
Und in dem andern fließt Unedels unter das Grosse.
(*Noah*, p. 188).

Here I ought to add that his own description of these apostolical figures just quoted is repeated by Bodmer in a slightly

⁴ Sc. "die Seele des stillen Lebbäus."

⁵ Cf. VIII, 512.

⁶ I refer the reader to some previous articles in which I have discussed briefly the marked change in attitude toward literary borrowing and deliberate adaptations which in the course of time has come about both in England and on the Continent. Cf. "Bodmer as a Literary Borrower," *Philol. Quarterly*, I, 116, and "A French Source of Bodmer's *Noah*," *Ibid.*, III, 171.

modified form when, in another passage, he represents Father Noah as interpreting the picture to the other inmates of the ark.⁷ Similar repetitions in slightly variant form are not infrequent in *Noah*. It seems possible that Klopstock's

Die Mutter gebär ihn
Unter den Palmen (*Mess.* III, 325 f.).

may have suggested Bodmer's

Unter den Palmenbäumen . . .
. . . . genas sie der zweiten [*sc.* Tochter] (*Noah*, p. 105).

In Thomson's *Seasons* we find the expressions "the generous few"⁸ and "ye noble few,"⁹ phrases which left their impression not only upon Klopstock's "die wenigen Edlen,"¹⁰ "ihr wenigen Edlen"¹¹ but also, by way of Klopstock, upon Bodmer's "Wenige Edle";¹² still, since Bodmer knew the *Seasons*, one is justified in suspecting here a direct influence from Thomson.

Cholevius in his *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen*¹³ refers to the Bodmerian passage where Noah describes the satans to Dagon¹⁴—lines wherein he sees, rightly enough, an influence of the corresponding Klopstockian passage; but, as I hope to show elsewhere, the passage in *Noah* presents also important reminiscences of *Paradise Lost*, a fact of which Cholevius was evidently unaware, as was also Baechtold,¹⁵ who likewise is careful to call attention to the same parallel.

Let us now consider the following two passages; I quote first from *Noah*. Father Noah is interpreting the scenes on the walls of the ark:

⁷ Cf. *Noah*, p. 295 f.

⁸ Cf. *Winter*, edition of 1730, v. 334.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 777.

¹⁰ Cf. *Wingolf*, v. 232.

¹¹ Cf. *Messias*, I, 20, 652 and elsewhere. See M. C. Stewart, "Traces of Thomson's *Seasons* in Klopstock's Earlier Works," *J.E.G.Ph.*, VI, 409.

¹² Cf. *Noah*, ed. 1750, p. 89 and elsewhere.

¹³ Cf. I, 448.

¹⁴ Cf. *Noah*, p. 138 f.

¹⁵ *Gesch. d. d. Lit. in der Schweiz*, p. 603.

Gabriel wäre der glänzende Seraph der
 sich sorgsam erwies, dem Mittler
 Von dem weichesten Moos ein ländliches Lager zu decken,
 Der zu ihm sagte: Wie ist dein Leib, o Verheissner, ermüdet!
 Ach, wie vieles erträgst du aus Liebe zum Menschengeschlechte!
 (Noah, p. 294).

a passage which parallels Klopstock's

[Gabriel wusste, dass nun die Zeit der Erlösung herankam.
 . . . er sprach mit zärtlicher Stimme:]
 . . . Beim Grabmal der Seher
 Wächst dort unten das ruhige Moos im kühlenden Erdreich.
 Soll ich hieraus, o Göttlicher, dir ein Lager bereiten?
 Wie ist dein Leib, o Erlöser, ermüdet! Wie vieles erträgst du
 Hier auf Erden aus brünstiger Liebe zum Menschengeschlechte!
 (Mess. I, 59 ff.).

From *Messias* I quote the following lines:

Gott ging itzt durch die Sterne, die wir die Milchstrasse nennen.

 Gott ging nah an einem Gestirne, wo Menschen waren;
 Menschen, wie wir von Gestalt, doch voll Unschuld, nicht sterbliche
 Menschen.
 (Mess. V, 149 f.).

This passage left its imprint upon Bodmer's lines—Raphael is speaking—

. . . . jetzt fodern mich neue Befehle von meinem Gebieter
 In die Bezirke des Milchwegs am Sternenhimmel; ein Volk lebt
 Dort glücklich, gebildet von Staube, wie ihr, doch unsterblich,
 Ungefallen (Noah, p. 325).

Concerning these same creatures of innocence we are told by Bodmer that they are

Mit dem Begriff nicht bekannt, dass Menschen, dass Geister sein können,
 Welche durch Abfall, den Herren erzürnten (Noah, p. 325).

lines which betray a reminiscence of the following passage of Klopstock where he represents one of the inhabitants of the star in the milky way as speaking:¹⁶

¹⁶ The suggestion for these lines, though it has not been remarked by Hamel in his annotated edition of *Messias*, Klopstock, no doubt, derived from Elizabeth Rowe's *Letters from the Dead to the Living*; cf. e. g., Letter V. Bodmer, too, was familiar with this work; cf. his *Briefe über Joseph und Zulcika* (1754) p. 129, where he refers to this same Letter V.

Fern von uns, auf einer der Erden, sind Menschen, wie wir sind
 Nach der Bildung; allein der anerschaffenen Unschuld
 beraubt, nicht unsterbliche Menschen!
 Ihr erstaunt, und fasset das nicht, wie sterblich der sein kann,
 Der, unsterblich erschaffen, ein Meisterstück Gottes vorher war.

(*Mess.* V, 205 ff.)

Upon the completion of the ark Bodmer's Noah summons the beasts and the birds by means of a trumpet which in its marvelous power reminds one somewhat of the magic music of fabled Orpheus.¹⁷ The biblical conception of the trumpet, as we find it in *Noah*, seems to owe something to the passage in *Messias* where we read

der Seraph [*sc.* Eloa]. . . .

. . . . nahm die hohe Posaune,
 Blies den donnernden Ton des Weltgerichts in die Posaune,
 Und rief gegen den Erdkreis: . . .
 Wenn einer ist unter den Himmeln,
 Welcher, statt des Menschengeschlechts, im Gericht will erscheinen,
 Dieser komme vor Gott! (*Mess.* V, 333 ff.).

Before proceeding to another phase of Klopstock's influence upon the *Noah*, I desire to touch upon a matter in which I feel constrained to take issue with two European scholars. Both Baechtold and Muncker give the impression that Bodmer's infernal spirits are indebted exclusively to the corresponding figures in the *Messias*. But, as I shall show elsewhere, there is discernible also an undoubted influence of the satanic spirits in *Paradise Lost*.

Into the following words of Kerenhapuch, spoken after Debora has finished the story of her mother's death, Bodmer introduces a conspicuously Klopstockian note:

Wann bald auch unser Vater zurück in den lichtlosen Staub geht,
 Unser Urheber und Leiter, was wird hernach aus uns werden?
 Aber unser Tag wird kommen, der Schwester von Schwester
 Scheiden wird, früh oder spät wird er kommen, und kommt er gleich spät,
 Wird er sowohl dann dasein, als wäre er früher gekommen.
 Wann dann Deborens Lippen nicht mehr den Namen des Herren
 Loben, wann Thamars Auge das freundliche Lächeln verlernt hat,
 Ruhet der Schwestern Gebein, ich bleibe von dreien nur übrig,

¹⁷ Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, XI.

Und ich stehe vom Menschengeschlechte getrennt bei mir selbst da,
 In dem Gebirg' allein, was wird aus der Einsamen werden?
 Was für Finsternis wird die Gärten Gottes bedecken!
 Was für leere Tage wie Felsen über mir hangen!
 Alsdann werd' ich aus einer betäubenden langen Ohnmacht
 Ungern erwachen, und wann ich erwache, wie werd' ich vergebens
 Um die Gräber von meinen Entschlafenen geh'n, und Debora
 Rufen, und Thamar; die Toten doch meine Stimme nicht hören!
 Also klagte sie laut (*Noah*, p. 112 f.).

This elegiac passage will at once recall to readers of Klopstock his ode *An Ebert*.¹⁸ The resemblance, both in spirit and in situation, to the entire Klopstockian ode is most striking; I shall, however, content myself with quoting from the text of the poem merely enough to prove that Bodmer drew upon it in the passage cited above. After contemplating the mournful possibility of losing, through death, his friends Johanna Radikin, Cramer, Gärtner, Rabner, Gellert, Rothe, J. A. Schlegel, Schmidt and Hagedorn, the poet exclaims in anguish

Ebert, was sind wir alsdann,
 Wir Geweihten des Schmerzes, die hier ein trüberes Schicksal
 Länger, als alle sie liess?
 Stirbt dann auch einer von uns, (mich reisst mein banger Gedanke
 Immer nächtlicher fort!)
 Stirbt dann auch einer von uns, und bleibt nur Einer noch übrig;
 Bin der Eine dann ich;
 Hat mich dann auch die schon geliebet, die künftig mich liebet,
 Ruht auch sie in der Gruft;
 Bin dann ich der Einsame, bin allein auf der Erde:
 Wirst du, ewiger Geist,¹⁹
 Seele zur Freundschaft erschaffen, du dann die leeren Tage
 Sehn, und fühlend noch sein?
 Oder wirst du betäubt zu Nächten sie wähen und schlummern,
 Und gedankenlos ruhn?
 Aber du könntest ja auch erwachen, dein Elend zu fühlen,
 Leidender, ewiger Geist.
 Rufe, wenn du erwachst, das Bild von dem Grabe der Freunde,
 Das nur rufe zurück!

At several points in his epic Bodmer introduces a short line, so, for example, on pages 182 and 186. It is not unlikely

¹⁸ Cf. Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Literatur*, XLVII, 36 f.

¹⁹ Sc. the author's. This ode betrays the influence of Young's *Night Thoughts*.

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that this was done, in part at least, under the suggestive influence of Klopstock's example in the *Messias*.²⁰ The same poetic device is of course met with in other poets so, for example, in Virgil, Milton²¹ and Young,²² each of whom influenced Bodmer's epic. In his *Der Wurmsamen* Triller parodies this practice by introducing two examples of it in his poem;²³ moreover, in a footnote he remarks, "Ich habe diese Zeilen mit Fleiss nicht ausgefüllt, um Virgilen nachzuahmen, wie einige unserer Dichter auch getan haben." His words are aimed primarily at Klopstock and Bodmer; nevertheless in 1753 we find Wieland—probably under the influence of Bodmer—introducing several examples thereof in his *Briefe von Verstorbenen*.²⁴

Besides the examples of direct literary influence which we have been considering, there are imbedded in the *Noah* also passages containing personal reminiscences of Bodmer's relation with Klopstock. The following five lines, for example, are reminiscent of Klopstock's departure from Zurich, resembling, as they do, Bodmer's account of Klopstock's leave-taking as recorded in a letter to Hess of Feb. 14th 1751.²⁵ From *Noah* I quote as follows:

Als er [sc. Sipha] die Worte vollendet, so ging er mit langsamen Schritten
Weiter, sah öfter zurück, die letzte Lust zu geniessen,
Dass er mit seinen Augen die Blicke des Freundes empfinde,
Der unverwandt dastand, und zärtlich dem Gehenden nachsah,
Bis die Bäum' und Gebüsch' ihn in ihre Dunkelheit nahmen.

(*Noah*, p. 206).

²⁰ Cf. the ed. of 1749, V, 320; also in the ed. of 1751, X, the last line. In his translation of Young's *Night Thoughts* Ebert writes in a footnote to *Night II*, 255: "Der Verfasser der *Messias* hat diese Schönheit in den ersten zehn Gesängen mit besonderer Kunst nur an Einem Orte angebracht, wo sie desto merklicher wird, weil sie zugleich den Gesang beschliesst." Evidently he had before him the edition of 1751. In the ed. of 1799 a short line occurs also in XIII, 694.

²¹ Cf. *Lycidas* and *Samson Agonistes*.

²² Cf. *Night Thoughts*, II, 255.

²³ Cf. *Der Wurmsamen*. Sechs poetische Streitschriften aus den Jahren 1751 und 1752. It is edited by Georg Witkowski.

²⁴ Cf. the Hempel ed. XXXIX, 339, 348, 382.

²⁵ The parallel is overlooked by Baechtold, cf. his *Gesch. d. d. Lit. in der Schweiz* where he is at pains to recall the personal reminiscences which Bodmer utilized in *Noah*.

The corresponding passage in Bodmer's letter reads,

Klopstock blieb etwa dreiviertel Stunden bei uns, sehr gut und lieb-reich. Ich begleitete ihn an der Hand bis zum Gatter an der Land-strasse, und blieb stehen, bis ich ihn nicht mehr sehen konnte. Er selbst sah vielmal zurück und rief von weitem noch Lebewohl.²⁶

In Klopstock's ode *An Fanny*²⁷ we read

Dann trennt kein Schicksal mehr die Seelen,
Die du einander, Natur, bestimmtest,

and in the ode *An Gott* we meet the line

die du mir gleich erschufst,

passages whereof we find several reminiscent notes in *Noah*. I cite two passages from the edition of 1750, first the lines

So dacht auch Jahrhunderte später
Wieder ein heiliger Jüngling,²⁸ dem Gott ein heiliges Mädchen
Gleich schuf aber sie lange dem weinenden Herzen versagte,²⁹

and then also the line

Dass er uns die [sc. Mädchen] nicht abschlage, die unser
Schöpfer uns gleich schuf.³⁰

²⁶ Cf. Mörikofer's *Klopstock in Zürich*, p. 113. In Bodmer's *Jakob und Joseph* (1751), III, 450, we come upon what is probably another reminiscence of the same incident, namely, the lines:

"Sie verliessen den heiligen Wald mit einer Bewegung
Wie wenn lange Bekannte genötigt einander verlassen,
Bald zween Schritte weit gehen, dann stehen und wieder zurücksehen."

²⁷ This I include with the personal reminiscences because Klopstock sent the poem to Bodmer Nov. 5th, 1748; it was to him that he confided his hopeless passion. The *Noah* contains still other personal reminiscences. The opening of canto eleven, for example, has about a dozen lines in honor of "Philokles," i. e., Bodmer's friend Zellweger. That Sulzer is another friend thus honored appears from a letter of his to Bodmer of April 21st, 1750. Cf. W. Körte: *Briefe der Schweizer Bodmer, Sulzer, Gessner* (1804) p. 132. In Klopstock's *Messias*, it will not be amiss to add, we find a passage (XIX, 268-73) reminiscent of the excursion on Lake Zürich which the poet enjoyed while a guest of Bodmer. The experiences of that day Klopstock cherished as a precious memory, and they inspired what is generally regarded as his most famous poem, *Der Zürchersee*.

²⁸ An allusion to Klopstock.

²⁹ Cf. the ed. of 1750, III, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 64.

In this connection also the following passage is pertinent. In *Noah* we read

Aber ihm nahm der göttliche Wille mit höherm Entwürfe
Sie, die er liebt', . . . und er trennte
Seelen, die Gott doch selbst einander an Zärtlichkeit gleich schuf.
(*Noah*, ed. 1765, p. 254).

This does not exhaust the subject of Klopstock's influence upon Bodmer. Further examples I hope to present later.²¹ Moreover, Muncker in his standard life of Klopstock points out certain phases of Klopstock's influence upon the *Noah*; I must, however, warn the reader against Muncker's and, I shall have to add here, Baechtold's conclusions to which I have already referred briefly in my article, "Bodmer as a Literary Borrower."²²

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²¹ In a previous article, "Whiston as a Source of Bodmer's *Noah*" (*Studies in Philol.*, Oct. 1925, pp. 522-28), I had occasion to refer to a specific influence of Klopstock. I propose later to discuss also some of the more important differences between the *Noah* and the *Messias*.

²² *Philol. Quarterly*, I, 116. In this connection see also my criticism of Muncker in my article "Bodmer and Milton," *J. E. G. Ph.*, XVII, 600 f.

VII.

THE ISLAND SCENE IN WIELAND'S *OBERON*

THAT part of Wieland's *Oberon* which depicts the life of Hüon and Rezia on the island where they have been shipwrecked differs so essentially in tone, background, motivation, and thought from the rest of the poem as to constitute almost a separate entity. The ideas which the author here expresses may seem inconsistent with the spirit of romantic adventure which characterizes this work in general. Nevertheless, this episode, covering a period of about three years, makes a distinct break in the succession of outward adventures, and turns the reader's attention to the development of the inward qualities of the castaways. This affords the author a fitting opportunity to introduce ideas dealing with man's return to a state of nature, with nature herself, and with the mystic merging of heaven and earth in the soul of man. It is with these ideas and the contrast which they present to the rest of the poem that this paper is concerned.

It should be noted at the outset that the superior, playfully ironic tone which Wieland frequently employs toward his characters and themes is noticeably absent when the misfortunes of Hüon and Rezia begin. Moreover, his fondness for clever, salacious allusions gives way to a serious note in which ethical and spiritual values are stressed. The usual stilted reference to mythological characters is entirely lacking in this episode. The absence of such mannerisms and conventional artificialities marks the author's more intimate and personal approach to his subject and is indicative of the warmer sympathy he manifests.

The supernatural elements that play so prominent a part in *Oberon* are almost wholly wanting in the island episode. Gone are the magic horn, giants, dwarfs, hobgoblins, elves and ghosts, the carriages drawn by leopards or propelled through the air by swans, the lions with flames of fire darting forth from their eyes, the magic cup, the voices speaking out of the storm, and other fanciful inventions of fairy legend. Only the

magic ring remains, and its supernatural influence ends with the rescue of Hüon and Rezia from death in the angry waters. Apart from the ring, it is largely the unobtrusive presence of Titania on the island that serves as an incidental reminder of a fairy myth. Her rôle is here limited to appearing to Rezia like a dream-vision at the birth of Hüonnet, to the abduction of the latter, and to the sudden transformation of the island into a desert waste at the death of the hermit. The liberation of Hüon, who had been abandoned on the island lashed to a tree, is the remaining vestige of the supernatural in this scene. Obviously, therefore, this element is reduced to a minimum and is of slight importance. It has given way to a scene and to events of rather concrete, realistic aspect, and of natural motivation. Here the lovers have an opportunity to manifest their truly human qualities under severely trying circumstances and without supernatural means to aid them. This brings them much closer to the reader by lending them a human interest which heroes of a supernatural type can scarcely inspire.

The island scene is characterized further by its kinship with the many "Robinsonaden" that followed in the wake of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Here is another repetition of the experiences of people who have been washed ashore on an apparently uninhabited island and forced to shift for themselves. Hüon and Rezia, however, are temporarily in a worse plight, since they are without supplies and implements rescued from shipwreck, having escaped with their lives alone. At some length Wieland portrays their first attempts at finding shelter, food and drink, and the difficulties attendant upon eking out a scant existence in a desert region where dates, roots, berries, eggs, and an occasional half-devoured fish snatched from a bird of prey are their sole food. But the very fact that Wieland allows these troubles to end with Hüon's subsequent discovery of the hermit is an indication that he is less concerned with all those details that mark the progress of the ordinary "Robinsonade." He is interested primarily in picturing the development of sterner human qualities in the lovers under most trying conditions. It is here that such virtues as fortitude, constancy, and continence are tested and strengthened. In this manner the genuineness of their affection, which is of fundamental impor-

tance in ultimately solving the Oberon-Titania plot, is clearly demonstrated. Each is eager to assume complete responsibility for the sad plight into which premature yielding to passion has plunged them. Their love is so unshaken by severe trials that they would choose this exile of their own free will if it represented their sole opportunity of sharing life with each other.

Another significant aspect of Hüon's and Rezia's sojourn on the island is the fact that they and the old hermit, Alfonso, whose habitation they eventually share, live virtually in a state of nature. In spite of his protests against Rousseau's views on the corruption of mankind through civilization, Wieland stages the crucial testing of the steadfastness of the lovers against a primitive background and in utter isolation from society. Moreover, as if to stress the virtues born and developed in simple life close to nature and far away from the over-refinements of civilization, Wieland emphasizes the character of the hermit and its influence upon Hüon and Rezia. With much detail the author portrays the striking contrast between the vanity of the artificial court life formerly led by Alfonso and the serene peacefulness of his present natural existence. Having fled from the hollowness and corrupt on of a world which afforded him no genuine satisfaction, the former courtier now finds happiness in solitude where he is spending the rest of his life in contemplation of the good. His simple mode of living has assuaged his sorrow; the pure air has purged his blood, wafted away the clouds from his brow and animated his courage. His garden absorbs his attention, he forgets the world, and recalls it only now and then as the tempestuous period of childhood.

In the island episode, Wieland becomes spontaneous in his treatment of nature. Just as he warms up here to his theme and to his characters, so he also divests himself of a stilted mode of describing nature. She no longer serves as an artificial embellishment of conventional design. Instead of being drawn merely as a picturesque background or as an arabesque border, nature here plays a significant, a personal part. She is a companion, an associate in joys and sorrows, a living element which inspires mood and sentiment, and has sympathy with the human soul. Alfonso's soul is characterized as open only to truth, as open only to nature and clearly attuned to her, the

magic power of the sunlight often bringing him back from a grave of melancholy. Contact with nature frees him from all grief; in her he sees the image of the creator, and in her contemplation lies the source of his peacefulness and happiness. Furthermore, nature is depicted as having a profound effect upon Hüon and Rezia. When the spirit of gloom prevails, when the fields mourn in dull silence, and melancholy hovers in the snow cloud, Hüon plays the harp and Rezia sings to dispel this brooding shadow. In contrast herewith Wieland pictures the bright winter which entices them forth, the stern cold rising like mist from the sea, the gleaming white snow on the mountains, and the evening sun setting in a purple glow. Here nature is their companion, inviting them to bathe in the pure stream of cold air surrounded by marvels of beauty and splendor. She is their benefactor, the source of their vigor, cheering them through and through, and freeing them from grief.

But nature is shown also in relation to the mood of the fairy queen Titania. While abandoned by the wrathful Oberon she hates the jesting of the elves, the dance in the moonlight and even beautiful May with her garment of roses. She flies through the empty airy spaces in the stormwind, finds rest nowhere and sadly seeks a place suited to her melancholy. This she finally discovers on a barren island in the great ocean. Towering up out of black, monstrous, volcanic ruins, it attracts her by its bleakness and impels her to direct her aimless flight toward it. Reeling down out of the air, she plunges into a black cave to weep undisturbed over her existence and, if possible, to turn into a lifeless stone among these very boulders. For a time her mood is not at all affected by the beautiful sun which comes to charm the rocks about her with magic light. Lying on a stone as on a sacrificial hearth she craves death. But in due time her heart responds, hope reawakens, and what had seemed unbearable fades away like a dream. As soon as her despondency ends she feels a sense of horror at the dark abysses in which she had been content to imprison herself. Quickly she causes some of the barren cliffs to disappear and an Elysium to stand before her. Thus nature and mood are not merely in accord, but mood refashions nature in accord with itself.

Mood as induced by nature is pictured as follows: In the evening, when their day's work has been completed, the hermit, Hüon, Rezia and their child are refreshed by the glory and splendor of the starry heaven; yet they are submerged into this sea of wonders with an awe tinged with ominous forebodings. These presentiments of impending evil are fulfilled, for during the night the hermit dies, Hüonnet is abducted by Titania and the entire island soon resumes its former air of desolation and ruin, thereby reflecting the dismay and despair of the unhappy parents. No blade of grass remains; grove, garden and flowers have disappeared, leaving only a black, inhospitable scene of inaccessible cliffs and black, misshapen rocks.

Nature is endowed by Wieland with a moral sense, for as soon as Hüon and Rezia had been faithless to the command of chastity, the heavens turned black, all the stars became extinct, fierce winds were unleashed, the thunder rolled, and with fearful roaring an unparalleled storm broke loose. The earth's axis cracked, black clouds poured forth streams of fire, the sea raged and waves rose up like mountains. These details, it is true, are not given in the island scene itself, yet they immediately precede it and help give rise to it. Moreover, in the island episode reference is made to this outraged sensibility in the significant statement that all nature revolted against Hüon as soon as he yielded to the forbidden impulse of love. At the end of the eighth canto Wieland addresses his readers directly on the moral aspect of nature, declaring that the greatest gift nature can bestow, a treasure which is not lost but which follows man into a better life beyond, is a feeling heart and a pure mind.

Strangely enough, Wieland, who is generally regarded as a pronounced rationalist, enters the realm of mysticism in his characterization of Alfonso's soul life. Alfonso, says he, already belongs more to the next world than to this. At night, when he is half wrapped in slumber, his ears hear voices like those of angels wafted gently from the forest. Then it seems to him that the thin wall which separates him from his beloved ones falls. His inmost being unfolds, a sacred flame shines from his breast, and in the pure light of the invisible world his soul beholds heavenly visions. These endure even when his mildly

bewildered eyes have closed in slumber. And when the morning sun again reveals nature's scene about him this state still continues. A gleam of heavenly bliss transfigures rock and grove, shines through and completely fills them; everywhere and in all creatures Alfonso then sees the image of the great, uncreated being, just as the image of the sun is visible floating in the dewdrop. Thus, in his spirit, heaven and earth finally merge imperceptibly into one. His very being seems to be aroused. And with it, at this vast distance from the turmoil of passion, in the sacredness that surrounds him, there awakens the purest of all senses. Here Wieland's excursion into the realm of the spirit abruptly ends. He concludes with the question:

Doch—wer versiegelt mir mit unsichtbarer Hand
Den kühnen Mund, dass nichts Unnennbares ihm entrinne?
Verstummend bleib ich stehn an dieses Abgrunds Rand.

These final words are in keeping with Wieland's thought that nature seems jealous of having her mysteries bared by mortal eyes.¹

After the hermit's death the island episode is soon brought to a close. By dint of contrast with the rest of the poem, this scene serves to bring out in bold relief the inconsistency and the duality of Wieland's character. The master of playful irony manifests a warm, human interest; detached superiority yields to spontaneity; the antagonist of Rousseau depicts society as a corrupting influence and portrays nature as the undefiled source of goodness; the rationalist reverts to his earlier mystic tendency.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

¹ Über den Hang der Menschen, an Magie und Geistererscheinungen zu glauben," *Wielands sämtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1857, XXX, 95 f. This essay was first published in 1781; *Oberon* in 1780.

VIII.

GEORGE BORROW AND GOETHE'S *FAUST*

IN A LETTER from William Taylor of Norwich to Robert Southey, is to be found perhaps the earliest trustworthy clue to the date of Borrow's first acquaintance with the German language. Writing on March 12th, 1821, Taylor, whose name will probably survive because of his relation to Borrow, says:

A Norwich young man is construing with me, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* with a view of translating it for the press. His name is George Henry Borrow, and he has learnt German with extraordinary rapidity, indeed, he has the gift of tongues, and, though not yet eighteen, understands twelve languages—English, Welsh, Erse, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, Danish, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. . . .

That such an astonishing achievement practically precluded special devotion to any one language, save possibly his own, seems clear. And yet at this particular time and for the following three or four years, German must have occupied him chiefly, for it was during this period that he published in the *Monthly Magazine* and the *New Monthly Magazine* of 1823, translations of Schiller's *Diver*, Stolberg's *Ode to a Mountain Torrent*, and Goethe's *Erl King*. "A Review of the Fortsetzung des Faust von Göthe" by C. C. Schöne, and "A Review of the Devil's Elixir from the German of Hoffmann" appeared in Vols. 1 and 2, respectively, of the *Universal Review* of 1824. In 1825, finally, these smaller works were followed by larger undertakings: *Der Freyschütz*, from the German of Apel, and *Faustus, His Life, Death and Descent into Hell*, Translated from the German.

In the delightful chapter of *Lavengro* in which Borrow recounts his early experiences with Taylor, he tells us that his first German teacher was a Jew, a peripatetic quack, whom he calls Moucha. This Moucha, however, soon discovered his inability to keep pace with his pupil, and thereupon turned him over to Taylor, a true lover of German. Taylor was so charmed to get hold of a really promising student that he undertook the task of teaching him without remuneration of any sort.

Immediately following the death of Borrow's father in 1824, the young linguist started for London with the expressed intention of embarking on a literary career. Armed with a highly complimentary letter of introduction from Taylor, he presented himself to Sir Richard Phillips, one of the most successful publishers of the day. Phillips received him with open arms, although his interest waned perceptibly when he discovered that his young visitor aspired to become a writer, and that he had in his handbag some literary wares for immediate disposal.

Among these finished products, Dr. Knapp,¹ the first biographer of Borrow, reckoned two volumes of translations from the Danish, and Klinger's *Faustus*. In regard to the latter Dr. Knapp was surely mistaken, for it appears certain now that Borrow first became acquainted with Klinger's book during the work of compiling his *Celebrated Trials*, the first commission given him by Sir Richard Phillips.

Though couched in vigorous English, and being an altogether praiseworthy piece of work, the *Faustus* received only unfavorable criticism at the hands of English reviewers, one of whom declared:

This is another work to which no respectable publisher ought to have allowed his name to be put. The political allusions and metaphysics, which may have made it popular among a low class in Germany, do not sufficiently season its lewd scenes and coarse descriptions for British palates. We have occasionally publications for the fireside,—these are only fit for the fire.¹

The question as to the immediate source of Borrow's version of Klinger's *Faust*, raised by Mr. Clement Shorter in his admirable book, *George Borrow and his Circle* (Boston & New York, 1913) has been reiterated by him in his truly monumental "Norwich Edition of Borrow's Works" (16 vols., London, 1923-1924) in the form of a more or less positive assertion that Borrow used the French version of 1798, rather than the German original.

This matter is perhaps worthy of a fuller discussion than can be given here but should not, I think, be left entirely untouched, since it involves to some extent the question of Borrow's real interest in the German language at precisely the time when that interest is supposed to have been the greatest.

¹ *Literary Gazette*, July 16, 1825.

Mr. Shorter originally said: "What makes me think that Borrow used only the French version in his translation is the fact that in his preface he refers to the engravings of that version, one of which he reproduced; whereas the engravings are in the German version also." In his "Norwich Edition" (Vol. XV) he further states: "Although *Faustus* is described on the title-page of three successive editions as 'translated from the German' there is little evidence that he ever knew who the author was. There is evidence that he made his translation from the French version."

After stating succinctly who Klinger was, and that both Borrow's *Tales of the Wild and Wonderful*, and *Faustus*, are typical of the school which influenced Monk Lewis, Walter Scott, and Miss Radcliffe, he continues:

Borrow refers condescendingly to the French translation. He says nothing of the fact that he must have made his version from that translation and probably never had an opportunity of seeing the German original. The fact that he refers to the engravings of the French edition, one of which he reproduces, makes me the more certain that he had never seen the German original.

It would seem that Mr. Shorter has added here nothing of moment to his first remarks on the subject. The mere fact that Borrow did not know Klinger was the author of the anonymous book he translated, surely lends little, if any, additional substance to his inference.

Since Mr. Shorter nowhere gives expression to a doubt as to Borrow's ability to translate from the German at the time, the matter simply resolves itself into a question of the truthfulness of Borrow's statement "Translated from the German."

A comparison, superficial, I admit, of certain sections of Borrow's version with the French translation on the one hand, and the German text on the other, has convinced me that Borrow did use the latter. There seems, therefore, to be no valid reason for doubting the truthfulness of Borrow's statement, excepting perhaps the possibility that he had not seen the German book, a contingency for which I recognize no cogent argument in Mr. Shorter's reasoning.

The fact seems to be that Mr. Shorter errs in stating that the plates of the French edition are also to be found in the German original.

The original German edition ostensibly published in St. Petersburg in 1791² contains no plates, which is likewise the case with three different pirated editions issued within a year of the book's first appearance. There were, therefore, at least four German editions without plates, any one of which Borrow might have used. The plates of the French version, Amsterdam 1798, six in number, were engraved by C. Schulte after designs by one Schubert, for the "Zweyte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage" of Klinger's book, dated St. Petersburg, 1794.

That Borrow did not see this first German illustrated edition is of course obvious, since he would otherwise have noted the fact that the pictures of the French edition are impressions from the identical German plates which were merely supplied with French inscriptions.

Summing up, I can only say that there is little cause to deny credence to the claims put forth by Borrow not only on the title-page but also with added emphasis in the closing paragraph of the preface to his *Faustus*.

The present translation [he states] has been executed with as much fidelity to the original as the difference of the two languages would allow. Shortly after the publication of the German work, a French translation (as bad as French translations from the German usually are) appeared at Amsterdam, adorned with excellent engravings, one of which has been selected for the present volume.

A man so greatly interested in German romantic ballads, in *Der Freyschütz* and Klinger's *Faust*, could not fail to be attracted by Goethe's *Faust*. Borrow's first printed reference to *Faust* is a mere allusion to it as an epochal publication, in the concluding sentence of his good and generally sympathetic review of Robert Pierce Gillies' translation of Hoffmann's *Elixir des Teufels* already referred to above.

This review is so characteristic of Borrow and a work of such length, covering 17 pages of the *Universal Review* of November, 1824, that one wonders why it was not included in the comprehensive "Norwich Edition" of his writings. In introducing his subject Borrow writes:

² The authorized editions of 1791 and 1794, attributed to St. Petersburg, were actually issued by the publisher, Jacobae of Leipzig.

The rage for German horrors is again on the ascendent after an obscurity of a quarter of a century. But the popular monster shows his front under another aspect. It formerly assailed us under the shape of tragedy and tale, both extravagant and yet both adapted to catch the popular eye by their vigour, their novelty and the wild and vivid mixture of splendour and gloom that belongs to the turbulent imagination of the North.

Monk Lewis was the great author, transcriber and translator of the school among us; "A decent priest where frenzy was the God," but the folly or the inspiration had its day, or rather its night; and the rising of a richer and brighter hour of English poetry and romance extinguished the sullen blaze of the German muse in England.

Yet it would be idle to deny that in the works of some of the abler Germans there are evidences of power deserving of deep and permanent admiration; that, mingled with much palpable puerility, there is occasionally remarkable force and grandeur; and that, defying and outraging nature, as they do in almost every instance of their touching upon common life, they follow with strange and solemn fidelity those wilder states of human feeling into which the unhappy few are urged by violent passion, overwhelming despair, or preternatural terror.

After speaking of the invasion of England by German music, especially Weber's *Freyschütz*, which carried everything before it in all the theatres of England, Borrow continues, "When the *Freyschütz* shall have gone its course, we should not be surprised to see the story of *The Devil's Elixir* taking its place, and chaining down the ear of the multitude with ferocious harmony."

Finally, after fifteen pages of a concise and clear recital of Hoffmann's story accompanied by a quaint and pithy running comment, he says: "Thus terminates this strange tale, undoubtedly revolting in parts, but as undoubtedly exhibiting from time to time as much fanciful beauty and absorbing interest as any that the author's prolific country has produced since the *Faust*."

That Borrow had before this time read *Faust* to some purpose, is deducible partly from his reference to it in the second interview with Sir Richard Phillips, supposed by Dr. Knapp to have occurred in 1821, and partly from the air of comprehensive familiarity with it and with Goethe in general, pervading his short review of C. C. L. Schöne's *Fortsetzung von Goethe's Faust*.

This continuation of Goethe's *Faustus* [writes Borrow] is undoubtedly like the original tragedy in all that regards externals. The paper

is of the same quality and we do not doubt that the type is from the same font. The work too is dedicated to Goethe who, it seems, approves of it, to the great delight of Mr. C. C. L. Schöne. But we think it right to warn this simple-hearted dramatist that Goethe has a little of his own devil in his composition, and that he has evidently been playing the part of Mephistopheles with this second Wagner, for it is quite absurd to suppose that the poet could admire such a spiritless and bodyless imitation. It is in no sense of the word a continuation of the original tragedy; it is a mere heavy repetition, when it evinces any ideas at all. Faustus exhibits no new feelings, is placed in no new situations, except indeed it be in the catastrophe, where the devil takes him off to hell, whence he is reclaimed by the heavenly powers, in a cold epilogue.

From these lines it is obvious that Borrow did as early as 1824, get a glimpse at least of the nature of Goethe, and the *Faust*; and one can only harbor the wish that he may have seen the well-known invective, entitled "Herr Schöne," written by Goethe in 1823, but not printed until Riemer and Eckermann gave it place in Vol. I of their edition of Goethe's works.³

In order to understand Goethe's lines, it must be remembered that Schöne not only dedicated his work to Goethe but also applied to him for some expression of opinion regarding it. From the rapturous response contained in Schöne's second poetic address "An den Herrn von Göthe nachdem ich seine Antwort auf meine Zusendung erhalten hatte," it is apparent that Goethe sent him probably "schöne," but quite certainly, "nichtssagende Worte."

What he really thought, he confided to the strip of paper found in his "Nachlass" in 1832:

Herr Schöne.

Dem Dummten wird die Ilias zur Fibel,
Wie uns vor solchem Leser graus't!
Er liest so ohngefähr die Bibel
Als wie Herr Schöne meinen Faust.
Der du so nach Erfindung bangst,
Du solltest dich so sehr nicht plagen;
Wenn du eine weise Antwort verlangst,
Muszt du vernünftig fragen.

³ *Goethe's Poetische und Prosaische Werke*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1836.

While Borrow was surely not lacking in a sufficiently high opinion of his own capacity as a linguist, it is doubtful at least whether he would have suggested to a publisher, the irksome and self-searching task of translating *Faust*, had he not felt himself secure in his mastery of the German language. I am not, while saying this, unmindful of the circumstance that he allowed Sir Richard Phillips to bulldoze him into the job of translating into German, his pseudo-philosophic work entitled *Proximate causes of the Material Phenomena*, a task which was, to be sure, far beyond his reach.

It is the passage in *Lavengro* leading up to this proposition on the part of Sir Richard, that especially concerns us here. Telling Borrow in the boldest terms that he had not until then intended to employ him otherwise than as a literary hack for the *Monthly Magazine*, Sir Richard continued, "but Sir, this morning I received a letter from my valued friend in the country in which he speaks in terms of strong admiration(I don't overstate) of your German acquirements. Sir, he says that it would be a thousand pities if your knowledge of the German language should be lost to the world, or even permitted to sleep, and he entreats me to think of some plan by which it may be turned to account. Sir, I am at all times willing, if possible, to oblige my worthy friend, and likewise to encourage merit and talent; I have, therefore, determined to employ you in German." "Sir," said Borrow rubbing his hands, "you are very kind and so is our mutual friend; I shall be very happy to make myself useful in German, and if you think a good translation from Goethe—his *Sorrows* for example, or, more particularly, the *Faust*—" "Sir," said the publisher, "Goethe is a drug; his *Sorrows* are a drug, so is his *Faustus*, more especially the last since that fool —— rendered him into English." (Sir Richard is here paying his compliments to Lord Levison Gower whose woefully inadequate translation of *Faust* had recently appeared.)

"No Sir," continued the publisher, "I do not want you to translate Goethe, or anything belonging to him, nor do I want you to translate anything from the German. I am willing to encourage merit, Sir, and, as my good friend in his last letter has spoken very highly of your German acquirements I have determined that you shall translate my book of philosophy into

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German. I am not a drug, Sir, in Germany as Goethe is here, no more is my book."

When Borrow ventured to suggest some difficulties in the way, the publisher assured him that he ought to consider himself highly gratified, and dismissed him by saying: "Now, Sir, permit me to inform you that I wish to be alone. This is Sunday afternoon, Sir, I never go to church, but I am in the habit of spending a part of every Sunday afternoon alone, profitably, I hope, Sir,—in musing on the magnificence of nature and the moral dignity of man."

With the comment that "what can't be cured must be endured," and "it is hard to kick against the pricks," Borrow set resolutely but futilely to work on the huge undertaking destined to end his association with the publisher, and incidentally spoil for long, all real pleasure in his German studies.

The alacrity with which Borrow indicated his willingness to furnish a translation of *Faust* suggests strongly that he had already tried his hand at it.

A translation of *Der König in Thule*, now published in the "Norwich Edition" may very probably have originated at the same time that his versions of the *Erl-King* and the *Leonore* were made.

It is, on the other hand, extremely unlikely that he could then have produced the good translation of the lines from the *Walpurgis Nacht* gracing the stirring passage of *Lavengro* in which Borrow, seated with Isopel Berners, discourses on the approach and outburst of an awful thunderstorm, when he is not attempting—vainly—to give her a lesson in the Armenian language.

Following a terrific clap of thunder, Borrow who has just made a more or less apt quotation from his beloved Ab Gwilyem, says, "So you don't like Ab Gwilyem; what say you to old Goethe?

Mist shrouds the night and rack;
Hear, in the woods, what an awful crack!
Wildly the owls are flitting.
Hark to the pillars splitting
Of palaces verdant ever!
The branches quiver and sever,
The mighty stems are creaking,

In wild mixt ruin down dashing
 O'er one another they're crashing;
 Whilst 'midst the rocks so hoary
 Whirlwinds hurry and worry.
 Hears't not, Sister—
 Hark! said Belle, hark!
 Hears't not, Sister, a chorus of voices?

So far, *Lavengro*; in Borrow's manuscript the passage is concluded with the answer:

Yes, the enormous mountain along,
 Horribly streameth the sorcerer's song.

Both handwriting and quality of workmanship make it likely, if not certain, that these lines forming part of an otherwise unpublished manuscript of ten pages preserved in the Speck Collection in Yale University Library, were written between the years 1843-1846 when, according to Borrow, *Lavengro* was composed, and 1851, when the great book was finally published.

Beginning with the passage, "Faust, Mephistopheles und Irrlicht in abwechselndem Gesang," this fragment consists of 189 consecutive lines ending with Faust's query addressed to Mephisto:

Willst du dich nun, um uns hier einzuführen
 Als Zauberer oder Teufel produciren?

which Borrow renders

Now, do you mean to mingle in this revel
 As simple sorcerer or mighty devil?

Since some important lines of the manuscript challenge comparison, not always to the disadvantage of Borrow, with the famous rendition by Shelley, I shall quote the first two pages in full.

Now the wizard's land we enter,
 Glad and fain we are to tread it
 Safe and free from misadventure.
 Speed us, sprite, for thy dear credit
 To the expanse for which we're sighing.
 See how swift the trees are flying
 Past us as we're onward going!

See the big cliffs how they're bowing
While the crag's huge noses muster
All their rage, and snort and bluster!
Down beneath the moon's pale lustre
Midst the stones the brooks are roving.
Songs I'm hearing, strains heart moving,
Moans as if by lovers given.
Voices from our days of heaven
All our feelings best recalling,
As the echo is repeating
Clear the magic tones so fleeting.
Hark! what means this horrid gabble,
Jays and all the feathered rabble
Soon upstarting now and brawling;
What is that which there doth wander
Spindle-shank and pot-like belly
Through the bush? A Salamander?
Yes, 'tis one! 'tis one! I tell ye.
And like snakes from rocks around us
See the roots are twining, bending,
Nooses, strange and wild extending
To entangle and confound us.
From big bulks which loom and lumber
Feelers stretch they without number,
Feelers like the polyposses;
Whilst the mice through moors and mosses
Scurry with their coats so shining,
And the fireflies are sweeping,
Phalanx close and crowded keeping
Bent the maddening route on joining.
But now tell me if we're staying
Or if we are onwards straying.
Whirligig each thing is playing,
Rock and forest change their places
And the wisps and wandering blazes
Double as we're them surveying.

As the last forty-nine lines of the manuscript are written on ribbed paper bearing the watermark, 1846, it is not impossible that they were done somewhat later than the preceding one hundred and forty lines written on paper of smooth texture, and showing no watermarks of any sort. Handwriting and similarity of styles seem to prove however that all these unpublished

lines, as well as thirty-one others covering the incident of the Proktophantasmist, and printed in Vol. VII of the "Norwich Edition," are products of the same period in Borrow's development.

It is characteristic of the man that he should have selected for translation, besides the *Walpurgis Nacht*, that portion of *Faust* containing the genesis of Mephistopheles.

This third fragment was like the thirty-one lines of the Proktophantasmist, generously presented to the Collection of Goethiana in Yale University Library by Mr. Thomas J. Wise of London. It consists of one hundred and twelve lines written on paper variously watermarked 1844 and 1846. Although published in Vol. VII of the "Norwich Edition," at least a small portion of the manuscript should find a place here.

But ah! I feel, although to hail it willing,
Content no longer from my breast distilling.
Why should the stream become so soon expended,
And we in thirst and dust be laid extended?
O, I've experienced oft the deprivation,
Yet there's a substitute, a heavenly pleasure,
We learn the supernatural to treasure.
We long, we long for revelation
Which nowhere meets in nobler guise, our vision
Than in the Testament we style the New.
To unlock the ground text wherefore not determine
With heart that seeks for truth 'bove all.
For once the blest original
I'll render into my beloved German.
'Tis writ: "In the beginning was the Word!"
I'm stopped already; who will help afford?
I can't assign the Word so high a station.
Another term must stand in my translation.
It should, unless I'm very, very blind,
Be writ; "In the beginning was the Mind."
Consider this first line I do advise thee;
Let not thy pen to too much haste entice thee;
Is it the Mind that all creates? more right
To say "In the beginning was the Might!"
But whilst I trace this down my mind is shaken.
Something assures me I am still mistaken;
Help me, my soul! at once from doubts I'm freed!
'Tis done: "In the beginning was the Deed!"

Pronounced superiority from every point of view over his ballad translations of 1821 to 1825, and more especially the exhibition of a far firmer grasp, on Borrow's part, of the carrying capacity of the German language, prove incontestibly that all his *Faust* fragments, with the single exception of his *The Faithful King of Thule*, resulted, not from his early language exercises, but rather from a later painstaking study of Goethe's work.

If further proof of Borrow's familiarity with *Faust* were needed, it might be found in the circumstance that he quotes from the *Walpurgis Nacht* even in that most depressing of all his literary utterances, the interminable "Appendix" to *Romany Rye*. Here chagrin and disgust due to the inexplicable coolness accorded *Lavengro*, cause him to sink to a state of mind so maudlin that he pompously grants to German letters, the possession of but one fine poem,—Wieland's *Oberon*.

Writing of his arch enemies, the "pseudo-radicals," and crying out "confound the revolutionary canaille, why can't they be quiet!" he remarks that they put one in mind of the parvenu in the *Walpurgis Nacht*; then going far afield to say that he is no admirer of Goethe, he continues, "but the idea of that parvenu was certainly a good one—yes, putting one in mind of the individual who says:

Wir waren wahrlich auch nicht dumm,
Und thaten oft was wir nicht sollten;
Doch jetzo kehrt sich Alles um und um,
Und eben da wir's fest erhalten wollten.

This he translates badly enough as follows:

We were no fools, as every one discern'd,
And stopp'd at naught our projects in fulfilling;
But now the world seems topsy-turvy turn'd,
To keep it quiet just when we were willing.

WILLIAM A. SPECK

IX.

EMERSON ON WORDSWORTH

THE relationship between Emerson and Wordsworth, or rather the influence of Wordsworth upon Emerson, needs to be defined. There is a nebulous impression of close kinship between the two, particularly in their views concerning nature. Since Wordsworth's more original and potent verse had been written before 1820, while Emerson's earliest significant address was delivered in 1837 and his earliest significant essay was printed in 1836, we are apt to assume that Wordsworth exerted an important influence upon the young Emerson in the 1830's.¹ The assumption does not appear to be well founded as I shall attempt to demonstrate. During the years that followed his first efforts, Emerson's attitude grew successively friendly, enthusiastic, confident toward the Wordsworth he had formerly found interesting but blundering, admirable in intention but ludicrously incapable. It is not difficult to mark the very year in which the transition from very considerable disapproval to almost unbroken approval was completed.

A perusal of Emerson's essays and addresses is rewarded with several well-scattered references to Wordsworth. The volume containing *English Traits* includes those descriptions and criticisms of Wordsworth which have obtained most currency. In the best complete edition of Emerson's works it is noteworthy that all except one of the twelve volumes (the volume comprising *Representative Men*) contain references of some sort to Wordsworth, a general indication, at least, that Emerson, from youth to old age, read Wordsworth's verse.²

It is, however, in Emerson's *Journals* that his opinion of Wordsworth can be traced from the first mention in 1826,

¹ Wordsworth's *The Prelude* was not published till after his death in 1850; all the rest of his best work was accessible at this time. Emerson's *The American Scholar* was delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, Mass., in 1837; his little book, *Nature*, was printed in 1836.

² The most complete edition is the "Centenary Edition." ed. by E. W. Emerson, Boston, 1903-4.

when Emerson was twenty-three, to the last mention in 1868, when Emerson was sixty-five and Wordsworth long since dead.³ The *Journals* acquaint one with Emerson's ideas something as a period of association with him in his own home might have done, and it is not to be overlooked that he early formed the habit of entering in these notes the thoughts or observations that particularly impressed him. A candid reader of the *Journals* is, consequently, compelled to accept what there appears on any subject (e. g. Wordsworth) as Emerson's genuine utterance upon it. The objection that Emerson said one thing about Wordsworth in his *Journals* but felt another thing in his heart could carry no conviction to one who knew Emerson's character and the character of his *Journals*. The index of the *Journals* testifies to Emerson's keen and persistent interest in Wordsworth. Among contemporary writers, there are only three on whom Emerson bestows more constant attention.⁴ And these three were all of them personal friends; whereas Wordsworth was, to Emerson, an author, not a friend in the ordinary sense.⁵ So far then, the impression of the casual reader that there was a bond, more or less close, between Wordsworth and Emerson appears well founded.

We may divide our examination of the *Journals* into two periods: roughly, the period before the writing of Emerson's book, *Nature*, in 1836; and the period from that time to the last entries in the *Journals*. In other words, we try to discover how Emerson has taken his Wordsworth, up to the age of thirty-two or thirty-three; afterwards, to discover how Emerson, from thirty-three to over seventy, has continued to take his Wordsworth. The break is rather arbitrary, perhaps, but (as Mercutio says) "it will serve."

Emerson's first observations, written in 1826, are interesting because they are the first, and because they are very natural in a youthful critic of Wordsworth:

³ Emerson's *Journals*, ten volumes, edited by E. W. Emerson, and W. E. Forbes, Boston, 1909. The *Journals*, as edited, contain entries from 1820 till 1876: Emerson's thoughts from the age of sixteen to that of seventy-eight.

⁴ The three are: Bronson Alcott, Carlyle, and Thoreau.

⁵ Emerson met and talked with Wordsworth in 1833 at Rydal Mount (See ch. I, of *English Traits*); and again in 1848 at Ambleside (see ch. XVII of *English Traits*). The personal impression made upon Emerson seems not to have been altogether pleasant on either occasion.

It would seem as if abundant erudition, foreign travel and gymnastic exercises must be annexed to his awful imagination and fervent piety to finish Milton. That the boisterous childhood, careless of criticism and poetry, the association of vulgar and unclean companions, were necessary to balance the towering spirit of Shakspeare, and that Mr. Wordsworth has failed of pleasing by being too much a poet.⁶

The meaning of this is, as I take it, that Wordsworth lacks that more or less miscellaneous experience (present in Shakspeare and Milton) without which a poet can hardly be of the greatest. The doctrine may be sound enough, though its application to Wordsworth indicates juvenility. Yet it is remarkable that it should have occurred at all to the somewhat positive young man to compare Wordsworth with Shakspeare and Milton.

Two years later, Emerson copies from five different poems by Wordsworth⁷ what appears to be a series of favorite quotations. It is noteworthy that none of the lines quoted touches in the least closely upon that theory of, and attitude toward, nature which seems common to Emerson and Wordsworth. Indeed, certain caustic phrases, upon the very subject of Wordsworth's "nature," follow. Emerson resents the way in which Wordsworth has "pitched his tent" among natural beauties and in so doing actually lost touch with them, "trying to distil the essence of poetry from poetic things, instead of being satisfied to adorn common scenes with such lights from these sources of poetry as nature will always furnish to her true lovers."⁸ Whether the truth of this opinion is demonstrable or not, certainly the hostile tone assumed towards Wordsworth is obvious. The castigation continues in a passage contrasting the poem *Pelican Island* by Montgomery with Wordsworth's *Excursion*. Emerson praises *Pelican Island* for its "coarse and tangible features for description or allusions," at the same time decrying Wordsworth as "metaphysical and evanescent." In short, "it is a poem worth ten *Excursions*!"⁹

⁶ *Journal*, II, 106.

⁷ *Journal*, II, 230-231. The five poems are: *Dion*; *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*; *Ecclesiastical Sonnet X*; *Lines Left upon a Seat in a Yew Tree*; *Sonnet I, to the River Dudden*.

⁸ *Journal*, II, 232.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 235. Emerson may be considered properly Byronic at twenty-four.

With the next pronouncement, four years later, a new accent may be discerned.

He has writ lines that are like outward nature, so fresh, so simple, so durable; but whether all or half his texture is as firm I doubt, though last evening I read with high delight his Sonnets to Liberty.¹⁰

Emerson is doing his own thinking about Wordsworth, as about many other things, for this is the period of Emerson's pastorate in Boston, and only a year later he finds himself unable to conform to certain of his "pastoral" duties.¹¹ Later in 1831, Wordsworth's poems have again been scrutinized and Emerson commends certain of them. The survey concludes thus:

Come up, William Wordsworth, almost I can say Coleridge's compliment, quem quoties lego, non verba mihi videor audire, sed tonitrua. His noble distinction is that he seeks the truth and shuns with brave self-denial every image and word that is from the purpose, means to stick close to his own thought and give it in naked simplicity and so make it God's affair, not his own, whether it shall succeed. But he fails of executing this purpose fifty times for the sorry purpose of making a rhyme in which he has no skill, of from imbecility of mind losing sight of his thought, or from self-surrender to custom in poetic diction

And almost every moral line in his book might be framed like a picture, or graven on a temple porch, and would gain instead of lose by being pondered.¹²

Emerson never shows any effrontery of self-assertion even in these early *Journals*, though he does convey unobtrusively that air of certitude—derived only from within—which characterized him from twenty to eighty! The accent is patently not that of a devotee or a disciple of Wordsworth. Emerson seems to be scrutinizing him with interest, never forgetting to weigh his vices against his virtues, and not so much seeking guidance as bestowing—modestly enough—approval. Indeed the high praise just quoted is gainsaid before a year has elapsed.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 402. Emerson was then (1831) twenty-eight.

¹¹ Emerson's ultimatum to his church was the sermon on *The Lords Supper*, delivered at the Second Church in Boston, 1832.

¹² *Journal*, II, 429, 430. The commended poems are: a sonnet (River Deddon series); *Ode to Duty*; *Rob Roy*; *The Happy Warrior*; *Dion*.

I never read Wordsworth without chagrin, a man of such great powers and ambition, so near to the Dii majores, to fail so meanly in every attempt! A genius that hath epilepsy, a deranged archangel.¹³

The *Journal* for 1833 contains the account (not significantly different from that in *English Traits*) of Emerson's first personal meeting with Wordsworth.¹⁴ Again it is made plain that Emerson approaches Wordsworth with great interest but hardly with the veneration of a follower. He blames himself, in fact, for being too ready to find the "Lake Poet" a little ridiculous. He cannot forbear to put the question:

Could not Wordsworth have kept to himself his intimations that his new edition was at the bookseller's and contained some improvements?¹⁵

There were unpleasant qualities in the man Wordsworth, which might have escaped even Emerson had he known Wordsworth only through books of verse. Wordsworth's self-preoccupation, his perfectly ingenuous, fundamental egoism, would always have been, for Emerson, a barrier to intimacy—so far was Emerson's own temper, in this respect, from that of Wordsworth.¹⁶ Emerson did not fail, however, to credit Wordsworth, retrospectively, with invaluable independence or self-dependence. Presently he sounds the trumpet of high praise:

Milton was too learned, though I hate to say it. . . . Wordsworth was a more original poet than he. That seems the poet's garland. He speaks by that right, that he has somewhat yet unsaid to say.¹⁷

This train of unalleviated praise holds throughout 1834, for the one other comment of the year is all eulogy:

¹³ *Journal*, II, 534. Emerson cites two passages to illustrate Wordsworth's tendency to ruin high poems by impotent conclusions. He declares sapiently: "If he had cut in his dictionary for words, he could hardly have got worse."

¹⁴ *Journal*, III, 182, 183.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹⁶ When Emerson next talked with Wordsworth, some fifteen years later (1848), he still found himself somewhat offended by Wordsworth's ways, though he (Emerson) had long since come to rank Wordsworth very high as a poet. Cf. *English Traits*, Ch. XVII.

¹⁷ *Journal*, III, 328.

It requires no ordinary elevation to go by the social distinctions and feel that interest in humanity itself which is implied in attentions to the obscure. Wordsworth is a philanthropist; . . . And so keep me heaven, I will love the race in general if I cannot in any particular.¹⁸

The last sentence (a comment worth pondering as applied to either of the men concerned) is the only sentence so far noted which carries even a hint that Emerson ever took his cue from Wordsworth as from a master. Here the hint is altogether casual.

The observations of the year 1835 mark a considerable qualification of praise. This was the year before the publication of Emerson's *Nature*, in which his beliefs about the rôle of nature in man's life found such complete expression that he can be safely said never to have modified them. Emerson, in this very significant thirty-second year of his life, speaks out sharply:

Wordsworth writes the verses of a great original bard, but he writes ill, weakly, concerning his poetry, talks ill of it, and even writes other poetry that is very poor.¹⁹

A little later in the same year, Emerson takes up a volume of Wordsworth with confidence.

It is the comfort I have in taking up those new poems of Wordsworth, that I am sure here to find thoughts in harmony with the great frame of Nature, the placid aspect of the Universe. I may find dullness and flatness, but I shall not find meanness and error.²⁰

On the very next day, Emerson tells explosively just what he has found in those new poems of Wordsworth:

What platitudes I find in Wordsworth! . . .

"I, poet, bestow my verse

On this and this and this . . ."

Scarce has he dropped the smallest piece of an egg, when he fills the barnyard with his cackle.²¹

¹⁸ *Journal*, III, 333.

¹⁹ *Journal*, III, 333.

²⁰ *Journal*, III, 560. This passage illustrates the ease with which Emerson may be (and is!) misrepresented by isolated citation. He is now a "Wordsworthian," now an infidel Byron!

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 561.

At this point we must estimate carefully the influence which Wordsworth had exerted upon Emerson down to the year when Emerson's own view of nature crystallized into explicit and permanent form. Nearly every word of Emerson's relevant to the subject has been quoted: what he felt moved privately to record from his twenty-third to his thirty-second year. One so persistently occupied with Wordsworth's productions could scarcely have said less about his striking pantheistic attitude. The few sentences that deal with Wordsworth's treatment of nature are not complimentary—are not what would seem to many of us sympathetic. The posture of Emerson is always precisely critical with rather more impatience than enthusiasm, perhaps, but never impatience sufficient to discourage further perusals of Wordsworth. The evidence makes against the likelihood of any very profound influence of the Wordsworthian view of nature upon the Emersonian view which has, in 1836, already taken explicit shape.

Wordsworth's view of nature—that is, of nature as related to man—is to be gathered from certain of the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798 and from the *Prelude*.²² The doctrine is not altogether so simple as any condensed account may make it appear. Wordsworth believes in the direct moral efficacy of nature (at least he believed in it during the days when he was writing his most original and powerful verse); nature does verily teach and enforce moral lessons. For instance, the small boy, William Wordsworth, steals a boat to go rowing at dusk. As he gets away from the shore, the threatening height of a mountain towers up in awful rebuke. The boy rushes his boat back to the shore and never forgets the moral lesson.²³ Wordsworth recalls not a few

²² *Lines Written in Early Spring* and *Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey*, are good examples of poems indicating his idea of nature's power. In the *Prelude*, the first two books reinforce the same idea, though the poem as a whole was not published till after 1836—not till 1850.

²³ Cf. *The Prelude*, Book I,

" . . . Praise to the End!

Thanks to the means which nature deigned to employ; . . .

. . . The grim shape [of the mountain]

Towered up between me and the stars, and still,

For so it seemed, with purpose of its own

And measured motion like a living thing

Strode after me. With trembling oars I turned, . . ."

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occasions (often of the most important to him, apparently) when nature stepped up to him, as it were, and admonished him aright.²⁴ The precious "spots of time," mystic instants of high blissful perceptions, resulting in noble self-dedications, are caused or imparted by nature. Finally, nature is the habitation of God, at least in a considerable measure.

A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.²⁵

Indeed, in the years before 1805, Wordsworth seems to imply that what is known as God's influence upon individuals may be easily denominated Nature's influence. He speaks of himself in no uncertain language:

. . . . I, so long
A worshipper of Nature, hither came
Unwearied in that service; rather say
With warmer love—oh! with far deeper zeal
Of holier love.²⁶

Wordsworth cannot be said to have made any very strenuous attempt to philosophize his doctrine of nature except in so far as he based all perceptions and conceptions fundamentally upon sensations—sensations being stimulated beneficially by external nature! Thought is, in a manner, complicated "out of" simple sensations.

. . . . The meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.²⁷

Now, if Emerson was profoundly stirred by Wordsworth's idea of nature, he maintained an extraordinary silence upon the subject in that diary which he kept for just such records. Not only that, but Emerson differed considerably from Words-

²⁴ E. g. *The Prelude*, Book I. Wordsworth, as a boy, sometimes stole a bird that had been trapped by another boy.

" . . . and when the deed was done
I heard among the solitary hills
Low breathings coming after me. . . ."

²⁵ *Tintern Abbey*.

²⁶ *Tintern Abbey*.

²⁷ *Ode on Imitations of Immortality*.

worth in the views of nature propounded in the small book of 1836—*Nature*. In the address, *The American Scholar*, in the following year, Emerson requires that the true scholar, "Man Thinking," be partly educated and swayed by converse with nature, though nature has to divide the honors with books or art, and with practical experience ("Knowing through doing"). To return to the treatment in the first publication, *Nature*, Emerson sets forth his faith that nature is designed to be of use to man. It is made on purpose to teach man; yet nature is neither the last nor the deepest source of religious truth. The mightiest revelations come direct from God—the Oversoul—to the heart that awaits him. There is God in us, and there is God working through nature to help us. Positively as Emerson is convinced of nature's significance for man, of man's education as nature's chief excuse for being, still he leaves us in not the least doubt that nature is secondary, God within us being primary. Wordsworth scarcely conveys any such distinction in the poems of his earlier period; and it is those of the earlier period that Emerson had been reading, clearly enough, before 1836. If Emerson followed him, it was chronologically rather than logically or psychologically.²⁸ Wordsworth is decidedly and professedly pantheistic; whereas Emerson, though occasionally approaching pantheism, cannot justly be said ever to have identified God with nature. There is very slight support for the contention that Emerson's views in *Nature* were derivative in any sense from Wordsworth's view though moments of striking similarity are not uncommon. Their minds were originally set in something the same direction; so Emerson's word upon nature is continually approximating Wordsworth's while as continually diverging enough to preclude any notion of discipleship. Whatever the line of demarcation, no other writer of the nineteenth century but Emerson

²⁸ Take as a typical case of Emerson's native proximity to Wordsworth, *The River* (1827):

. . . . Oh, call not nature dumb;
 These trees and stones are audible to me,
 These idle flowers, that tremble in the wind,
 I understand their faery syllables,
 And all their sad significance. The wind,
 That rustles down the well-known forest road—
 It hath a sound more eloquent than speech.

has anything like so eloquent a devotion to nature as Wordsworth.²⁹

To proceed with the later *Journal*, in the year 1836, after the book *Nature* had been completed, we find a revival of Emerson's mood of commendation.

It is strange, how simple a thing it is to be a man; so simple that almost all fail by overdoing. There is nothing vulgar in Wordsworth's idea of man.³⁰

The fact is that, from this thirty-fourth year of his life, Emerson had no more of those critical qualms about Wordsworth to record in his *Journal*, those qualms so natural to the youthful student of Wordsworth, so relatively unimportant to the mature student who knows the values to look for and the places to look for them in the æsthetic mélange of Wordsworth's prolixity.³¹ The next passage heralds at once the quality in Wordsworth that won upon Emerson steadily.

How much self-reliance it implies to write a true description of anything, for example, Wordsworth's picture of skating; that leaning on your heels and stopping in mid-career. So simple a fact no common man would have trusted himself to detach as a thought.³²

The notes of any sort upon Wordsworth become more infrequent in the five later volumes of the *Journal*. And this we are compelled to take neither as a sign of Emerson's declining

²⁹ It is not out of place to recall that in one very important respect Emerson's temper was different from Wordsworth's. The reforming or rebel instinct was in the bed-rock of Emerson's nature. Rebellion was only a youthful phenomenon with Wordsworth (though, to be sure, he entertained some "liberal" ideas all his life). Emerson was one of the infrequent rebellious reformers who never abate one jot for circumstances or old age. There was something incompatible about the two, here. And this incompatibility helps to make more plausible Emerson's substantial independence of Wordsworth's ideas. Emerson was conscious of this difference but characteristically continued to prize the freedom and resolution of the remote Grasmere poet.

³⁰ *Journal*, IV, 55.

³¹ No better examples of the natural attitudes of youth and of maturity in readers of Wordsworth can be mentioned than Byron (youth) and Matthew Arnold (maturity).

³² *Journal*, IV, 398.

interest nor as a sign of any discontinuance of his reading in the poet, for such sparse notes as we do have (five years sometimes intervening between references to Wordsworth) indicate a towering esteem, while they hint of continued perusings.

Wordsworth has done as much as any living man to restore sanity to cultivated society.³³

While the explicitness of this declaration of faith is not great, its tenor is unmistakable. Emerson has become confident, is no longer harassed by those early doubts about Wordsworth's diction and his capacity in general. Emerson knows now; henceforth can reckon upon Wordsworth as a sort of corroborator to be referred to safely at any time. Naturally enough, he has less to say than formerly because there is no longer any Wordsworth question for him to debate. Just as naturally when his quiet appreciation has accumulated till it demands expression, that expression is likely to be more eloquent, less stinted than in the early days.³⁴ Even the second meeting with an elderly and far-from-prepossessing Wordsworth in 1848—Emerson now forty-four—does not damp Emerson's ardent sentiment toward him.³⁵

In 1855, Emerson was assuredly still reading Wordsworth, witness the admirable passage transcribed into the *Journal*, with no comment and only a botanical name for title:

Osmunda Regalis

"And chiefly that tall fern
So stately, of the Queen Osmunda named,
Plant lovelier in its own retired abode
On Grasmere's beach, than Naiad by the side
Of Grecian brook, or Lady of the Mere,
Sole sitting by the shores of old romance."³⁶

³³ *Journal*, V, 393.

³⁴ *Journal*, VI, 264, affords us the only even slightly derogatory reference of the "latter days." This is the passage; "If in this last book of Wordsworth there be dulness, it is yet the dulness of a great and cultivated mind."

³⁵ *Journal*, VII, 400. This account in the *Journal* of the second meeting with Wordsworth does not differ materially from that in *English Traits*, ch. XVII.

³⁶ *Journal*, VIII, 558.

A year later, Emerson proves by his fervor in defending Wordsworth that he has come, in a fashion, to look upon the man as one who realized many of the Emersonian ideals.

I was to say at the end of my narrative of Wordsworth³⁷ that I find nothing, in the disparaging speeches of the Londoners about him, that would not easily be said of a faithful scholar who rated things after his own scale, and not by the conventional. He almost alone in his generation has treated the Mind well.³⁸

In remarking that Wordsworth "treated the Mind well," Emerson refers probably to *The Prelude*, for the next "Wordsworth" note is explicitly upon that poem.³⁹ The comprehensive excellence of Wordsworth is finally enforced in a few choice words celebrating the general acceptance by the world and the critics of that self-reliant poet so long scorned. Emerson affirms "his unquestionable superiority to all English poets since Milton."⁴⁰ Again, at the age of sixty-five, Emerson indicates that Wordsworth has not ceased to minister to him. After reading (for the first time, apparently) *The White Doe of Rylstone*, he pronounces it "a poem in a singularly simple and temperate key, without ornament or sparkle, but tender, wise, and religious, such as only a true poet could write, honouring the poet and the reader."⁴¹ The last phrase was surely a very important one in Emerson's intention and more than hints of the effect of Wordsworth upon him in the reading.

There remains in the *Journal* only one more comment on Wordsworth, a noble praise which sounds tame to un-Victorian ears, but was courageously unconventional, even anti-conventional, in 1868; for it carried with it measured depreciation of the unapproached (as he then appeared to the multitude) Alfred Tennyson.

Wordsworth is manly, the manliest poet of his age. His poems record the thoughts and emotions which have occupied his mind, and

³⁷ The context gives no clue as to this "narrative of Wordsworth." Possibly it was the account in *English Traits*.

³⁸ *Journal*, IX, 53.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151-2. "Wordsworth's *Prelude* is not quite solid enough in its texture; is rather a poetical pamphlet, though proceeding from a new and genuine experience."

⁴⁰ *Journal*, X, 68-9. Emerson was now sixty-one.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

which he reports because of their reality. He has great skill in rendering them into simple and sometimes happiest poetic speech. Tennyson has incomparable felicity in all poetic forms, and is a brave thoughtful Englishman; exceeds Wordsworth a hundredfold in rhythmic power and variety, but far less manly compass; and Tennyson's main purpose is the rendering, whilst Wordsworth's is just value of the dignity of the thought.⁴²

Suppose the curve were plotted of Emerson's life-long judgments upon Wordsworth, how the rising tendency would beautifully emerge! There is, perhaps, no case of a more slow-maturing and more profound appreciation by one great writer of another. The enthusiasm for Alcott, for Thoreau, for Carlyle, was immediate, and though it may not in any case have waned, it can hardly be said to have waxed. In certain ways, the aged Emerson probably felt himself closer to Wordsworth than to any other writer whatever. That does not mean that he forgot Wordsworth's pompous ignorance on certain topics or his painful illiberalism on certain others; it means that Emerson had, to his own satisfaction, penetrated to the essential Wordsworth, the courageous, independent dweller in the mountains, and that Emerson found him excellent.

They faced, nevertheless, in somewhat different (however far from opposite) directions. Wordsworth's early view of nature is partly similar to Emerson's permanent view of nature, as I have pointed out.⁴³ But the clear line of difference is there to indicate that each arrived separately at the view. For each of them, God (or Oversoul) penetrates and interpenetrates nature, an Essence ever present. Emerson, from the first, adds that this Soul is not simply ever present—it is already within us, as well. The intuition of the heart quite overshadows the impulses kindled by external nature. Still the kinship (to reject

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 267-8. These are, as far as I know, Emerson's final words upon the "manliest poet."

⁴³ In presenting Wordsworth's view of nature as pantheistic (in his twenties and early thirties), I may seem to many to have run amuck! I do not maintain that Wordsworth was the type and model of pantheism, but I do stand upon the affirmation that no English poet can justly be declared more pantheistic than the early Wordsworth. If pantheism is a theory unexemplified in verse, why not cease to mouth the term? Why it is viewed as a term of opprobrium, it would be hard to discover.

the word influence) ran deep; so deep that it took Emerson almost half of a long life to dig down to it.⁴⁴

These references (most of which I have quoted completely) culled from Emerson's *Journal* represent fairly such other references to Wordsworth as are to be found elsewhere in Emerson's writings. The whole story is here in its most coherent form. . . . Having altogether taken considerable care to define the differences, the reserves, in Emerson's view of Wordsworth, it is appropriate for me to quote as a "free atonement" that passage, cited in the essay on *Compensation*, from one of the great sonnets, because it expresses just the point where perfect contact was momentarily established between the theories of nature of the two.

Winds blow and waters roll
Strength to the brave and power and deity,
Yet in themselves are nothing.⁴⁵

JOHN BROOKS MOORE

⁴⁴ Nothing reminds a student of the severe scrutiny to which Emerson subjected Wordsworth more vividly than the over-thirty quotations in the published works (exclusive of the *Journal*). As I have already recorded, there are not a few quotations in the *Journal* itself.

⁴⁵ It is of interest to note where Emerson generally went for his many quotations from Wordsworth's verse. A large third of the total are excerpts from sonnets (e. g. the above quotation). The individual poem to which Emerson never tires of recurring is the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*. In his essay on *Immortality* (Centenary Ed., VIII, 346 ff.), Emerson pronounces confidently—"Wordsworth's Ode is the best modern essay on the subject" (i. e. immortality). The general body of quotations reveals few passages primarily concerned with nature. The "Ode" and various sonnets yielded over half the passages that Emerson felt interested to quote.

X.

EMERSON ON THE ORGANIC PRINCIPLE IN ART

I

ONE could not desire a better instance of the need of defining critical terms than is afforded by a comparison of Poe's and of Emerson's definition of art. Since Poe defined poetry as "the rhythmical creation of beauty," he would necessarily have defined art in general as "the creation of beauty." Now, although Emerson's view of art is in striking contrast with Poe's, he begins with these very words. In his first book, *Nature*, he says, "The creation of beauty is Art." What does he mean?

In the Introduction to *Nature* Emerson inaugurates his career as a writer with the Aristotelian distinction between art and nature and between useful and fine art. Expanding these distinctions, he discusses Nature in section I, useful art in section II (Commodity), and fine art in section III (Beauty). The love of beauty, or Taste, exists in various degrees in all men; the creation of beauty, or Art, is the capacity of the few. These few, not content with admiring beauty, "seek to embody it in new forms"—to combine the innumerable forms of nature in such wise as to show that they are fundamentally the same. For "nature is a sea of forms radically alike," and "gliding through the sea of form" is that which makes the forms alike, Beauty.¹ Beauty is an ultimate end, "eternal beauty,"—"God is the all-fair." It cannot, therefore, as Emerson says elsewhere, be defined, lying, like Truth, beyond the limits of the "understanding."

But if we cannot define eternal beauty, we can indicate with some definiteness what we mean by "the creation of beauty." Much as the artist loves the manifold things of nature, he intuitively perceives that their differences are of small account, that, penetrated with his thought, they are all alike. "A leaf, a sunbeam, a landscape, the ocean, make an analogous impres-

¹ The imagery is from the Neo-Platonist Proclus, "Beauty swims on the light of forms," quoted in *Journals*, 1843, page 436.

sion on the mind." It is this intuition, this spiritual activity within the artist's mind, that is fundamental. Thought is supreme, and nature is only its vehicle, as Emerson asserts at length in the fourth section of *Nature* (Language). The objects of nature are symbols of our thought; "the whole of nature is a metaphor of the human mind." It is the office of the artist, not to know unity in unity, but to show unity in variety. He must relate the two worlds, connect his thought with an appropriate symbol or mass of symbols. If he dwells at the heart of reality, indeed, he finds all symbols expressive of all meanings—"In the transmission of the heavenly waters," Emerson writes in *Representative Men*, "every hose fits every hydrant"; or, to return to *Nature*, we may see in Shakspeare a sovereign mastery of the world of symbols: "His imperial muse tosses the creation like a bauble from hand to hand, and uses it to embody any caprice of thought that is uppermost in his mind. The remotest spaces of nature are visited, and the farthest sundered things are brought together, by a subtle spiritual connection." His symbols, literally "far-fetched," fit the thought perfectly, like print and seal. It is the lesser poets, whose symbols and thought are ill related, that give us figures far-fetched in the usual sense. The great poet shows the equivalence of symbolical value; he can reveal spiritual meaning, or beauty, in all of nature. To him there is no ugly, for what we call the ugly is merely that which is viewed alone—the "Each" seen out of relation with the "All." He takes the objects of nature, any objects of nature, unfixes them, "makes them revolve around the axis of his primary thought, and disposes them anew." That is "the creation of beauty."

Again and again, in the series of volumes that follows *Nature*, Emerson returns to these ideas, fully elaborating if not quite defining them. His favorite approach may be indicated by saying that he regarded all great art as organic expression.

This fruitful biological analogy, which had its origin in Plato and Aristotle but was submerged or ignored in the centuries that followed, was revived early in the romantic movement, and has been prominent ever since, markedly in the æsthetic of Benedetto Croce. Emerson doubtless encountered it in various places—in Coleridge at the least. In Coleridge, too, Poe probably encountered it, without being impressed; for

although Poe asserts that Shelley contained his own law, in the main he thought of artistic laws as being consciously evolved by the critic and consciously applied—almost mechanically applied—by the artist. To Emerson, on the other hand, it was a fundamental conception capable of answering all our questions about the nature and practice of art. It is true that in his own writing, his own practice of art, Emerson was notoriously deficient in the organic law in its formal aspect; his essays and poems are badly organized, the parts having no definite relation to each other and the wholes wanting that unity which we find in the organisms of nature. Rarely does he give us even a beginning, middle, and end, which is the very least that we expect of an organism, which, indeed, we expect of a mechanism. Yet if he could not observe the law of organic form, he could interpret it; in this matter his practice and his theory are not equivalent—happily, he could see more than he could do. Moreover, he could both see and exemplify the workings of the organic law in its qualitative aspect. He is the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit, because of his insight—rare in these times of inner disharmony—into the life of the spirit, and because of his power to speak as one having authority. Whatever the lapses into caprice and wilfulness of which he was guilty, in the main he makes us feel that his utterance proceeds from a transcendent reality.

Like Schlegel and Coleridge, Emerson distinguishes between the organic and the mechanic. The conception of beauty to which the preceding century tended, that it is "outside embellishment," he decisively rejects. Seeking analogies in nature, he reminds us that grace of outline and movement, as in the cat and the deer, are produced by a happily proportioned skeleton, and that "the tint of the flower proceeds from its root, and the lustres of the sea-shell begin with its existence." The difference between mechanical construction and organic form, he writes in the *Journals*,

... is the difference between the carpenter who makes a box, and the mother who bears a child. The box was all in the carpenter; but the child was not all in the parents. They knew no more of the child's formation than they did of their own. They were merely channels through which the child's nature flowed from quite another and eternal power, and the child is as much a wonder to them as to any;

and, like the child Jesus, shall, as he matures, convert and guide them as if he were the parent.

The doctrine of the organic, though it does not appear in the earliest writing of Emerson, was readily assimilated into the idealism with which he began. Thus in *Nature* the way is already prepared in such a Neo-Platonic passage as this:

There seems to be a necessity in spirit to manifest itself in material forms; and day and night, river and storm, beast and bird, acid and alkali, preëxist in necessary Ideas in the mind of God, and are what they are by virtue of preceding affections in the world of spirit. A Fact is the end or last issue of spirit.

The emanation which here explains the concrete facts of nature is paralleled by the inspiration which, in Emerson's philosophy of art, explains the concrete work of art. Fact and poem alike spring from the creative spirit, and the poet, as the romantic critics liked to say, repeats in the finite the creative process of the Infinite Creator, and is the agent of that Creator. So long as he is a faithful agent and reports truly his high message, his verse is necessary and universal. Intuition and expression alike are dictated by that supreme Life or Spirit, and so are organic in the profoundest sense. Spirit expresses itself in the poet's intuition, and the poet's intuition expresses itself in the words and music of the poem. Spirit gives the divine hint to the poet, and the poet passes it on to all men, using a form that is excellent in proportion as it is determined by the hint itself, not arbitrarily devised by the poet. "For it is not metres, but a metre-making argument that makes a poem,—a thought so passionate and alive that like the spirit of a plant or an animal it has an architecture of its own, and adorns nature with a new thing." Thus the poem, we may say—though Emerson does not use the terms—has organic beauty in a twofold sense, qualitatively and quantitatively. That is, it derives a qualitative beauty from the relative depth of the intuition or hint which the poet possessed, and a quantitative beauty from the degree of success with which he externalized, or expressed concretely, this intuition. If Emerson nowhere states his meaning quite so definitely, it is nevertheless plain that this distinction exists implicitly in his text. We are clarifying his sense, not distorting it.

Which of the two, quality or quantity, interested him the more needs no shrewd guess—he was engrossed in organic quality, as Poe was in mechanical quantity. Yet if he does not say much about the explication of the intuition, what he does say is well worth dwelling upon.

II

The law of the organic or necessary regarded quantitatively requires above all that there be a fitness of means to end. It holds not only of physical nature—the cell of the bee, the bone of the bird, having this perfect adaptation—but equally of spiritual nature—of the architect's building, of the poem. Emerson quotes Michael Angelo's definition of art as "the purgation of superfluities" and holds that in artistic structures as in natural structures not a particle may be spared. The simplest expression, the severest economy, is the test of beauty of means. "We ascribe beauty to that . . . which exactly answers its end." There must be no fumbling with words, no acceptance of the nearly fit, no satisfaction in the rhythm that may be sung but does not sing itself, no embellishment, no laying on of colors, but the work of art must perfectly represent its thought. "Fitness is so inseparable an accompaniment of beauty that it has been taken for it"—beauty is more than fitness, but must include fitness. Wanting that, the poem, the picture, the sculpture, however high it may aim, will be frustrate, of negligible effect on the reader or beholder. Having fitness, it will stir men forever. All the great works of art, whatever the intuition they embody, have this perfect adaptation of means to end.

So intimate, indeed, is this adaptation in the work of the supreme artists that we shall try in vain to separate intuition and expression: here Emerson in large measure anticipates the expressionist criticism of Signor Croce. What form should the poet give to his intuition? Let him "ask the fact for the form. For a verse is not a vehicle to carry a sentence as a jewel is carried in a case: the verse must be alive, and inseparable from its contents, as the soul of man inspires and directs the body." The superior poem is unanalyzable; word and thought cannot be severed. But in the inferior poem they fall apart, and we can distinguish between the vaguely held thought and

the awkward or conventional expression. In any poem, we can measure the degree of inspiration by the degree of necessity in the expression. In the ideal poem, this necessity is absolute, down to the single word. "There is always a right word, and every other than that is wrong," Emerson inscribed in his journal when he was but twenty-eight years old, long before Flaubert announced this austere doctrine. Not by calculation, by conscious selection, does the master find the right word: "There is no choice of words for him who clearly sees the truth. That provides him with the best word." "The master rushes to deliver his thought, and the words and images fly to him to express it; whilst colder moods are forced to respect the ways of saying it, and insinuate, or, as it were, muffle the fact to suit the poverty or caprice of their expression, so that they only hint the matter, or allude to it, being unable to fuse and mould their words and images to fluid obedience." The poet seeks to marry music to thought, "believing, as we believe of all marriage, that matches are made in heaven, and that for every thought its proper melody exists, though the odds are immense against our finding it, and only genius can rightly say the banns." "The poet works to an end above his will, and by means, too, which are out of his will . . . The muse may be defined, Supervoluntary ends effected by supervoluntary means." In such passages as these Emerson anticipates the profoundest reaches of recent æsthetics.

Yet on one point he is curiously inconsistent. While holding this conception of the inseparableness of content and vehicle, Emerson was well pleased with translations, which are virtually a denial of this conception. One need not speak very strictly to say that the precious life-blood of a master-spirit cannot be successfully transfused; obviously, those who would really commune with the master must partake of his body and blood directly. The intuition that has been expressed we can experience only through its expression; for the translation is the equivalent, not of the original intuition, but of the translator's intuition, and between the two there is commonly a wide difference. Accordingly, Thoreau, for example, says that he does not read the classics in translations, for there are none; and he knows his Homer in Greek, long after college days. His friend Emerson, on the contrary, virtually loses his Greek,

and although eager to do justice to Goethe, learns German reluctantly—as when Margaret Fuller administers five or six private lessons in that robust language, “rather against my will.” Some years later he writes in his journal that to him the command is loud to read foreign books in translation, since not to do so would be as foolish as to forego the use of railroad and telegraph, or, as he says in *Society and Solitude*, to swim across the Charles River to Boston instead of using the bridge. To tell the truth, Emerson was never the scholar, in our rather than his sense of the term; he shrank from the labor of mastering a language, a mere instrument, and his view of translation is perhaps not so much the statement of conviction as the expression of temperament.

With this abatement, which subtracts little, Emerson set forth clearly the inalienable unity of thought and word, thought and music, thought and color, and the consequent law that the degree of inspiration may be measured by the work’s approximation to this unity. Given a certain intuition, how completely has it been realized?—This must be our first question in the criticism of art, though not, as romantic critics have often assumed, the only question. The answer to this question will determine the quantitative beauty of the work of art; but there remains the question of qualitative beauty.

III

When Emerson says that the beauty of a work of art is “ever in proportion to the depth of thought”; when he says that “the Poet should not only be able to use nature as his hieroglyphic, but he should have a still higher power, namely, an adequate message to communicate; a vision fit for such a faculty,” he avails himself of a standard of criticism that has to do with the kind, rather than the degree, of inspiration and expression. It is not enough that the poet should receive impressions and express them; he should question the authority of his impressions, whether inferior or superior, as his reader will likewise do. For, as Emerson declares when speaking of the impressionable, myriad-minded Goethe, “It is not more the office of man to receive all impressions, than it is to distinguish sharply between them” In the criticism of art we are to consider, then, not only exterior excellence, the virtue of

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explication, but also, and even more, interior excellence, the virtue of reality. The beauty of a work of art resides in both, and is supreme when there is a synthesis of perfect quality and quantity. This synthesis we find, for example, in Michael Angelo, of whom Emerson writes that "Beauty in the largest sense, beauty inward and outward, comprehending grandeur as a part, and reaching to goodness as its soul—this to receive and this to impart, was his genius."

The vital source of this fusion is ideal Nature. It is by taking a central position in the universe, by submitting to the guidance of Nature, and helping her, so to speak, to make herself known, that the poet attains his triumphs. Art imitates Nature—*ἡ τέχνη μιμνῆται τὴν φύσιν*—this doctrine, substantially in Aristotle's sense, Emerson teaches, most fully in the essay on Art in *Society and Solitude*, at the beginning of which his topic is art in its wide meaning, as embracing both fine art and useful art. "The universal soul," he writes, "is the alone creator of the useful and the beautiful; therefore to make anything useful or beautiful, the individual must be submitted to the universal mind Art must be a complement to Nature." That this is true of the useful arts may be seen at a glance; the aeroplane, to take an example that would have delighted Emerson, is useful, practicable, if it embodies a sort of continuation of nature's law, and fatally useless if it contradicts that law. Likewise "in art that aims at beauty must the parts be subordinated to Ideal Nature, and everything individual subtracted, so that it shall be the production of the universal soul." Hence the doctrine of necessity, which affirms that in the great poem what was written must be written; when you first hear it you feel that it was "copied out of some invisible tablet in the Eternal mind." To Shakspeare writing his plays, Emerson remarks finely, his thought must have come to him with the authority of familiar truth, "as if it were already a proverb and not hereafter to become one."

Art is therefore not idle play, nor a pleasurable expressive activity, but an arrestment and fixation of reality. For Poe, Wordsworth was far too solemn in his view of poetry as aiming at truth; for Emerson, he was not serious enough. In his enthusiasm for poetry's lovely revelation of truth, he tells himself in his *Journals* that poetry is "the only verity," adding,

"Wordsworth said of his Ode it was poetry, but he did not know it was the only truth." The term "realism" or "realism in literature" recurs in the *Journals*; Emerson desires, as ardently as any modern realistic novelist, that literature shall give us that of which we can say with the fullest conviction that it *is*. But he will by no means deny reality to the ideal. Even while in college, writing a Bowdoin dissertation, he approvingly quoted Burke's assertion that "Nature is never more truly herself than in her grandest forms; the Apollo of Belvedere is as much in nature as any figure from the pencil of Rembrandt, or any clown in the rustic revels of Teniers." He might have substituted, "*more* in nature"; for he adopted, then or later, the classical conception of the ideal in art. For example, though never a lover of Aristotle, he reproduces in his *Journals* the dictum that poetry is more philosophical and higher than history (more *true* is Emerson's word), attributing it, however, to Plato.² He is apparently repeating Aristotle again when he adjudges tragedy higher than the epic; and once more when he praises such statesmen as Pitt, Burke, and Webster, because [*italics Emerson's*] "They do not act as unto *men as they are*, but *to men as they ought to be*, and as some are." His view of art was remote from the equalitarian tendencies of modern realism, which inclines to find its reality in that which is most obviously widespread; it was selective, aristocratic, holding the best to be the realest of realities—men as they ought to be, and as some are.

IV

His debt was far greater, however, to Plato and the Platonists. Of the many doctrines that he owed mainly to them, perhaps the most important is the doctrine of inspiration, which winds its golden course in and out of nearly every poem and essay that Emerson wrote. Aristotle, even when interpreted generously, must have seemed to him too external in his conception of poetry; for ideal imitation is yet imitation, and therefore inferior in inwardness to the Platonic conception of inspiration. He suffered no delusion as to the light in which Plato himself viewed the poet's inspiration, but like many another

² This is corrected in another journal passage a quarter of a century later. Cf. *Journals*, 1834, 255, and 1861, 296.

Platonist chose to disregard the philosopher's disparagement of the poet's unconscious activity. He was content that the poet should be philosophic without being a philosopher:

The universal nature, too strong for the petty nature of the bard, sits on his neck and writes through his hand; so that when he seems to vent a mere caprice and wild romance, the issue is an exact allegory. Hence Plato said that "poets utter great and wise things which they do not themselves understand."

Nor does he hesitate to quote Oliver Cromwell as saying that "A man never rises so high as when he knows not whither he is going." Mystical in his idea of truth, Emerson set small store by "knowing" and "understanding," as these are usually regarded. "I am gently mad myself," he confides to Carlyle after referring to the Transcendental reformers, no doubt secretly persuaded that his was a divine madness. It is true that five years later he felt that mysticism had been rather overdone, and that it ought to go out of style for a long time "after this generation"—a reservation that fortunately left him free to be inspired and to follow his genius as of old. And perhaps he was right; perhaps we ought occasionally to indulge a whole generation of mystics, in order to see, as Whitman might put it, what can be done "in that line."

From universal nature sitting on his neck, the poet derives his power. "Beyond the energy of his possessed and conscious intellect he is capable of a new energy (as of an intellect doubled on itself), by abandonment to the nature of things." He must speak somewhat wildly—"wildly well" says Poe—and with his mind used not as an organ or instrument but "released from all service and suffered to take its direction from its celestial life." Using a symbol significantly different from Plato's charioteer and horses, Emerson pictures the poet as a lost traveler who throws up the reins and trusts to the horse's instinct to guide him aright. The Platonic charioteer has abdicated, and there is but one horse, half black and half white, half celestial and half earthy, and there is no saying which half is leading the way, or whither it is carrying him! This apparent preference of abandon to control may be found in conceptual language at the end of the essay on Inspiration, where Emerson says that a chief necessity in life is "the right

government" (the phrase is Greek), "or, shall I not say? the right obedience to the powers of the human soul" (which is rather Christian and Transcendental). Consequently Emerson is prepared to praise Michael Angelo, for instance, on the ground that he has more abandon than the classical Milton.

Yet while it is true that Emerson leads the casual reader to think of him as urging enthusiasm, obedience to one's genius, without providing for the caprices of romantic emotionalism, it is also true that he does indicate the necessary safeguards. The poet's problem, he writes in his treatise on Poetry and Imagination, is "to unite freedom with precision"; thus, for example, "Dante was free imagination,—all wings,—yet he wrote like Euclid." The inexorable poetic rule is *either inspiration or silence*. "It teaches the enormous force of a few words, and in proportion to the inspiration checks loquacity." Here we have abandon with a difference; here we have a test of inspiration that regards it as valid according to its measure of restraint, a criterion that would make short work of the poets who offer us vaporous expansiveness instead of a truly inspired utterance. Again, there is the passage in the essay on Swedenborg, which most readers fail to connect with the ardors of the popular essay on Self-Reliance:

The Spirit which is holy, is reserved, taciturn, and deals in laws The teachings of the high Spirit are abstemious, and, in regard to particulars, negative. Socrates' Genius did not advise him to act or to find, but if he purposed to do somewhat not advantageous, it dissuaded him. "What God is," he said, "I know not: what he is not, I know." The Hindoos have denominated the Supreme Being the "Internal Check." The illuminated Quakers explained their Light, not as somewhat which leads to any action, but it appears as an obstruction to anything unfit. But the right examples are private experiences, which are absolutely at one on this point.

This is Emerson's criticism of the bizarre revelations reported by the Swedish mystic; along with other passages³ it indicates conclusively that he recognized the need of a principle of restraint in inspiration as the credential of its quality. When he did not expressly insist upon that need, it is plain enough that he assumed it.

³ The most explicit is in *The Natural History of Intellect*, pp. 36-37.

Nor does he fail to point out certain spurious intoxications that must be differentiated from the raptures of inspiration—the intoxications of alcohol and opium, and of wild passions, such as those of gaming and war, which “ape” the flames of the gods and are attractive to men who are unwilling to seek genuine inspiration through discipline. He reminds us that the experience of meditative men indicates agreement respecting “the conditions of perception,” citing Plato again, to the effect that the perception demands “long familiarity with the objects of intellect, and a life according to the things themselves.” Wine, coffee, narcotics, conversation, music, travel, mobs, politics, love, and the like are, he affirms, more or less mechanical substitutes for “the true nectar, which is the ravishment of the intellect by coming nearer to the fact.” They do, indeed, release the centrifugal powers of a man, help him out into “free space”; but it is not the heavens that he attains, but “the freedom of baser places,” for nature refuses to be tricked. “The sublime vision comes to the pure and simple soul in a clean and chaste body,” he writes with the Puritan accent, and draws support from the noblest of all the Puritans, who would allow the lyric poet to drink wine but requires of the epic poet that he live sparsely and drink water from a wooden cup. To this page on false intoxications in *The Poet*, writes Emerson in his journal, is to be appended the confession that “European history is the Age of Wine,” an age that is at last waning as the new Age of Water begins. “We shall not have a sincere literature, we shall not have anything sound and grand as Nature itself, until the bread-eaters and water-drinkers come.” What Emerson has in mind, of course, is simply the ancient virtues of simplicity and self-control, though he conceives them, it must be acknowledged, rather ascetically.

V

Closely related with the doctrine of inspiration is the distinction between genius and talent that plays such a large part in the history of romanticism. Although Emerson’s distinction between the two terms differs widely from the orthodox romantic distinction, it nevertheless has its romantic aspect, or accent. To his teaching of self-reliance, of obedience to the genius or immanent universal, Emerson frequently gives a

twist that all but reverses his actual meaning, inviting a wilfulness and irresponsibility quite alien to his intention. "I would write on the lintels of the door-post, *Whim*," he tells us; and many of his disciples not only would but did and do write it there. "No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature"; this may mean almost anything, and has consequently been interpreted in the sophistical sense dominant throughout the past century and a half. "Insist on yourself; never imitate." Here the diction is such that one naturally infers Emerson's approval of the eccentric man of genius, living from within with no concern for outer consequences. "Is it not the chief disgrace in the world . . . not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear . . . ?" Surely we are to be pardoned if we are here reminded of Rousseau's declaration that he was made unlike anybody he had ever seen, and of the monotonous cult of idiosyncrasy that followed that temperamental declaration of independence. "Our moral nature is vitiated by any interference of our will" and people mistakenly "represent virtue as a struggle," writes the genuine "beautiful soul" of Concord; and again we cannot but remember the unbroken succession of dubious beautiful souls from Rousseau down to our own times. In such utterances as these more is involved than mere "accent"; for, after all, accent involves meaning, connotation, and Emerson's man of genius is not without relation to the typical man of genius in the rampant days of the *Geniezeit*.

Having given this modification all the force that it deserves, we are free to say that the stock antithesis between genius and talent is transformed by Emerson into one that is much nearer the truth. "Genius is but a large infusion of Deity." It is inspiration working through the intellect, rather than through will or affection. When, on the other hand, the intellect "would be something of itself" instead of being the agent of the divine, that is talent. Genius looks toward the cause, proceeding from within outward, while talent proceeds from without inward. Genius is organic (here we have the qualitative organic)—it is "the organic motion of the soul" and assumes a union of the man and the high fact; whereas talent it as best in the position of spectator, and at worst is merely "acquainted with the fact on the evidence of third persons." Genius is

growth; talent is carpentry. Genius instructs; talent amuses. Genius beholds ideas and utters the necessary and causal; talent derives only power—not light—from above, and finds its models, methods, and ends in society, exhibiting itself instead of revealing what is above itself. Genius is not anomalous, but more like and not less like other men; content with truth, it may seem cold to readers “who have been spiced with the frantic passion and violent coloring of inferior but popular writers”—these latter are the men of talent. Genius is broadly representative, “a larger imbibing of the common heart”; the talent of most writers is, on the other hand, “some exaggerated faculty, some overgrown member, so that their strength is a disease.” “Genius is always ascetic . . . Appetite shows to the finer souls as a disease, and they find beauty in rites and bounds that resist it.” Talent, on the other hand, is self-indulgent.

Here are distinctions *ad nauseam*; and indeed it must be confessed that Emerson devoted an excess of attention to these quarreling twins within his mind, recording in his journal that he and Alcott “talked of the men of talent and men of genius and spared nobody”! and expressing himself in Transcendental jargon, as when he concludes that “Miss Edgeworth has not *genius*, nor Miss Fuller; but the one has genius-in-narrative, and the other has genius-in-conversation.” Nevertheless, however much of “talent” Emerson may display in making these antitheses, the fact remains that he displays “genius” also in his intimate sense of a spiritual activity expressing itself through the happily endowed man when he has prepared for its reception by rising above the low plane of egotism and passion. Moreover, allowance must be made for the time and place in which Emerson sang the praises of genius,—a time of unblushing materialism on the one hand, and of self-indulgent emotionalism on the other, and a country characterized by “a juvenile love of smartness.” As Emerson points out in the essay on Goethe, we Americans set great store by mere talent, as the English do, and the French even more. While Poe finds himself sympathetic with the brilliant and logical French mind, Emerson extols the very Germans that Poe ridiculed, on the ground that they have “a habitual reference to interior truth.”

The German intellect wants the French sprightliness, the fine practical understanding of the English, and the American adventure; but it has a certain probity, which never rests in a superficial performance, but asks steadily, *To what end?* A German public asks for a controlling sincerity. Here is activity of thought; but what is it for? What does the man mean? Whence, whence all these thoughts?

In another essay he speaks of the Germans as "those semi-Greeks, who love analogy, and, by means of their height of view, preserve their enthusiasm, and think for Europe." He has in mind their philosophers; but when he considers their poets, he is obliged to say that the chief of them, Goethe, though deserving of ungrudging praise in such an age, is defective because of his worldly gospel of self-culture. "The idea of absolute, eternal truth, without reference to my own enlargement by it, is higher." And for his type of the inspired poetic genius he turns, after all, to the English Shakspeare.

There is an early journal passage in which Shakspeare is compared with a high mountain seen in the morning by the traveler, who deems he may quickly reach it, pass it, and leave it behind, but who, after journeying till nightfall, finds it apparently as far from attainment as in the morning light. The comparison recalls that of Poe, at the opening of his "Letter to B——," where a succession of critics, from the fool onwards, are conceived as occupying ever higher steps on the Andes of the mind, "and so, ascendingly, to a few gifted individuals who kneel around the summit, beholding, face to face, the master spirit who stands upon the pinnacle." But although the comparisons are similar, Poe and Emerson themselves differ widely in their attitude toward the poet. Poe begins his career as a critic with a passage of pseudo-romantic veneration, and then an end—never again does he kneel before the master spirit on the pinnacle. Emerson, beholding the mountain in the morning of his life, studying its lineaments with a rapture akin to that of Keats on first reading Homer, strove toward it all his years. To Shakspeare, Emerson regularly yields supremacy over all other poets and intellects, and it is noteworthy that among his "authorities," in O. W. Holmes's table, Shakspeare easily stands first.

He is superior to all other poets in quantitative beauty; "for executive faculty, for creation, Shakspeare is unique."

Before all other poets, he had an intellect responsive to Spirit, so that his expression was organically necessary. Whatever came into his mind, that he could express in the fit terms. His writings everywhere bear the stamp of a divine inevitability. And he is equally superior in qualitative beauty; while able to express anything that he could think, he was also able to think more justly than any other man. His mind ever touched reality, and an almost limitless range of reality. He was always wise, equal to the heights and depths of his argument and all that lay between. He was not Shakspeare but universal man; "an omnipresent humanity co-ordinates all his faculties." He shows no trace of egotism, commits no ostentation, does not harp on one string, like the man of talent. Talent is the severalty of man, genius the universality, and if ever poet had universality it was this modern Proteus. He spoke truth from the inner depths—unconsciously, like Plato's inspired bard. "I value Shakspeare, yes, as a Metaphysician," writes Emerson in a Coleridgean passage, "and admire the unspoken logic which upholds the structure of Iago, Macbeth, Antony, and the rest." And yet, supreme as he is, we can imagine a still loftier poet. Although he gave us a larger subject than had ever existed and pushed human order forward into Chaos; although he was no less than an agent of nature, endowed with an unique power of insight, he was nevertheless wanting in such a high seriousness as befits his capacities, content to serve as the master of revels to mankind instead of employing his powers for the spiritual realization of himself and of humanity, so that he remains, after all, like the grim priests and prophets, a half-man, and we must still await the whole man, the reconciler, the poet-priest, who alone can satisfy the human spirit.

NORMAN FOERSTER

XI.

LOWELL'S CRITICISM OF ROMANTIC LITERATURE

FEW literary critics have received such differing evaluation as James Russell Lowell. On the one hand are those who refuse to recognize in his criticism any permanent value. Professor J. J. Reilly concludes his three hundred page study of Lowell as follows:

He has been regarded as a critic; in such a light he seems seriously to have regarded himself. But to assign him such a rank is to do him the injustice of over-estimation. . . . If Lowell is to survive, it must be frankly as an impressionist. For so far as criticism approaches a science, so far as it depends to any extent on ultimate principles, so far, in a word, as it is something more fundamental and abiding than the *ipse dixit* of an appreciator, Lowell is not a critic.¹

Mr. W. C. Brownell characterizes Lowell's criticism no less unfavorably:

Its chief value is exegetical. . . . For as exegesis is the strongest part of his criticism, linguistics are the strongest part of his exegesis, and he is even better in discussing the language than in explaining the substance of the poet.²

This judgment certainly is one which would have cut Lowell to the quick, for he of all men detested placing emphasis upon linguistics rather than upon a "criticism of life." To quote his own statements,

The study of literature, that it may be fruitful, that it may not result in a mere gathering of names and dates and phrases, must be a study of ideas and not of words; of periods rather than men, or only such men as are great enough to reflect as much light upon their age as they in turn receive from it.³

On the other hand, equally competent authorities commend him as a critic. Charles Eliot Norton wrote:

¹ *J. R. Lowell as a Critic*, N.Y., 1915, p. 214.

² *American Prose Masters*, N.Y., 1909, p. 315.

³ *The Function of the Poet*, Boston, 1920, p. 61.

No such criticism, at once abundant in knowledge and in sympathetic insight, and distinguished by breadth of view, as well as by fluency, grace,⁴ and power of style has been heard in America. . . . The abundance of his resources as a critic in the highest sense has never been surpassed, at least in English literature.⁴

Mr. George E. Woodberry is no less laudatory:

He is, indeed, the only critic of high rank that our literature owns⁵ and the fineness of his quality is obscured by the very singleness of his position, since there are none to compare him with; nor, if one goes to England is the case much bettered, for he surpasses his fellows there with equal ease. . . . If one is willing to learn, there is in the body of Mr. Lowell's literary papers a canon of pure literature so defined in intellectual principles and applied with such variety and fruitfulness as to suffice for an education in literary taste; and this education is of the best sort since it teaches how to see rather than how to analyze, is intuitive instead of scientific, and thus follows the method native to literature and logically belonging to it.⁵

Mr. Pollak compares him not unfavorably with Goethe, Sainte-Beuve, and Grillparzer, and declares that "his outlook on life and literature was that of the serene philosopher and the cosmopolitan critic."⁶

What, then are we to say to these superlatives extending in both extremes? Was Lowell an impressionist or a linguist or "as critic in the highest sense" has he "never been surpassed?" It is my purpose, so far as possible, to allow Lowell to testify in his own words, in accordance with the dictum of Sainte-Beuve: "Avec des citations bien prises on trouverait dans chaque auteur son propre jugement."

I

Before proceeding to examine Lowell's criticism of romantic literature it may be well to inquire briefly to which school of criticism he belonged—the judicial, the impressionistic, or the historical—and to elucidate his general conception of the function of poetry.

⁴ In a Prefatory Note to the lectures given before the Lowell Institute in 1855, published in *The Function of the Poet*, pp. 33 and 34.

⁵ *Makers of Literature*, N.Y., 1901, pp. 346-7.

⁶ G. Pollak, *The International Perspective in Criticism*, N.Y., 1914, p. 59.

In attempting thus to classify Lowell's critical method we at once encounter a problem. To Professor Reilly he is simply an impressionist. But, in a passage which Professor Reilly evidently missed, Lowell shows himself in perfect accord with the critical method of Goethe, whom Sainte-Beuve called the greatest of all critics. Lowell quotes the passage where the great critic, after disparaging "destructive criticism," gives the key to his method.

Productive criticism is a great deal more difficult; it asks, What did the author propose to himself? Is what he proposes reasonable and comprehensible? And how far as he succeeded in carrying it out?

And referring to this method—which combines sympathetic impression with judicial objectivity—Lowell adds the approving comment: "The Germans have set us an example worthy of all commendation."⁸ If we apply Ruskin's distinction between three classes of men:⁹—

the man who perceives rightly because he does not feel, and to whom the primrose is very accurately the primrose, because he does not love it. The man who perceives wrongly because he feels
The man who perceives rightly in spite of his feelings,

we see that it is to this third class that Lowell belongs. Himself a poet, he feels toward poetry as only a poet can; but like Arnold, he "sees the thing in itself as it really is," and he can judge it by definite objective principles.

Unless we admit certain principles as fixed beyond question, we shall be able to render no adequate judgment, but only record our impressions, which may be valuable or not according to the greater ductility of the senses on which they are made.¹⁰

In a playful mood he may exclaim: "How tyrannical the habit of reading is, and what shifts are made to escape thinking,"¹¹ and on his way home from the lecture hall he may have congratulated himself, as his biographer asserts, on having "done a day's work," but at his best Lowell was a man keenly alert,

⁷ *Lowell's Prose Works*, Boston 1891, III, 67. (Hereafter cited as *Works*).

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, 67.

⁹ *Modern Painters*, N.Y., 1884. iii, 158-159.

¹⁰ *Works*, iii, 29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 21.

a man who came out squarely for "certain principles as fixed beyond question," and who could be inexorable in the application of them. He can not, then, be set down as a mere impressionist.

On the other hand it would be no less an error to suppose that he was not loyal to his impressions. In that case he would never have become a great critic. "A lecturer on science has only to show how much he knows,—the lecturer on poetry can only be sure how much he feels."¹² Often an appreciation of the beauties he finds calls forth poetic prose which conveys his impressions to the reader better than any amount of logical description.¹³

Of the third method of literary criticism—the historical—Lowell shows hardly a trace, although he praises the biographical approach which Sainte-Beuve uses, and which he attests makes his subjects luminous.¹⁴ The nearest Lowell came to the historical method is in the essay on Wordsworth, when he explains the local and parochial quality of his poetry by referring to "the solitude in which the greater part of his life was passed."¹⁵ Stressing ideas as he avowedly did, Lowell was more interested in the finished product than in explaining its origin. His critical method, then, may fairly be defined as a combination of the judicial and the impressionistic. The nature and extent of this combination will best be illustrated by considering his dominant ideas.

Lowell's conception of the poet supplies the key to most of his criticism. If one understands clearly what poetry meant to Lowell, one can understand why, as Professor Reilly remarks, "the literature of the nineteenth century had no very genuine interest for him."¹⁶ If he did not like romantic literature, it was because it failed to fulfill the requirements of his poetic creed. According to his creed the poet's calling was sacred; his was

¹² *Lectures on the English Poets*, p. 3.

¹³ Cf. his impressions of Milton's descriptions, (*Works*, iv, 99).

¹⁴ *Works*, ii, 166.

¹⁵ *Works*, iv, 356.

¹⁶ Reilly, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

the song, which in its metre holy,
Chimes with the music of the eternal stars,
Humbling the tyrant, lifting up the lowly,
And sending sun through the soul's prison bars.¹⁷

As early as the *Conversations* we find him asserting: "Poetry is something to make us wiser and better, by continually revealing those types of beauty and truth which God has set in all men's souls." And in the Lowell Institute lectures eleven years later (1854) he had developed his theory to the full. "The poet and the priest were united originally in the same person." The poet was "the ambassador of the Gods to men. This was his highest function, and hence his name of 'seer.'"¹⁸ "The poet is he who can best see and best say what is ideal. . . . He is the revealer of Deity. . . . He does not always directly rebuke what is bad and base, but indirectly by making us feel what delight there is in the good and fair."¹⁹

To perceive what is ideal, and then indirectly to make that prevail through the medium of beauty—that was for Lowell the supreme function of poetry. For, like Tennyson, he held that "We needs must love the highest when we see it," and in this principle, rather than in direct moralizing, lay his hope of influencing conduct. Poetry reveals all that is noblest and highest, and to this there lies deep in our hearts the instinct of obedience. The poet is great because of "insight, and not for any faculty of observation and description." By virtue of his imagination he pierces through the temporal to the eternal; and he interprets his vision in a universal language.

It is he who gives us those key words, the possession of which makes us masters of all the unsuspected treasure-caverns of thought and feeling and beauty, which open under the daily dust of life.²⁰

The implications of what Lowell expects of a poet are clear in his remarks of Pope:

Show me a line that makes you love God and your neighbor better,
that inclines you to meekness, charity, and forbearance, and I will

¹⁷ *Poetical Works*, i, 34; Cf. *Letters*, i, 104; *Works*, iv, 357, 262 ff.

¹⁸ *Function of the Poet*, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

show you a hundred that make it easier for you to be the odious reverse of all these.²¹

Lowell's refusal to divorce art from ethics goes far deeper than puritanism; it is part of the humanistic creed.

Although Lowell appears to stress the ethical side of art, he is very far from slighting beauty; he simply asks that beauty be disciplined to some centre of universal human experience.

No verse, the chief end of which is not the representation of the beautiful, and whose moral is not included in that, can be called poetry in the true sense of the word.²²

In his essay on Spenser twenty years later he reaffirms this idea; in the essay on Wordsworth he demands that poetry be a criticism of life as well as "the representation of the beautiful."²³ From these statements one can easily deduce his general conclusion: Poetry is the expression of beauty, but that beauty should serve as the medium for such ideas as render truth and nobility more dear to man. Arnold, we recall, defined poetry as a "criticism of life" under "the conditions immutably fixed by the laws of poetic beauty and truth."²⁴ It is evident, I think, that between Arnold and Lowell in this matter there exists no essential difference of opinion.

The moral element in Lowell's definition furnishes the nexus to his consideration of the poet as a man. He is imbued with the feeling that something of a religious character hovers about the true poet. "It is something to be thought of, that all the great poets have been good men."²⁵ The implication is unmistakable; it was formulated by Strabo in ancient days, and by men as unlike as Milton, Shelley, and Newman in the modern era: to be a great poet one must first be a good man. In Lowell's essay on Rousseau he struggles with the application of his definition; like Arnold and like Carlyle, he judges men and philosophies by their fruits; for fine sentiments which do not express themselves in right conduct he has no patience.

²¹ *Conversations on some of the Old Poets*, p. 149.

²² *Lectures on English Poets*, p. 28.

²³ *Works*, iv, 413.

²⁴ *Essays in Criticism*, 2nd Series, London, 1921, p. 141.

²⁵ *English Poets*, p. 203. Cf. *Works*, iv, 357, 48, 297.

Dealing, as he did, with classics, one asks instinctively what he meant by a classic. Even in his youth he seems to have required that poetry carry a universal meaning, and therefore be common to all times and lands, to all sorts and conditions of men. In a letter of 1843 he wrote:

The proof of poetry is, in my mind, that it reduce to the essence of a single line the vague philosophy which is floating in all men's minds. . . .²⁶

and a year later, speaking of poets, he could say:

the great ones give us something to lean upon in our sorrow, and something yet to look forward to in our deepest joys and our amplest success.²⁷

But is a classic necessarily ancient? How does he define a classic? Like Sainte-Beuve, who, notwithstanding his admiration for the ancient classics, does not hesitate to ridicule those who dare not think without their permission, Lowell stands firmly on his own feet and does his own thinking after enjoying the best thought of both the ancients and the moderns. In his definition of the classic he emphasizes the necessity of form and proportion, and the necessity of a timelessness which springs from truth to normal human nature.

A classic is properly a book which maintains itself by virtue of that happy coalescence of matter and style, that innate and exquisite sympathy between the thought that gives life and the form that consents to every mood of grace and dignity, which can be simple without being vulgar, elevated without being distant, and which is something neither ancient nor modern, always new and incapable of growing old.²⁸

He has been speaking of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *Divinia Commedia*, *Don Quixote*, and *Faust*, when he concludes:

These four books are the only ones in which the *universal* facts of human nature and experience are *ideally* represented. They can therefore never be displaced.

These books are not national, but *human*, and record certain phases of man's nature, certain stages of his moral progress. They are gospels in the lay bible of the race.²⁹

²⁶ *Letters*, i, 73.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 79.

²⁸ *Works*, iv, 266.

²⁹ *Function of the Poet*, P. 64.

While we may object to Lowell's broad superlatives, two things are sure: poetry which he values must carry a universal and representative message, and he is severely judicial in the care with which he excludes what does not meet this standard.

Interesting indeed is his characterization of the other classics. Chaucer has a "pervading wholesomeness"; a humor "pervades his comic tales like sunshine"; everywhere he radiates a "gracious worldliness."³⁰ Spenser's style is "costly"; the reader passes "through emotion into revery"; for "to read him is like dreaming awake," and he knew how "to color his dreams and make them move before you like music."³¹ Shakespeare is supreme in imagination and fancy, in perspicacity and artistic discretion; and in judgment and poise of character he was "the greatest of the poets."³² Milton, who, like Dante, "believed himself divinely inspired," reflects on the whole "a sublime independence of human sympathy." Now the fact that Lowell exalts these men as the greatest of poets suggests that these qualities appealed to him strongly. Such were "gracious worldliness," a style which wafted one "through emotion into revery," and that merit of Dante which he admired so much—"sublime irrecognition of the unessential."³³ Such were imaginative power married to "poise of character"; such were lofty ethical purposes and idealization of the poetic calling as exemplified in Dante and in Milton.

Now behind all the classic masterpieces lies one secret: the imagination. "The poet, under whatever name, always stands for one thing—imagination."³⁴ It is generally agreed, I think, that the quality of the imagination determines the quality of art, and in a still more important sense, the quality of life. Men as unlike as Napoleon and Pascal have united in assigning to imagination the supreme rôle in the drama of existence. It is a commentary on Lowell's acumen that he aims squarely at the heart of the whole matter in his discussion of this rather intangible topic.

³⁰ *Works*, iii, 291 ff.

³¹ *Ibid.*, iv, 334 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, iii, 92.

³³ *Ibid.*, iv, 162.

³⁴ *Function of the Poet*, p. 10.

The imagination might be defined as the common sense of the invisible world, as the understanding is of the visible; and those are the finest individual characters in which the two moderate and rectify each other, as these are the finest eras where the same may be said of society. In the voyage of life, not only do we depend on the needle, true to its earthly instincts, but upon the eternal promontories of heaven above the s.irs and shiftings of our lower systems.³⁵

About this definition three things are noteworthy: what Goethe called "the illusion of a higher reality," or in other words, the distinction of imaginative verity from falsehood on the one side and from rancid realism on the other; the balancing of imagination against understanding; and the conception of the imagination as the guide to ethical conduct. This definition is essentially Aristotelian. Furthermore, Lowell tells us:

the imagination always idealizes, in its representation of character it goes behind the species to the genus, presenting us with everlasting types of human nature. . . .³⁶

Thus the imagination selects what is representative out of the great mass of "accidental" particulars. Of Greek drama he says:

Everything, you will observe, was, if not lifted above, at any rate removed, however much or little, from the plane of the actual and trivial.

He censures the works of the modern Trollope and Rogers because they are "so exactly on the level with our own trivial and prosaic apprehensions."³⁷

II

We are ready now to observe Lowell's critical method and his general conception of poetry as he applied them in his study of romantic literature. It is easy to accuse him of being "inadequate"—as Professor Reilly does³⁸—in his criticism of this literature, but every critic has a right to choose what appears most important to him, and Lowell chose to deal with "certain

³⁵ *Function of the Poet*, p. 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

broader principles of criticism based on the comparative study of literature in its larger meaning." The imagination, as we have seen, was for him the determining element in art and in life and his conception of the imagination furnished the touchstone by which he tested all literature. It is an index to his critical penetration that he was unwilling to ascribe much merit to the nineteenth century—which he calls "self-exploiting"³⁹—because "poets have got hold of a theory that imagination is common-sense turned inside out."⁴⁰ This is almost identical with the view of such modern humanists as Professor Irving Babbitt. An imagination "that is not drawn back to any ethical centre" tended naturally to "art for art's sake," as Lowell was well aware; and with his conception of the poet's function his attitude toward the literature of his generation was inevitable:

A sceptic might say, I think, with some justice that poetry in England was passing now, if it have not already passed, into one of those periods of mere art without any intenser convictions to back it, which leads inevitably, and by no long gradation, to the mannered and artificial.⁴¹

Lowell had no use for "mere art"—an æstheticism which divorces art from life. This poisonous heresy—so wide-spread in romanticism—is most conspicuous in Schopenhauer, by whom "the opposition between art and life posited by Kant and Schiller was ridden to death." Dr. Höffding, from whom this statement is quoted, adds the acute observation: "The value of art would ultimately disappear if there were really no value in life."⁴²

Lowell's criticism of the poet Shelley, it is interesting to note, is almost identical with that of Matthew Arnold: To Lowell Shelley is "stilted";⁴³ he is a "mere poet" whose genius is a "St. Elmo's fire . . . playing in *ineffectual* flame about the points of his thought."⁴⁴ Although he shared some of the pathos

³⁹ *Works*, iii, 94. Cf. ii, 158, 212; *English Poets*, pp. 49, 66, and 71.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, iii, 270.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 121.

⁴² Harold Höffding, *History of Modern Philosophy*, London, 1920, ii, 234.

⁴³ *Works*, ii, 145.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 229.

of the Elizabethans and has a fine feminine organization, he has a "fatal copiousness which is his vice."⁴⁶ We remember at once the famous conclusion of Matthew Arnold: "And in poetry, no less than in life, he is a 'beautiful and *ineffectual* angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain.'⁴⁶ Art which flies away from human life is in Lowell's opinion infinitely inferior to that which faces it and helps us effectually to master its problems. If he was "unsympathetic" toward romanticism, it is because romanticism represented to him this escape from life.

We have seen that Lowell lauds an imagination which "goes behind the species to the genus, presenting us with the everlasting types of human nature." So the classicist had striven to give poetry the "grandeur of generality," a meaning which so far as possible would be common to all men. Romanticism, on the other hand, showed a strong tendency toward eccentricity, toward a deliberate choice of what is subjective, unique, or otherwise remote from normal experience.⁴⁷ It was on this ground that Lowell took Wordsworth to task:

I have said that there was something insular, but more than this, there is also something local, I might say parochial, in his choice of subject and tone of thought.⁴⁸

His objection was, in other words, that Wordsworth's poetry does not carry a universal meaning:

Wordsworth never saw, and I think never wished to see, beyond the limits of his own consciousness and experience. . . . The solitude in which the greater part of his life was passed, while it doubtless ministered to the passionate intensity of his musings upon nature, was, it may be suspected, harmful to him as an artist, by depriving him of any standard of proportion outside himself by which to test the comparative value of his thoughts, and by rendering him more and more incapable of that urbanity of mind which could be gained only by commerce with men more nearly on his own level and which gives tone without lessening individuality.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Works*, ii, 145.

⁴⁶ *Essays in Criticism*, 2nd Series, London, 1921, p. 252.

⁴⁷ Professor Babbitt in his "final summing up," finds "this taint of eccentricity"—springing from the eccentric imagination—most significant in romanticism. (*Rousseau and Romanticism*, p. xxii)

⁴⁸ *Works*, vi, 112.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, iv, 356.

This passage reminds us, by contrast, of Lowell himself, conversant with the best society in the capitals of the old world and the new.

"The office of the imagination is to disengage what is essential from the crowd of accessories which is apt to confuse the vision of ordinary minds."⁵⁰ Lowell, employing the judicial method in criticism, applies this principle to Wordsworth and Coleridge with varying results. He praises Coleridge for teaching the English mind "to recognize in the imagination an important factor not only in the happiness but in the destiny of man."⁵¹ What "constitutes his great power" is "the perceptual presence of imagination."⁵² Lowell quotes with approval Scott's estimate of Coleridge:

No man has all the resources of poetry in such profusion. . . . His fancy and diction would long ago have placed him above all his contemporaries had they been under the direction of a sound judgment and a steady will.⁵³

"A sound judgment and a steady will" must for Lowell be inseparably linked to imagination before a poet meets his full approval. Yet he praises him highly for the suppression of "impertinent and obtrusive particulars" and "pure visual ecstasy disengaged from the confused and confusing materials that gave it birth."⁵⁴ It is for the lack of discrimination against these same "impertinent and obtrusive particulars" that Lowell censured Wordsworth. The poet of the Lakes gazed so intently at particulars that he often failed to see the larger universals of which they were a part.

He had a fondness for particulars, and there are parts of his poems which remind us of local histories in the undue relative importance given trivial matters.⁵⁵

His imagination does not select what is representative of common human experience. "Wordsworth was wholly void of that shaping imagination which is the highest criterion of a

⁵⁰ *Function of the Poet*, pp. 73-74.

⁵¹ *Works*, vi, 71.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vi, 72.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vi, 73.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, 75.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 401.

poet."⁶⁶ While most of us would prefer that Lowell did not use the superlative in that statement, we have to admit, I think, that the charge as he conceives it is just; Wordsworth's poetry certainly is without that "grandeur of generality" which Lowell demanded of the great classics.

Like Arnold, once more, Lowell insists that men "see life steadily and see it whole." Toward fragmentary views of one sort or another he is ever hostile. Of Carlyle he writes: "History, in the true sense, he does not and cannot write, for he looks on mankind as a herd without volition, and without moral force."⁶⁷ "His scheme of history is purely an epical one, where only leading figures appear by name and are in any strict sense operative." He is grateful that Wordsworth, Keats, and Byron were the "means of bringing back English poetry from the sandy deserts of rhetoric, and recovering for her her triple inheritance of simplicity, sensuousness, and passion."⁶⁸ He regrets that these qualities could not have been blended to better advantage; each is narrow in his own way. The first, "the most individual," gives us "the moods of his own nature"; the second, by "sensitiveness of organization," gives us "the moods of his own taste and feeling"; and the third "presents an ideal to youth made restless with vague desires not yet regulated by experience nor supplied with motives by the duties of life." No one of them views life with imaginative wholeness; no one of them but gives evidence of the eccentricity which pervades romanticism.

If, as Pascal asserts, "L'imagination dispose de tout," according to Lowell's doctrine it should conceive above all of a religion which will be suited to the generality of men. The religion of the romantic world—pantheism—takes its rise from the German transcendentalists such as Schelling; to that school both the inner and outer worlds were manifestations of the divine mind; Carlyle and Coleridge imported the belief from Germany; and Wordsworth became its high priest. With characteristic disregard for metaphysics, Lowell asks whether such a faith will bear fruit in the practical life of the average man. Has it a universal value?

⁶⁶ *Works*, ii, 78.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 118.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 242.

The sublimities and amenities of outward nature might suffice for William Wordsworth; . . . but they elevate, teach, and above all console the imaginative and solitary only, and suffice to him who already suffices to himself. The thought of a God vaguely and vapoiously dispersed throughout the visible creation . . . may inspire or soothe, console or fortify, the man whose physical and mental fibre is so sensitive that, like the spectroscope, it can feel and record these impersonal vibrations of identity between the fragmentary life that is in himself and the larger life of the universe whereof he is a particle. Such supersensual creations might help to make a poem, but they would not make a man, still more a social being.⁶⁰

In other words, pantheism is only for the few, the unusual, the hyper-sensitive; for the needs of the normal man it is inadequate.

This inadequacy, after all, is but one manifestation of "that subjective tendency" which Lowell says is "one of the main distinctions between ancient and modern poetry."⁶¹ Wordsworth is most successful

in the vivid expression of the effect produced by external objects and events upon his own mind, and of the shape and hue (perhaps momentary) which they in turn took from his mood or temperament.⁶²

Of subjective poetry, congenital with romanticism, Lowell makes the following rather penetrating analysis:

The difference between subjective and objective in poetry would seem to be that the aim of the former is to express a mood of the mind, often something in itself accidental and transitory, while that of the latter is to convey the impression made upon the mind by something outside it, but taken up into the mind and idealized (that is, stripped of all unessential particulars) by it. . . . Subjective poetry may be profound and imaginative if it deal with the primary emotions of our nature, with the soul's inquiries into its own being and doing, as was true of Wordsworth; but in the very proportion that it is profound, its range is limited. Great poetry should have breadth as well as height and depth; it should meet men everywhere on the open levels of their common humanity, and not merely on their occasional excursions to the heights of speculation or their exploring expeditions among the crypts of metaphysics.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Works*, vi, 104.

⁶¹ *Function of the Poet*, p. 71.

⁶² *Works*, iv, 401.

⁶³ *Function of the Poet*, pp. 73-74.

This doctrine that poetry should "meet men everywhere on the open levels of their common humanity," which he proclaims again and again, led him inevitably to discuss the doctrine of "original genius" which held a prominent place in the creed of romanticism. "Wordsworth," he remarked, never quite saw the distinction between the eccentric and the original.⁶³ But how did Lowell define originality? Clearly it was not for him, as for Rousseau, synonymous with uniqueness.

What we call originality seems not so much anything peculiar, much less anything odd, but that quality which touches human nature at most points of its circumference.⁶⁴

Originality does not consist in a fidgety assertion of self-hood, but in the faculty of getting rid of it altogether.⁶⁵

The romantic identification of originality with eccentricity of one form or another led to subjectivity and the preference for nature and solitude rather than society. Thus, speaking of Shelley, Lowell writes:

the poet substitutes his own impression of the thing for the thing itself; he forces his own consciousness upon it, and herein lies the root of all sentimentalism.⁶⁶

The subjective poet does not view life with imaginative wholeness. If he did, he could never prefer nature to men; this is an outrage to the critic's scale of values. Accordingly, we find Lowell criticizing Wordsworth because he "has no sense of proportion, no instinct of choice and discrimination. . . . In his noblest utterances man is absent. . . . The greatest poets have found man more interesting than nature."⁶⁷ Associated with this preference for nature is a love of remoteness—physical and psychic—from one's fellows. Of Thoreau's penchant for solitude Lowell writes:

Those who have most loudly advertised their passion for seclusion and their intimacy with nature, from Petrarch down, have been mostly sentimentalists, unreal men, misanthropes . . . professing contempt for their kind.⁶⁸

⁶³ *Works*, iv, 356.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 357.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 259.

⁶⁶ *Function of the Poet*, p. 71.

⁶⁷ *Works*, vi, 111.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 376; cf. iv, 412.

In the *Conversations* of 1843 he finds that Byron's passion for nature marks him a child of Rousseau, who contributed so largely to English sentimentalism. Byron made "motiveless despair" fashionable.⁶⁹ Yet he concedes that he was one of the "great names of the last generation"; his "real strength lay in his sincerity."⁷⁰ Lowell detested insincerity as only a thoroughly sincere man can. "Without earnest conviction," he declared, "no great or sound literature is conceivable."

Still less could Lowell tolerate sentimentality. "I do abhor sentimentality," he protested, "from the bottom of my soul."⁷¹ Petrarch he regarded as "the first choragus of that sentimental dance which so long led young folks away from the realities of life . . . and whose succession ended, let us hope, with Chateaubriand."⁷² Petrarch was an "intellectual voluptuary"; Chateaubriand, the "arch-sentimentalist of these latter days"; and Lamartine, "the lackey of fine phrases."⁷³ Moore lived in "sham" and in "cloying sentimentalism."⁷⁴ Rousseau is denounced as "the modern founder of the sect" and a "quack of genius."⁷⁵ At the same time he gave Rousseau credit for sincerity, even though it was misdirected.

Lowell denounced sentimentalism on the ground that it tended to separate theory from practice. Unlike Browning, he judged men by their actions and not by their sentimental aspirations.

The sentimentalist is the spiritual hypochondriac, with whom fancies become facts, while facts are a discomfort because they will not be evaporated into fancy. In his eyes, Theory is too fine a dame to confess even a country-courtship with coarse-handed Practice, whose homely ways would disconcert her artificial world.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ *Works*, iv, 371.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 100, ii, 120;

⁷¹ *Letters*, i, 205.

⁷² *Works*, i, 100; cf. ii, 253.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, ii, 253, 160, 271.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 145, 240.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 376; *Latest Literary Essays*, p. 165.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 250. What Lowell has to say of Rousseau is interesting because Rousseau represents all romanticism. Pierre Laserre writes: "Rien dans le Romantisme qui ne soit du Rousseau. Rien dans Rousseau qui ne soit romantique" (*Le Romantisme Français*, Paris, 1907, pp. 14-15).

Lowell's objection to the divorce of theory from practice, of philosophy from life, is precisely that of the modern humanists such as Matthew Arnold, or, to take a contemporary, Professor Irving Babbitt. Lowell shows his soundness of mind by insisting that dreams be tested by reality, that Theory confess a "country-courtship with coarse-handed Practice." He takes as his text the following passage from Jean Jacques:

However sincere may be one's love of virtue, it sooner or later grows weak without our perceiving it, and . . . we become unjust and wicked in action without having ceased to be just and good in soul.

Against this idea, "the characteristic doctrine of sentimentalism," Lowell lets loose his wrath:

This disjoining of deed from will, of practice from theory, is to put asunder what God has joined by an indissoluble sacrament. The soul must be tainted before the action become corrupt; and there is no self-delusion more fatal than that which makes the conscience dreamy with the anodyne of lofty sentiments, while the life is grovelling and sensual,—witness Coleridge. In his case we feel something like disgust.⁷⁷

So long as one considers romanticism as recreative or appreciative, Lowell offers no objection. He declares:

The sentimentalist . . . may express as many and as delicate shades of feeling as he likes . . . but the moment he undertakes to establish his feelings as a rule of conduct, we ask at once how far are his own life and deed in accordance with what he preaches?

For every man feels instinctively that all the beautiful sentiments in the world weigh less than a single lovely action; and that while tendencies of feeling and susceptibility to generous emotions are accidents of temperament, goodness is an achievement of the will and a quality of the life.⁷⁸

Lowell's conception of character crowns his criticism. Does he believe that man can evade moral responsibility? Will he agree with Schiller that we can "unhesitatingly commit the guidance of life to instinct?"⁷⁹ Will he accept Madame de

⁷⁷ *Works*, ii, 249.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 243.

⁷⁹ "Essay in Grace and Dignity," in *Essays Aesthetical and Philosophical*, London, 1875.

Staël's definition of virtue as "une impulsion involontaire?"⁸⁰ It is in his essay on Keats that he gives us an inkling of what character means to him:

Keats hardly lived long enough to develop a well-outlined character, for that results commonly from the *resistance* made by temperament to the many influences by which the world, as it may happen then to be, endeavors to mould every one in its own image.⁸¹

Elsewhere he has told us that "goodness is an achievement of will and a quality of life."⁸² Certainly this is something very different from mere passive obedience to instinct. Once and for all, Lowell's conception of character places him with the humanists. For they all distinguish carefully between the "law for thing" and the "law for man," and they all insist that man should rein in his expansive desires in the interest of proportion and poise.

Having worked out a sound definition of character, Lowell did not fail to appreciate its significance. He declared character to be "the only soil in which real mental power can root itself and find sustenance,"⁸³—an idea, by the way, of which Professor Reilly is incredulous. "For good or evil, the character and its intellectual product are inextricably interfused."⁸⁴ It is significant that Goethe should have said practically the same thing: "Whoever would have a grand style must first have a grand character. . . . Want of character is the source of all the evils in our recent literature."

For Lowell, as for Arnold, "character is nine-tenths conduct"; for character which rejects the actual world for a world of dreams or for some dim past, he has no use. Speaking of Wordsworth, he concludes:

His system of Nature-cure, first professed by Dr. Jean-Jacques, and continued by Cowper, certainly breaks down as a whole. . . . The ancients and our own Elizabethans, ere spiritual megrims had become fashionable, perhaps made more out of life by taking a frank delight in its action and passion and by grappling with the facts of

⁸⁰ *De la Littérature: Discours Préliminaire*, N.Y., 1859.

⁸¹ *Works*, i, 219.

⁸² *Ibid.*, ii, 243.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ii, 195.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 271.

this world, rather than muddling themselves over the insoluble problems of another.⁸⁶

This last is very characteristic of Lowell and of humanism generally. To the man of the Homeric poems the other world is alien and repulsive; witness that picturesque passage in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* where the shade of Achilles tells Ulysses that he would rather be the poorest shepherd boy on a Grecian hill than king over the substantial shades of Hades. Although Lowell is imbued with the classic spirit, there is in him no retrogression, no blind worship of antiquity *per se*; he simply wants to take what is best from the past and apply it to the present. "The antique in itself is not the ideal. . . . The true ideal is not opposed to the real, . . . but lies in it."⁸⁸

In the same spirit Lowell spoke out against the tendency—so characteristic of romanticism—to reproduce the life and thought of the Middle Ages: "I don't believe in these modern antiques—no not in Landor, not in Swinburne, not in any of 'em. They are all wrong."⁸⁷ He complains that "Longfellow is driven to take refuge among the red men, and Tennyson in the Cambro-Breton cyclus of Arthur."⁸⁸ Elsewhere he says: "When I see these modern-medieval pictures, I am defrauded; I do not see reality, but a masquerade."⁸⁹ But while he objects to the "effort to raise a defunct past," he is eager to praise and to appropriate elements which he admires, such as "the virile grace of the Greeks, their sense of proportion, their distaste for the exaggerated, their exquisite propriety of phrase, which steadies imagination without cramping it."⁹⁰ These "we should endeavour to assimilate without the loss of our own individuality." To the charge made by his contemporaries that science had killed all wonder, romance, and poetry, Lowell replied that "all this is because science has become too grimly intellectual, has divorced itself from the moral and imaginative

⁸⁶ *Works*, iv, 411-412.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, iii, 66; cf. ii, 79, 99; iv, 284; iii, 92.

⁸⁸ *Letters*, i, 357.

⁸⁹ *Works*, ii, 132.

⁹⁰ *Letters*, ii, 85.

⁹¹ While Lowell praised the perfection of Greek art, he found its circle of motives was essentially limited. His objections to perfection and limitation are those of Ruskin. (Cf. *Stones of Venice*, ii, Ch. 6).

part of man."⁹¹ "The secret of poetry is not to have lived in Homer's day, or in Dante's, but to be alive now, that is the great art and mystery."⁹² In place as well as in time, man must face the world in which he lives: Sir Launfal needs not to ride far off in quest of chivalric adventure; his duty and his happiness lie at home.

In concluding this survey of Lowell's criticism of romantic literature we may glance back at the conflicting judgments concerning his ability as a critic which were noted at the beginning of this paper. The selections from Lowell's dicta which have been presented should enable us to form a clearer opinion in regard to the question. We seem to be justified at least in dissenting from Professor Reilly's verdict that Lowell's "real weakness" is "lack of philosophic mind."⁹³ Whatever lack of system may appear in Lowell's philosophy, his critical judgment was sound and his vision keen. And the value of his contribution to criticism does not seem to be over-stated by Professor Woodberry in the sentence already quoted:

There is in the body of Mr. Lowell's literary papers a canon of pure literature so defined in intellectual principles and applied with such variety and fruitfulness as to suffice for an education in literary taste.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

⁹¹ *Function of the Poet*, p. 20.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹³ Reilly, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

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48
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CONTENTS

XII.—Notes on the Cardigan Chaucer Manuscript. By CLARA MARBURG.....	229-251
XIII.—Saint Ambrose and Chaucer's <i>Life of St. Cecilia</i> . By OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.....	252-261
XIV.—The Social Status of Chaucer's Franklin. By GORDON HALL GEROULD.....	262-279
XV.—The Sources of Drayton's <i>Battle of Agincourt</i> . By RAYMOND JENKINS.....	280-293
XVI.—A Probable Source of Beaumont and Fletcher's <i>Philaster</i> . By T. P. HARRISON, JR.....	294-303
XVII.— <i>The Trial of Chivalry</i> , A Chettle Play. By FRED L. JONES.....	304-324
XVIII.—Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of <i>Hey for Honesty</i> . By CYRUS L. DAY.....	325-334
XIX.—English Translations of Homer. By J. N. DOUGLAS BUSH.....	335-341
XX.—Essays and Letter Writing. By HAROLD C. BINKLEY.....	342-361
XXI.—Whig Panegyric Verse, 1700-1760. By C. A. MOORE.....	362-401
XXII.—Points of Contact between Byron and Socrates. By ELIZABETH ATKINS.....	402-423
XXIII.—The Views of the Great Critics on the Historical Novel. By ERNEST BERNBAUM.....	424-441
XXIV.—Sainte Beuve and Pope. By LANDER MACCLINTOCK.....	442-451
XXV.—Further Sources of Victor Hugo's <i>Quatrevingt-treize</i> . By Olin H. Moore.....	452-461
XXVI.—Maurice Barrès as a Romanticist. By FREDERIC D. CHEYDLEUR.....	462-487
XXVII.—Is René Boylève a Disciple of Balzac? By AARON SCHAFER.....	488-496

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XII.

NOTES ON THE CARDIGAN
CHAUCER MANUSCRIPT

THE Cardigan Manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* was stolen from the Library of Lady Cardigan during the summer of 1923. After passing through various hands, it came into the possession of the Vassar College Library in September, 1923, and was restored to the owner, Mr. George Brudenell, Deene Park, Peterborough, England, the following August.

While the manuscript was in the Vassar College Library I was able to make a collation of its contents, which, it seemed to me, would be of interest to Chaucer scholars inasmuch as this is one of the few manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* whose readings have not hitherto been accessible. I wish to express to the owner of the manuscript, and to Major Robert Brudenell-Bruce, the trustee, my appreciation of their courtesy in granting permission to publish the results of this collation.

I shall present in this paper a brief description of the manuscript; a statement of the contents; a discussion of the relation of the Cardigan manuscript to the other manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*; and, finally, a transcription of the Doctor-Pardoner Link and the Pardoner's Prologue and Tale, which I have chosen in order to permit comparison with the readings assembled in the Chaucer Society's *Parallel-Text Specimens*.¹

My notes are based on a collation of the entire manuscript with the significant passages chosen by Stevenson, and might be considered as an appendix to the Publications of the Chaucer Society, in which Zupitza, Liddell and Koch made a classification of the Chaucer manuscripts so far examined.

¹ Ed. Zupitza, Koch and Furnivall, *Chaucer Soc. Pubs.*, First Ser., Nos. 81, 85, 86, 90, 91, 94.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Vellum; plain brown leather binding, probably 16th or 17th century. 15th century script, in various hands. Single column. No decorations. Folio, 12 inches by 8 inches. 555 pages, first four pages missing, probably removed before the present binding was attached, since there is no evidence of displacement. The contents of the manuscript are:

Article 1, The Canterbury Tales

Article 2, Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*

Article 3, Lydgate's *Churl and the Bird* (lacks one leaf at end).

The order of the Canterbury Tales exactly conforms to that characteristic of MSS of the A-group.

THE RELATION OF THE CARDIGAN MS TO THE
OTHER MSS OF THE CANTERBURY TALES²

It is clear, after a brief examination, that the Cardigan MS belongs to the A-group of Chaucer manuscripts, since,

1. The order of the tales is characteristic of that group.

A B₁ D E F C B₂ G H I

2. The Tale of Gamelyn and the M. L. end-link are omitted.
3. The links have almost no spurious material, except,
 - a. six new lines in the Wife of Bath's Preamble.
 - b. six new lines in the Nun Priest's Epilogue.
 - c. Squire's Prologue attached to the Merchant's end-link.
4. E and F links are complete.
5. G is found between H and I.
6. The Parson's Tale is complete.
7. The Host's stanzas, the Nun's Priest's Epilogue, and the Merchant's Preamble are found in this manuscript.

From certain readings, characteristic of the Dd group alone, (see Zupitza §5 and Koch §1), it is evident that the Cardigan MS belongs to the Dd-subdivision of the A-group, which consists of MSS Dd, Hai, Dev, Ch, In, Ad², No, and Hod 39. The Cardigan MS seems to form a special group with Dd, Hai, Dev, No, and Hod 39, but it approaches most nearly Hod 39, with which manuscript it shares correct readings not found in any of the other manuscripts of this group.

A. Correct readings shared by Ca, and Hod and not by Hai and Dev. (see Koch §4)

² In the following discussion the MSS of the *Cant. Tales* are referred to by the abbreviations used in the *Parallel-Text Specimens* published by the Chaucer Society.

- Line 357 Hai and Dev wrongly insert *yille* after *and*
 " 364 *Iewes* for *Iew*, Hai, Dev.
 " 395 *me* omitted Hai, Dev.
 " 424 *for coneylise*, E Hen Dd-group (except Hod and Ca) of *conetise*, Hod, Ca and other MSS.
 " 448 *maney*, Hai; *Many*, Dev; *money*, Hod and the other MSS.
 " 546 *hem* for *him*, Hai, Dev, No.
 " 605 *here (hir)* omitted, Hai, Dev; extant, Hod, Ca.
 " 612 *Ne I*, Hod, Ca, E, In, Ad¹; *hy*, Hen, Ch; *Ne*, Phy, Dd, Hai no, Bo²; *Nay Gg*; *I (wol not etc.)* the other MSS.
 " 622 *thus* for *us*, Hai, Dev, No.
 " 650 *his* omitted, Hai Dev; extant, Hai, Ca, and other MSS.
 " 657 *and* before *Homicide*, Hai, Dev; wanting, Hod and most MSS.
 " 663 *for* before *to drynke*, Hai, Dev, No, and others of this group; wanting, Hod, E, Hen, Ca.
 " 671 *here* omitted, Hai, Dev; extant, Hod Ca, and other MSS.
 " 688 *bothe* placed after *woman*, Hai, Dev.
 " 697 *til*, Hod, Ca, E, Ch, Ash, Tc, Ra; *to*, Dd, Hai, Dev.
 " 777 *take kepe what I seie*, Hod, E, Phy and most MSS.
 take kepe what that I seye, Hen, Dd, Ch, Ash².
 take hede what I sey, Hai, Dev, No, In Ad¹, Tc², Hat and Pe-group.
 " 900 *what* for *how*, Hai, Dev.
 " 920 *pardons for pardon*, Hai, Dev.

Both Hod and Ca have a strange expression between lines 328 and 329. *Robuloley Pardoner* in Hod

Robuloley Pardoner in Ca

B. But Hod is not the source of Ca, for the following reasons:

I. There are a number of readings in Ca which are better than those found in Hod (i.e. they are supported by the best MSS.)

- Line 312 Hod, *yerne*; Ca, *erme*
 " 330 Hod, *In*; Ca, *I*
 " 353 Hod, *a*; Ca, *any*
 " 366 Hod, *seres*; Ca, *sir*
 " 572 Hod, *thei*; Ca, *he*
 " 652 Hod, *And bi his blood*; Ca, *And by the blod of criste*

- Line 659 Hod, *leve*; Ca, *lett*
 " 705 Hod, *thronkyn*; Ca, *dronken*
 " 708 *then* omitted in Hod
 " 746 Hod, *dede*; Ca, *did*
 " 829 *that* omitted in Hod
 " 843 Hod, *golde*; Ca, *God*
 " 869 Hod, *And put it*; Ca, *This poyson*
 " 918 Hod, *he*; Ca, *y*
 " 919 Hod, *oo*; Ca, *a*
 " 937 Hod, *is it*; Ca, *it is*
 " 938 Hod, *of*; Ca, *in*
 " 947 *So* omitted in Ca
 " 948 Hod, *broche*; Ca, *breche*
 " 956 Hod, *oo*; Ca, *a*

II. The following readings are found only in Ca:

- Line 303 *there* added
 " 401 *all* for *as*
 " 418 *it* omitted in Ca
 " 443 *begge* and *teche*
 " 513 *many* omitted in Ca
 " 525 *the de* for *the dede*
 " 531 *wepyng now* for *now wepyng*
 " 561 *none* for *no*
 " 562 both *the s* omitted
 " 619 *And by* for *As be*
 " 702 *trouth* omitted in Ca
 " 719 *So* omitted in Ca
 " 722 *the* added in Ca
 " 727 *wolde not* for *ne wol not*
 " 807 *of* omitted in Ca
 " 809 *the telle* for *telle the*
 " 815 *Not I* for *I not*
 " 817 *All* added in Ca
 " 852 *the* for *a*
 " 881 *slayn him* for *him stayn*
 " 887 *yape* omitted in Ca
 " 926 *ye* added in Ca
 " 954 *in* for *to*
 tarie for *carie*

C. On the other hand, the following evidence shows that Ca is not the source of Hod:

I. There are readings in Hod, which are better than those found in Ca.

Line 303 *there* omitted in Hod

- " 350 *a* omitted
- " 360 *eke* omitted
- " 362 *or* for *er*
- " 383 } *such* for *swich*
- " 385 }
- " 391 *I stonde*
- " 401 *all* for *as*
- " 418 *it* not omitted
- " 429 *that* omitted
- " 439 *that while*
- " 443 *preche and begge*
- " 512 *on the well ought us pleyne*
- " 513 *many* in Hod
- " 525 *the dede*
- " 531 *nowe wepying*
- " 546 *yit* in Hod
- " 555 *drank never*
- " 561 *No* not omitted
- " 562 *the* not omitted
- " 619 *As he*
- " 621 *to* in Hod
- " 638 *a* in Hod
- " 645 *that* omitted
- " 682 *such*
- " 689 *be* in Hod
- " 702 *trouth*
- " 703 *to* omitted
- " 719 *so* in Hod
- " 722 *the* and *that* not omitted
- " 807 *of* not omitted
- " 809 *telle the*
- " 812 *departed be*
- " 815 *I not*
- " 817 *all* omitted
- " 852 *a* not omitted

- Line 881 *hym slayn*
 " 887 *yape*
 " 926 *ye* omitted
 " 954 *carie* in Hod
 " 957 *ne* omitted

II. The following readings are found only in Hod:

- Line 293 *so* only in Hod
 " 312 *yerne* only in Hod
 " 320 *by god quod he*, only in Hod
 " 323 *gon*
 " 330 *In* and *haunte* only in Hod
 " 360 *A thyng that also wyely*
 " 366 *seres*
 " 369 *more* before *shall*
 " 372 *meton* only in Hod
 " 475 *the* only in Hod
 " 572 *thei* for *he*
 " 659 *leve* only in Hod
 " 705 *thronkyn* only in Hod
 " 708 *then* omitted only in Hod
 " 818 *he* only in Hod
 " 938 *of* for *in*
 " 947 *so* omitted
 " 948 *broche* only in Hod

D. The common course of Ca and Hod shows the influence of the B-type of manuscript, particularly of Har, Se, Tc,¹ Co and Pe.

I. In the following readings found in both Ca and Hod:

- a. Ca and Hod insert the two spurious lines 297-9-, found only in the Har⁴ and Co-groups and in Har,² Lan,² Lich, Ro,¹ Ro,² and Ash¹ between lines 300 and 301.

Hod Here beaute was here deth I dare well seyn

Allas so pitously that she was slayn

Ca Hir beaute was hir deth y dar well seyne

Allas so pitously she was sleyn

- b. Line 928 *townes* for *miles*, Hod and Ca Har⁴-group;
 Hat; Tc¹-, Co- and Pe- groups

Line 406 *that* omitted Hod, Ca, Pa, Tc², Ne, Cax, Th,
etc.

" 484 *lechery* (*e*) for *luxurie*, Hod, Pa, Se, Hat Tc¹-,
Co-, Pe-groups

" 491 *John the baptist*, Hod, Ca; Pa, Hat, Th, Lin,
Ph², Ash⁴, Ph, Ash.

II. In the following readings found in Ca but not in Hod,
which shows that the common source was influenced by the
B-type of the Pe-group.

Line 331 *goth* in Ca; *doth* in Hod

" 372 *my tayne* for *melon*

" 479 *and* in Ca

" 510 *the* for *a*

" 572 *he* for *the*

" 621 *to* omitted in Ca

" 703 *to* added in Ca

" 746 *did* in Ca for *dede*

" 749 *go* for *doo*

" 826 *that* omitted in Ca

" 937 *it is* for *is it*

" 954 *and* for *of*

III. In the following readings found in Hod but not in Ca,
which shows the common source was influenced by the B-type.

Line 350 *a* omitted

" 353 *a* for *any*

" 355 *worme y* omitted in Hod

" 360 *eke* omitted

" 395 *the* for *my*

" 588 *well* omitted

" 599 *use*

" 645 *that* omitted

" 652 *And by his blood*

" 721 *ne* omitted

" 832 *the and me*

" 843 *golde*

" 868 *it hent*

" 919 *oo* for *a*

" 957 *ne* omitted

My conclusion, then, is that the Cardigan MS belongs to the Dd-subdivision of the A-group, and that it is most nearly related to Hodson 39. It is clear from the above readings that neither is the source of the other, though they are undoubtedly sister manuscripts. It seems to me probable that their common ancestor was influenced by the B-group of manuscripts.

Doctor-Pardoner Link

Owre oste begynneth to swere as he were wode	
Harrow quod he by nailes and by blode	288
This was a fals cherle and a false Justice	
As shamefull deth as harte can devise	
Com on this Jugges and these Advocatz	
Allas this sely maide is sleyne algates	292
Allas to dere bought she hire beaute	
Wherefore y saye all day that men mow se	
That yiftes of fortune and of nature	
Ben cause of deth to many a creature	296
Of bothe yiftes that y speke of now	
Men have full ofte more harm than prowre	
Hir beaute was hir deth y dar well seyne	
Allas so pitously she was sleyne	300
But truly myn owne master dere	
This is a pitous tale for to here	
But natheles passe over there is no fors	
I pray to god so save thy gentill cors	304
And eke thyn urnyals and the Jurdones	
Thyn ypacras and eke thy Galiones	
And every boiste full of thy letuarie	
God blesse them and owre lady saynte marie	308
So mot y then thou arte a proper man	
And like a Prelate by seynte Ronjan	
Sey y not well y kannot speke in terme	
But well y wote thou dost myn harte to erme	312
That I almost have caught a cardiacle	
By corpus bones b:t y have triacle	
Or ells a draught of moiste corny Ale	
Or but I here anon amery tale	316
Myn harte is lost for pite of this maide	
Thou beal amy thou pardonere he saide	
Tell us som myrth of Japes right anon	
It shall be don quod he by God and by seynte John	320
But first quod he here at this ale stake	
I will both drynke and ete of a cake	
But right anon these gentils gan to crye	

Nay let hym not tell us of no ribaudye 324
 Tell us some morall thyng that we mow lere
 Som wit and then will we gladly here
 I grante y wis quod he but y moste thynke
 Upon som honest thyng while that y drynke 328
 Radix omnium malorum est cupititas ad Thimon
 Robuloley
 Lordynges quod he in cherches whan y preche
 I peyne me to have an haunteyn speche
 And ryngte oute as rounde as goth a belle
 ffor y can all by rote that y telle 332
 First y pronounce whens that y com
 And then myn owne Bulles shew y all and som 336
 Oure liege lordes seale uppon my patent
 I shew first my body to warent
 That no man be so bolde prest no clerke
 Me to distourbe of cristes holy werke 340
 And after that then tell y forth my tales
 Of Popes Bulles and of Cardynales
 Of Patriarkes and of Bishoppes y shewe
 And in latyn speke y wordes fewe 344
 To saffron with my predicacion
 In every village and in every town
 This is my tyme and shall and ever was
 Radix omnium malorum. est cupiditas
 Then shewe y forth my longe cristall stones
 Y-crammed full of cloutes and of bones 348
 Reliques ben they as whenen they echone
 Then have y in a laton a shuldre bone
 Which that was of an holy Jewes shope
 Good men y sey take of my wordes kepe 352
 yif that this bone be wasshed in any welle
 yif cow or calf or ox or shepe swelle
 That eny worme hath ete or worme y stonge
 Take water of that welle and wasshe his tonge 356
 And it shal be hole anon and furthemore
 Of pokkes and of scabbe and every soor
 Shall every shepe be hole that of this well
 Drynketh a draught take kepe eke what y tell 360
 Yif that the good man that the bestes oweth
 Woll every wike er that the cokke hym croweth
 fastyngte drynken of this well a draughte
 As thilke holy Jewe oure eldres taught 364
 His bestes and his store shall multiplie

And sir also it helith jelousie
 for though a man be falle in jelous rage
 Lette maken with this water his potage 368
 And never shall be more his wyf mystrist
 Though he the sothe of his defaute wist
 All had she taken prestes two of thre
 here is a mytayne eke that ye may se 372
 hē that his hande wolle put in this mytayne
 he shall have multiplieng of his grayne
 When he heth sowen be it whete or otes
 So that he offre ens or ells grotes 376
 Good men and wommen othyng warne y you
 Yif any wight be in this cherche now
 That habe don synne so horrible that he
 Dar not for shame of it y shriven be 380
 Or any womman be she yonge or olde
 That hath made hir husbande cokolde
 Swich folke shulde have no power ne grace
 To offren to my reliquys in this place 384
 And who so fyndeth hym oute of swich blame
 They wol com uppe and offre in goddes name
 And y assayle them by the auctorite
 Which that by Bull ygraunted was to me 388
 By this gaued have y won yere by yere
 An ϕ marke sith y was pardonere
 And stode like a clerke in my pulpit
 And when the lewede people down is yset 392
 Y preche so as ye have harde byfore
 And telle an ϕ false japes more

 And est and west upon the peple y bek 396
 Then peyne y me to streche forth my neck
 As doth a dowe sittynge on a berne
 Myn hondes and my tonge gon so yerne
 That it is joy to se my bisynesse
 Of Avarice and of swich cursednesse 400
 Is al my prechyng for to make them free
 To yeve there pens and namely unto me
 forr myn entente is not but for to wyne
 And no thyng for correccion of synne 404
 I reke never when that they ben beryed
 Though there soules gone a blaceberyed
 For certes many a predicacion

Comth ofte of evill entencion 408
 To ben anaunced by ypocracie
 Som for plesance of folk and flaterie
 And som for veyne glorie and som for hate
 For whan y dar none other weyes debate 412
 Than woll y styngne hym with my tonge snerte
 In prechyng so that he shall not asterte
 To ben defamed falsly yif that he
 have trespassed to my brotheren or to me 416
 ffor though y tell not his proper name
 Men shall well know that is the same
 By signes and by other circumstances
 Thus quyte y folke that don us displeances 420
 Thus spits I oute my venym under hewe
 Of holynesse to semyn holy and true
 But shortly mynentente y will devise
 I preche of no thyng but of covetise 424
 Therefore my tyme is yet and ever was
 Radix omnium malorum est Cupiditas
 Thus can y preche agayn that same vice
 Which that y use and that is avarice 428
 But though that myself be gilty in that synne
 Yet can y make other folke to wynne
 from avarice and sone them repente
 But that is not myn pryncipall entente 432
 I preche nothyng but for covetise
 Of this matere it ought y nough suffise
 Then tell y them ensamples many on
 Of olde stories longe tyme agon 436
 ffor lewed peple loven tales olde
 Swiche thyng conne they wele reporte and holde
 What trowe ye whiles that y may preche
 And wynne gold and silver for y teche 440
 That y will live in poverty willfully
 Nay nay y thought it never truly
 ffor y will preche and teche in sondry londes
 y will not do no labour with myn hondes 444
 Ne make baskete and live therby
 By cause y will not begge ydelly
 I woll none of the Apostles counterfete
 I woll have money wolle chese and whete 448
 All were it yeven of the porest page
 Or of the porest widwe in a village
 All though her children shulde sterve for famyne

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Nay y woll drynke the licoure of the vyne 452
 And have a joly wench in every town
 But herkneth lordynges in conclusioon
 Your likyng is thay y shall tell a tale
 Now have y dronke a draught of corny ale 456
 By god y hope y shall you tell a thyng
 That shall by reason ben at youre likyng
 ffor though myself ben full vicious man
 A morall tale yet y you tell can 460
 Which y am wont to preche for to wyne
 Now holde your pece my tale y will begynne
 Here endith the prologge of the pardonere
 And begynneth his tale
 In ffaunders whilom was a companie
 Of younge folke that haunteden folie 464
 As riot hasard stewes and tauernes
 Where as with harpes lutes and giternes
 They daunce and pleyen at dice bothe day and night
 And ete also and dronken over there myght 468
 Through which they don the devel sacrifice
 Within that develes temple in cursed wise
 By superfluite abhominable
 There others ben so grete and so dampnable 472
 That it is grisly for to here them swere
 Our blessed lordes body they to tere
 Them thought that Jewes rente hym not y nough
 And eche of them of other synne lough 476
 And right anon then comen Tombesteres
 ffetys and smale and yonge ffrutesteres
 Syngers with harpes Bawdes and waferers
 Which hem the verrey devels officers 480
 To kendell and blowe the fire of lecherie
 That is annexed unto glotenye
 The holy writte take y to my witsnesse
 That lecherie is in wyne and dronkynesse 484
 Lo. how that dronken loth unkyndely
 Lay by his doughtrs II unwytyngly
 So dronke he was he nyst what he wrought
 Herode who so well the stories soght 488
 Whan he of wyne was replete at his fest
 Right at his owne table he yaf his hest
 To sle John the Baptiste full giltless
 Senec seith a good worde doubtelesse 492
 He seith he can no difference fynde

- Betwixt a man that is out of his mynde
 And a man which that is dronkelewe
 But that wodenesse y fallen in a shrewe 496
 Persevereth lenger than doth dronkynesse
 O gloteny full of cursednesse
 O cause first of oure confusion
 O originall of oure dampnacion 500
 Till crist had bought us with his blode ageyne
 Lo how dere shortly for to seyne
 A bought was that ilke cursed vilanye
 Corrupt was all this world for glutenye 504
 Adam oure fader and his wif also
 fro paradise to laboure and to wo
 Were driven for that vice it is no drede
 for while that Aadam fasted as y rede 508
 He was in paradice and whan that he
 Ete of the frute defended on the tre
 Anon he was oute cast to wo and peyne
 O glotonye on the ought wele us compleyne 512
 O wist a man how maladies
 folowen of exces and of glutonyes
 He wolde bene the more mesurable
 Of his diet sittyng atte his table 516
 Allas the short throte the tender mouth
 Maketh that Est and West North and South
 In Erthe in Eyre in Water man to swynke
 To gete a gloton deynte mete and drynke 520
 Of this matere o paule well canst thou trete
 Mete unto wombe and wombe eke unto mete
 Shall god destroyen bothe as Paule seith
 Allas a foule thyng is it by my feith 524
 To sey this worde and fowler is the de
 What man so drynketh of the white and rede
 That of his throte he maketh his prive
 Through thilke cursed supfluyte 528
 The Apostle seith wepyng full pitously
 There walken many of which you tolde have y
 I sey it wepyng now with pitous voice
 There ben enemyse of Cristes crois 532
 Of which the ende is deth wombe is there god
 O wombe. o. belly. o. styngyng cod
 fulfilld of donge and of corrupcion
 At either ende of the foule is the soun 536
 How grete laboure and cost is the to fynde

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This Cokes how they stampe streyne or grynde
 To turnen substaunce into accident
 To fulfill all thy likerous talent 540
 Out of the harde bones knocke they
 The arie for they cost not away
 That may go through the golet softe and sote
 Of spicerie. of leef. of barke. of rote 544
 Shall ben his sauce y made by delite
 To makyn hym have a newer appetite
 But certes he that haunteth swiche delites
 Is dede while that he liveth in the vices 548
 A lecherous thyng is wyne and dronkenesse
 Is full of strivynge and of wrechednesse
 O dronkyn man disfigured is thy face
 Soure is thy broth foule arte thou to embrace 552
 And through thy dronkyn nose semeth thy soun
 As though thou seydest ay Sampson Sampsoan
 And yet god wote Sampson never dranke wyne
 Thou fallest as it were a steked swyne 556
 Thy tonge is lost and all thyn honest cure
 ffor dronkenesse is verrey sepulture
 Of annys wite and his discrecion
 In whom that drynke hath domynacion 560
 Ne can none counsaile kepe it is no drede
 Nowe kepe you from white and fro rede
 And namly from the white wyne of lepe
 That is to sell in fisshestrete or in Chepe 564
 This wyne of Spayne crepith subtilly
 And other wynes growyng fast by
 Of which there riseth such fumosite
 That whan a man hath dronke draughtes thre 568
 And wheneth that he be at home in Chepe
 He is in Spain right at the toun of lepe
 Not at the Rochell ne at Burdeux toun
 And then wold be sey Sampson Sampsoun 572
 But herkneth lordynges. on thyng y you pray
 That alle the sovereyne actes dar y sey
 Of victorise through the olde testament
 Through verrey god is omnipotent 576
 Were done in Abstynence and in preire
 Loketh the bible and ye. mowe it lere
 Loke Attila the grete conquerour
 Died in his slepe with shame and dishonore 580
 Bledyng ay at his nose in dronkenesse

A Captytayne shulde live in soberness
And over all this avisith you right well
What was commaunded unto lamuele 584
Not Samuell but lamuell sey y
Redith the Bible and fynde it expresly
Of wyne yevyng to them that have yustise
No more of this for it may well suffice 588
And now that y have spoken of Glotonye
Nowe will y you defenden hasardrie
hasarde is verrey moder of lesynges
And of diciete and of cursed for swerynges 592
Blasphemyg of criste manslaughtre and wast also
Of catell and of tyme and furthermo
It is reprove and contrarie of honoure
For to bene holde a comyn hasardoure 596
And ever the higher he is of estate
The more is he holden desolate
Yif that a prynce usith hasardrie
In all governaunce and policie 600
he is as by commune oppynion
y holde the lasse in reputacion
Stilbone that was a wise embassadoure
Was sent to Corynthe in full grete honoure 604
ffro lacedomye to maken there alliaunce
And when he cam hym hapned parchaunce
That all the grettest that were of the lande
Pleyng at the hasardrie he them fonde 608
ffor which as sone as it myght be
ne rode hym home ageyne to his contre
And seide there woll y not lese my name
ne y will not take on me so grete defame 612
You for to allie unto none hasardours
Sendith other wise embassadours
ffor by my trouthe me were le verr dye
Than y you shulde to hasardours alie 616
ffor ye that ben so glorious in honours
Shull not allie you with hasardours
And by my will ne as by my trete
This wise philosophre thus seide he 620
Loke eke that the kynge Demetryue
The kynge of Parthe as the boke seith us
Sent hym a peire of Dees of golde in scorn
ffor he had used hasardrie there biforn 624
ffor which he helde his glorie and his renoun

At no value or reputacioun
 Lordes now fynde other maner pley
 Honest y nough for to drive the day away 628
 Now will y speke of othes fals and grete
 A worde or II as olde bokes trete
 Grete sweryng is a thyng abhominable
 And false sweryng is yit more reprevable 632
 And high god forbade sweryng at all
 Witnes on Mathewe but in speciall
 Of sweryng seith the holy Jeremye
 Thou shalt swere sothe thyn othes and not lye 636
 And swere in dome and eke in rightwysnesse
 But ydell sweryng is cursidnesse
 Biholde and se that in the first table
 Of high goddes hestes honourable 640
 How that the II heste of hym is this
 Take not myn name in ydel or a mis
 Lo rather he forbedith swiche sweryng
 Than homycide or many a cursed thyng 644
 Y sey that as by order thus it standith
 This knowen they that his hestes understnadith
 How that the II heste of god is that
 And further over y woll the tell all plat 648
 That vengauce shall not parten from his hous
 That of his othes is to outrageous
 By goddes precious hart and by his nayles
 And by the blod of criste that is in hayles 652
 Seven is my chaunce and thyn synke and treie
 By goddes Armes yif thou falsly pleye
 This dagger shall through thyn harte go
 Thus fruyt commyth of the bicched bones two 656
 fforsweryng Ire ffalsnesse homicide
 Now for the love of crist that for us dide
 Lette youre othes bothe grete and smale
 But now sires woll y tell forth my tale 660
 Thise Riotours III of which y telle
 Longe erst or pryme ronge of eny belle
 Were set them in a taverne to drynke
 And as they sate they hard a belle clynke 664
 Biforn a cors was caried to his grave
 That one of them gan callen his knave
 Go bet quod he and axe redily
 What cors is that that passeth forth by 668
 And loke that you reporte his name wele

Sir quod this boy it nedith never a dele
hit was me tolde or ye came here II houres
he was parde an olde felawe of youres 672
And sodeynly he was slayne to nyght
ffor dronke as he sate uppon his benche upryght
There com a prive thefe men clepen deth
That in this countrie all the people sleth 676
And with his spere he smote his hart a two
And wente his sey withoute wordes mo
he hathe a ^o slayne this pestilence
And master er ye com in his presence 680
Me thynkith that it were necessarie
ffor to .be ware of swiche an Adversarie
Both redy for to mete hym evermore
Thus taught me my dame y say nomore 684
By seynt marie seide this Tavernore
The childe seith soth for he hath sleyne this yere
Henne over a mile with in a grete village
Both man and womman childe hyne and page 688
I trowe his habitacion there
To be avised grete wisdom it were
Er that he did aman a dishonoure
Ye godes armes quod this Riotoure 692
Is it swich perell with hym to mete
I shall hym seke by wey or by strete
I make avowe to goddes digne bones
Herkneth felawes we ben III all ones 696
Lette eche of us holde up his honde till other
And eche of us becom others brother
And we will slene this fals traitoure deth
he shall be slayn he that so many sleth 700
By goddes dignite or it be nyght
To gedres have these III here plyght
To live and to die eche of them for other
As though he were his owne bore brother 704
And up they sterte all dronken in this rage
And forth they gone towards that village
Of which the Tavernore had spoke biforn
And many a grisly othe then have they sworn 708
And Cristes blessed body they to rent
Deth shall be dede yif that they now hym hent
And whan they have gon not fully half a myle
Right as they wolde have treden over a style 712
An old man and a pore with them mette

This olde man full mekely them grette
 And seide thus. now lordes god you se
 The proudest of these Riotours. thre 716
 Answerde agayne what carle with sory grace
 Why arte thou all for wrapped save thy face
 Why livest thou longe in so grete age
 This olde man gan loke in his visage 720
 And seyde thus for y no can not fynde
 A man though y walked in to the ynde
 Neither in cite ne in no village
 That wolde chaunge his youth for myn age 724
 And therefore mot y have myn age stille
 As longe tyme as it is goddes wille
 Ne deth allas wolde not have my lif
 Thus walke y like a restless caitif 728
 And on the grounde which is myn moders gate
 I cnoke with my staf both erly and late
 A sey leve modere lette me inne
 Lo how y vanycshe blode and skinne 732
 Allas when shall my bones be at rest
 Moder with you wolde y chaunge my chest
 That in my chambre longe tyme hath be
 Ye for an heere cloute to wrap in me 736
 But yet to me she woll not do that grace
 ffor which full pale and welked is my face
 But sires to you it is no curtesie
 To speken to an olde man vilanie 740
 But he trespassed in worde or els in dede
 In holy writ ye may youre self wele rede
 Ageyns an olde man hore uppon his hede
 Ye sholde arise. wherfore y you rede 744
 he doth unto an olde man non harme nowe
 No more than ye wolde a man did to yowe
 In age yif that ye so longe abyde
 And god be with you where ye go or ride 748
 I mot go thider as y have to go
 Nay olde churl by god thou chalt not so
 Seide this other hasardoure anon
 Thou partest not so lightly by seynte John 752
 Thou spake right nowe of thilke traitoure dethe
 That in this contre all oure frendes slethe
 Have here my^r trouth^r thou arte his spie
 Tell where^r he^r is^r or thou^r shalte it abie 756
 By god and by the holy sacrament

ffor sothely thou arte on of there assent
To slen us yonge folke thou fals thef
Nowe sire quod he yif that ye be so lef 760
To fynde deth turne up this croked wey
ffor in that grove y lefte hym by my fey
Under a tre and there he wolde a bide
Not for youre best he woll hym not hide 764
Se ye that oke right there ye shall hym fynde
God save you that bought ageyne mankynde
And you amende thus seide this olde man
And everyche of these Riotours ran 768
Till they come to that tree and there they founde
Of floreyng fyne of golde y coyned rounde
Well nygh an VIII bussshels as them thought
No lenger then after deth they sought 772
But eche of them so glad was of the sight
ffor that the floryng ben so feire and bright
That down they sete them by the precious horde
The worst of them spake the first worde 776
Bretheren quod he take kepe what y sey
My wit is grete though that y borde and pley
This tresour hath fortune-unto us yenen
In myrth and jolite our lif to leven 780
And lightly as it commyth so will we spende
By goddes precious dignite who wende
To day that we shoulde have so paire a grace
But myght this golde be caried from this place 784
home to myn hous or els unto yours
ffor well ye wote that all this golde is ours
Then were we in high felicitye
But trewly by day it woll not be 788
Men wolde seyne that we were theves strong
And for oure owene tresoure don us honge
[lines 791;792 omitted]
Wherfore y rede that cut amonge us alle
We drawe and let se wher the cut will falle
And he that hath the cut with harte blithe 796
Shall renne to town and that ful swithe
And brynge us brede and wyne full prively
And II of us shall kepe full subtelly
This tresoure wele and yif he will not tarie
Whan it is nyght we will this tresoure carie 800
By on assent where as us thynkith best

That oon of them the cut broghte in his fest
 And bade them drawe and loke where it will fall
 And it fele on the youngest of them all 804
 And forth towards the town he went anon
 And also sone as that he was gon
 That on of them spake thus unto that other
 Thou knowest well thou arte my sworn brother 808
 Thy profite will y the tell anon
 Thou wotist well that oure felawe is gon
 And here is gold and that full grete plente
 That shulde be departed amonge us thre 812
 But nathelesse yif y can shape it so
 That it departed were amonge us two
 had not y done a frendes turne to the
 That other answerde y not how that may be 816
 he wot that all the golde is with us twey
 What shulde we don what shulde we to hym sey
 Shall it be counsail seide the first shrewe
 And y shall tell it in wordes fewe 820
 What we shall do and brynge it well aboute
 I grannte quod that other oute of doute
 That by my trouthe y will the not bewrey
 howe quod the first thou wost well we be twey 824
 And II of us shall stronger be than on
 Loke when he is set that right anon
 Arise as though woldest with hym pley
 And y shall rive hym through the sides twey 828
 While that thou stroglest with hym as in game
 And with thy daggar loke thou do the same
 And then all this golde departed be
 My dere frende betwene me and the 832
 Then mow we bothe oure lustes all fulfill
 And pley at the dice right at oure owne will
 And thus accorded ben thise shrewes tweyne
 To sle the III as ye have harde me seyne 836
 This yongest which that wente to the town
 fful ofte in harte he rolleth up and down
 The beaute of thise floreyngs newe and bright
 O lorde qd he yif so were that y might 840
 have all this tresoure to my self alone
 There is no man that livith under the trone
 Of god that shuld live so merye as y
 And at the last the fende oure enemy 844
 Put in his thought that he shulde poysen beie

With which he myght slene his felawes twene
 for why the fende founde hym in suche livyng
 That he had leve hym to sorowe bryng 848
 for this was utterly his full entente
 to slene them bothe and never to repente
 And furth he goth no longer wolde he tarie
 Into the town unto the pothicarie 852
 And praide hym that he hym wolde selle
 Som poyson that he myght his rattes quelle
 And eke there was a poll catte in his haws
 That as he seide his capons had he slawe 856
 And feyne he wolde wreke hym yif he myght
 On vermen that destroyed hym by nyght
 The Poticarie unswerde and thou shallte have
 A thyng that also wis my god save 860
 In all this worlde there nys no creature
 That ete or drunke hath of this confiture
 Not but the mountaunce of a corn of white
 That he ne shall his life anon forlete 864
 That sterve he shall and that in lesse while
 Than thou wolte go a pase not but a mile
 The poison is so stronge and violente
 This cursed man hath in his hande y hente 868
 This poyson in a box and sith he ran
 Into the next strete unto a man
 And borowed hym large botelles thre
 And in the II his poison put he 872
 The III kept clene for his drynke
 for all the nyght he shope hym for to swynke
 In careyng of the golde oute of that place
 And when this Riotoure with sory grace 876
 had filled with wyne his grete botelle thre
 To his felawes ageyne repaireth he
 What nedith it to sermon of hit more
 for right as they have cast his deth bfore 880
 Right so they have slayne hym and anon
 And whan that this was don thus spake that on
 Nowe let us sit and drynke and make us mery
 Nowe let us sit and drynke and make us mery
 And afterwarde we wolen his body burye 884
 And with that worde it happed hym par cas
 To take the botel there the poison in was
 And dranke and his felawe drynke also

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ffor which anon they storven both two	888
But certes y suppose that Avycen	
Wrote never in no canon ne in no fen	
Mo wondre signes of empoisynynge	
Than had thise wrecches II er ther cendynge	892
Thus ended ben thise homycides two	
And eke the false empoisenere also	
O cursed synne of all cursednesse	
O. traitours homicide. o wikidnesse	896
O. Gloteny. luxurie. And hasardrie	
Thou blasfemoure of crist with vilanie	
And othes grete of usage and of pride	
Allas mankynde how may it betide	900
That to thy creature which that the wrought	
And with his precious herts blode the bought	
Thou arte so false and so unkynde allas	
Nowe good men god forgeve you youre trepas	904
And ware you from the synne of Avarice	
Myn holy pardon may you all warice	
So that ye offre nobles of sterlynges	
Or elles silver broches spones or rynges	908
Boweth you hede under this holy Bulle	
Com up ye wives and offre of you wolle	
Youre names y entre here in my rolle anon	
Into the blisse of heven shull ye gon	912
I you assoile by my high powere	
Ye that will offre as clene and eke as clere	
As ye were born and lo sires this y preche	
And Jesu Criste that is oure soules leche	916
So graunte you his pardon to receive	
ffor that is best y will you not deceive	
But sires a worde forgate y in my tale	
I have Relik and Pardon in my male	920
As feire as eny man in Englande	
Which were me yeven by the Popes honde	
Yif eny of you wolle of devocion	
Offren and have myn absolucion	924
Com furth anon and kneleth here adoun	
And mekely receiveth ye my pardoun	
Or elles take pardon as ye wende	
All newe and fressh at every townes ende	928
So that ye offre alway newe and newe	
Nobles or pens which that ben good and trewe	
It is an honoure to enryche that is here	

That ye mowe have a sufficaunt Pardone 932
 To assoile you in contre and ye ride
 for aventures which that may betide
 Paraventure there mow fall on or two
 Down of his hors and breke his necke a two 936
 Loke which a suerte it is to you alle
 That y am in youre felawship y falle
 That may assoile you both more and lasse
 Whan that the soule shall from the body passe 940
 I rede that oure oste shall begynne
 for he most envoluped is in synne
 Com forth sire oste and offre first anon
 And ye shall kisse the Reliquys everychon 944
 You for a grote unbocke anon thy purs
 Nay nay qd he then have y cristes curs
 lat be qd he it shall not be theche
 Thou woldest make us kisse thyn old breche 948
 And swere it were a Relike of a seynte
 Though it were with thy foundemente peynte
 But by that croys which that seynt Elene fonde
 y wolde y had thy colions in myn honde 952
 In stede of Reliquys or of sentuarie
 Lette cut them and y wold the helpe in carie
 They shull be shrived in a hogges torde
 This Pardonere answerd not a worde 956
 So wroth he was no worde ne wolde he sey
 Nowe qd our Oste y wolde no longere pley
 With the ne with none other angry man
 But right anon the worthy knyght bigan 960
 Whan that saugh all the peple lough
 No more of this for it is right y nough
 Sire pardoner he seide be glad and merye of chere
 And ye sire oste that be to me so dere 964
 I pray you that ye kisse the Pardonere
 And Pardonere y pray the drawe nere
 And as we deden let us laugh and pley
 Anon they kis:en and riden furth there wey 968
 Here endeth the Pardoners Tale
 And bygennygh the Shipmans Tale

CLARA MARBURG

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XIII.
SAINT AMBROSE AND CHAUCER'S
LIFE OF ST. CECILIA

THE reference to Saint Ambrose in Chaucer's *Life of St. Cecilia* (C. T. G. vv. 271 ff.) has never been explained. Although Chaucer in this reference was clearly following his Latin source, Tyrwhitt regarded these lines as an awkward interruption of the narrative and wished that he could find reason for omitting them. Skeat gave up the problem with the words: "I cannot find anything of the kind in the works of St. Ambrose."¹ Professor Lowes, in his admirable article upon the interpretation of the two crowns,² does not mention this Ambrose passage, or attempt to explain the expression the "palm of martirdom." His only reference to Ambrose is incidental to his relation of the story of the bee lighting on the infant's lips, from the sermon on St. Ambrose by Jacobus de Voragine.³

I propose to show, not only that the expression the "palm of martirdom" was used by Saint Ambrose, but that he was the source of the symbolism in the "corones two," and is thus peculiarly connected with the St. Cecilia story.

To begin with the latter, the allusion to the symbolic character of the flowers of the two crowns is found in the *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum* of Ambrose, *Cap. Sec. (Vers. 1 and 2)*.⁴ These two verses, which Ambrose combined for his Commentary, read in the Vulgate:

¹ Skeat's *Works of Chaucer* V, 409. Skeat does refer to the story of the basket of roses, typifying martyrdom, in a sermon of Jacques de Vitry on St. Dorothea, a story which begins with "Beatus Ambrosius narrat" and in this respect is similar to the lines in the *Life of St. Cecilia*.

² "The 'Corones Two' of the Second Nun's Tale," *P.M.L.A.*, XXVI, 115 ff., XXIX, 129 ff.

³ The only other reference to Saint Ambrose by Chaucer, that in the *Parson's Tale of Vices and Virtues*, was easily discovered by Skeat, as he shows in his note to *Cant. Tales*, Group I, v. 84.

⁴ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 15, *Opera Sancti Ambrosii* I, col. 1559. I use the column number of the Benedictine edition inset in the Migne edition, here col. 1967 of the latter. The full title of the work is *Commentarius in Cantica Canticorum e Scriptis Sancti Ambrosii a Guillelmo, quondam Abbate Sancti Theoderici, postea Monacho Signiacensi, Collectus*.

Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium; sicut lilium inter spinas, sic
amica mea inter filias;

or in the King James version: "I am the rose of Sharon and
the lily of the valleys," etc.

On this passage Ambrose comments in six paragraphs, the
first two general from our point of view, with reference to Christ
and the Church and the general nature of flowers. In the third
paragraph he points out that lilies do not live "in asperitatibus
montium incultisque silvarum, sed in hortorum amoenitate,"
which leads him to say:

Sunt enim horti quidam diversarum pomiferi virtutum, juxta quod
scriptum est. Hortus conclusus etc. (*Cant.* 4, 12)⁵ eo quod ubi
integritas, ubi castitas, ubi religio, ubi fida silentia secretorum, ibi
claritas angelorum est, ibi confessorum violae, lilia virginum, rosae
martyrum sunt. Bene lilium Christus, qui est flos sublimis, immacu-
latus, innoxius, in quo non spinarum offendat asperitas, sed gratia
circumfusa clarebit.⁶

The phrases *confessorum violae, lilia virginum, rosae martyrum*,
which it was hardly necessary to italicize in the text, not only
give the symbolism of the flowers in the "corones two," but in
slightly different order the words which Jacobus de Voragine
used in speaking of the infant Saint and the bee that lighted
on his lips. Clearly, in the time of the Bishop of Genoa, the
symbolism of the flowers was well known as belonging to Saint
Ambrose. To him, too, such symbolism peculiarly belongs.
In no other commentary on the *Canticum Canticorum* among
the Greek or earlier Latin Fathers is there any such symbolic
interpretation of this passage. Indeed, Ambrose is the first of
the Latin Fathers to comment at length on this highly poetical
book.

In other respects the *Commentarius* of Ambrose is a mine of
symbolism. I illustrate from some further references to flowers,
or to plants and the garden in which they grow. Continuing
his comment on the first two verses of the second chapter,

⁵ "Hortus conclusis, soror mea sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus."

⁶ Ambrose goes on, referring to the *sicut lilium inter spinas* of the *Vulgate*
(Verse 2), with something more of symbolism for the rose: "Sicut enim spina
rosarum, quae sunt tormenta martyrum: non habet spinas inoffensa divinitas,
quae tormenta non sensit."

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Ambrose applies the first verse more directly to Christ in his fifth paragraph, in part as follows:

Flos enim humilitatis est Christus, non luxuriae, non voluptatum atque lasciviae, sed flos simplicitatis, flos humilitatis;

and on the second verse in his sixth paragraph:

Nonne inter asperitates laborum contritionesque animorum boni flos odoris assurgit; quia contrito corde Deus placatus.

On verse eleven of this chapter, *Flores visi sunt in terra, tempus secandi advenit*, he has the comment:

Ante adventum Christi hiems erat: venit Christus, fecit aestatem. Tunc omnia erant florum indiga, nuda virtutum; passus est Christus, et omnia coeperunt novae gratiae fecundari germinibus. . . . Imber impedit flores; at nunc flores videntur in terra. Boni flores apostoli, qui diversorum scriptorum suorum atque operum fuderunt odorem.⁷

Commenting on *Cant.* 6, 2, which he here introduces, *Qui pascitur inter lilia*, he again reiterates the symbolism of the lily and the rose:

Lilium castitatem significat. . . . Bona pascua sacramenta divina sunt. Carpis lilium, in quo sit splendor aeternitatis; carpis rosam, hoc est, Dominici corporis sanguinem. Bona etiam pascua, libri sunt Scripturarum coelestium.⁸

Some examples of other symbolisms may be briefly given. On *Cant.* 4, 12 Ambrose comments as follows:

Ut in vite religio, in olea pax, in rosa pudor sanctae virginitatis inoleseat. . . . Bona ergo anima fragrat odores justitiae.

The word *hortum* in *Cant.* 5, 1 leads Ambrose back to his comment on *Cant.* 4, 12, and he adds,

Quanto hoc pulchrius, quod anima ornata virtutum floribus, hortus sit. . . . Myrrha enim est sepultura mortuorum.

A comment on the mandrake accompanies that on *Cant.* 7, 12:

Ibi mandragorae dederunt odorem. Plerique discernunt quemdam inter mandragoras sexum; ut et mares et feminas putent esse, sed

⁷ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 15, 1568.

⁸ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 15, 1572.

feminas gravis odoris. Significat ergo gentes, quae ante feteabant, cum essent infirmiores evirata quadam imbecillitate perfidiae, boni odoris fructus ferre coepisse, postquam in adventum crediderunt.

On *Cant.* 8, 13, *Qui sedes in hortis* etc., Ambrose suggests,

Delectabitur enim quod in hortis Christus sedebat, et in hortis positi amici intendebant voci ejus.⁹

Such symbolism Ambrose made peculiarly his own by using it in other places in his works. Thus, in his *Expositio in Psalmum*, commenting on *Psalm* 118 (119), 25, he quotes *flores visi in terra* from *Cant.* 2, 11, and uses part of his interpretation in that place:

Boni flores apostoli, qui diversorum scriptorum atque operum suorum fuderunt odorem.¹⁰

Again, Ambrose repeats his comment, quoted above, on *Cant.* 2, 1-2, practically in the same words, in his *Expositio in Lucam* (chap. 7, vv. 27, 28).¹¹ In his *Liber de Institutione Virginis*, cap. xv, occurs another comment upon the lily:

Christi lilia sunt; specialiter sacrae virgines, quarum est splendida et immaculata virginitas.

Here again, too, Ambrose goes on to quote *Cant.* 1, 1-2, and 6, 1-2, and his interpretation of those passages.¹²

Evidence that the symbolism which Ambrose had so strikingly presented was to persist is found within a half century of his death. In the first half of the fifth century Bishop Eucherius of Lyons wrote his *Liber Formularum Spiritualis Intelligentiae ad Uranium*, and in this he repeats and explains, somewhat naïvely perhaps, the symbolism of Ambrose:

In Salom.: Ego flos campi et lilium convallium (*Cant.* II, i). Rosae martyres, a rubere sanguinis. . . . Violaes confessores, ob similitud-

⁹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 15, 1585, 1589-90, 1612, 1617, for the last four quotations respectively.

¹⁰ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 15, 1040. I quote only that part of the commentary which refers to the symbolism of the flowers.

¹¹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 15, 1440-41. The only difference is in the use of *illic* for *ibi* in the second sentence.

¹² Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 16, 269.

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inem lividorum corporum. In Cantico. cant.: Flores in terra visi sunt (*Cant.* II, 12).¹³

Again, a little below, Eucherius adds: "Rosa, quod rutilanti colore rubeat, martyres significat."

Essentially, too, Rabanus Maurus, whose active life belonged mainly to the ninth century, followed the example of Eucherius and the symbolism of Ambrose. In his *De Universo Libri XXII* (XIX, Chap. VIII) he has: "Rosa a specie floris nuncupata quod rutilanti colore rubeat. Significat autem rosa martyres"; and he adds a little below:

Potest et in lilio virginitas exprimi: quia excellentior est castitas virginalis, quam caeterae virtutes, sicut in Apocalypsi ostenditur.¹⁴

So, also, in his *Allegoriae in Universam Sacram Scripturam*, under "R" Rabanus gives: "Rosa est coetus martyrum ut in libro Ecclesiastici," referring to *Ecclesiasticus* 24, 18.¹⁵

To these we may add more significant references from St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who lived mainly in the twelfth century. It will be remembered that St. Bernard was introduced by Chaucer in the *Invocation* preceding the *Life of St. Cecilia*—a passage closely following Dante, who clearly knew Bernard's *Missus est, seu de Laudibus V. Mariae*, and its high praise of the Virgin. But Bernard also commented on the *Song of Solomon* in his *Sermones in Cantica*, and there and in other places used the Ambrosian symbolism. His *Sermo XLVII, De triplice flore* etc., quotes *Cant.* 2, 1 (*Ego flos campi*) and adds:

Itaque juxta praefatam de floris statu partitionem, flos est virginitas, flos martyrium, flos actio bona. In horto virginitas, in campo marty-

¹³ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 50, 727 ff. for the whole work of Eucherius, col. 744, not 742 as in the Index, for the specific reference.

¹⁴ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 111, 528. The subject of Chap. VIII, from which these quotations are taken, is *De Herbis aromaticis sive communibus*. Still further evidence that Rabanus had the Ambrosian symbolism in mind is found in his reference to Confessors:

Viola propter vim odoris nomen accepit. . . . Viola quoque significant confessores ob similitudinem lividorum corporum.

He goes on to quote *Cant.* 2, 11, and comment further upon it, as Ambrose had done. The last clause of the comment on Confessors will be seen to be from that of Bishop Eucherius.

¹⁵ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 112, 1040.

rium, bonum opus in thalamo. Idem flos campi, martyr, martyrum corona, martyrii forma.¹⁶

In his *Cantica Canticorum Commentatio*, St. Bernard again comments on *Cant.*, 2, 1, part of which comment is as follows:

Et sum lilium castitatis videlicet et puritatis exemplum: non superbiorum sed *convallium*. Castitas enim superba non castitas est, sed ornatum diaboli prostibulum.¹⁷

So in his *Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini* St. Bernard has a chapter (XVIII) called *De flore castitatis, quae est lilium*, in which he says:

Non potuit deesse in Vite nostra florente flos lilium candentis, excellens castitatis insigne. Inter omnes virtutes castitas quadam speciali praerogativa flos meruit appellari, quae per lilium figuratur.¹⁸

Finally, St. Bernard probably had the Ambrosian comment in mind when, in his *Sermo XLI* of the *Sermones in Cantica*, he says of *Cant.* 5, 1, *Messui myrrham* etc.: "Ubi nunc martyres in myrrha . . . figurat?"¹⁹

In his second paper Professor Lowes showed how the symbolism of the lily and the rose, which we now know as Ambrosian, had become a part of the Church hymnology. Nor should it be forgotten that, in the year of the appearance of the first article by Lowes, Professor Tupper²⁰ had noted the same symbolism in Ælfric's Homily *In Natale Sanctorum Martyrum* (ed. Thorpe, Ælfric Soc., II, 546). Professor Tupper later observed the more important reference to the symbolic interpretation of the flowers in Ælfric's Homily *De Assumptione*

¹⁶ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 183, 1429-30. Chaucer's reference to Bernard in the *Invocation*, as noted above, is pretty certain evidence that he had in mind other parts of Dante's *Paradiso*, as canto xxxi in which Bernard is twice mentioned by name, and whom Dante made the author of the prayer to Mary at the beginning of canto xxxiii; see Professor Carleton Brown's admirable article on the subject in *Mod. Phil.* IX, 1 ff.

¹⁷ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 184, 279.

¹⁸ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 184, 452.

¹⁹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 184, 138.

²⁰ *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, ed. F. Tupper, 1910 (Preface 1909), p. 166. Still earlier, Skeat had called attention to the "earliest English life of St. Cecilia" in Cockayne's *Shrine*—now more accessible in EETS. 116—and that of Ælfric in his *Lives of the Saints*, not then in print, but now in EETS. 94, 357 ff. Both these mention the crowns of roses and lilies.

Beatae Mariae, which deserves somewhat fuller treatment.²¹ Ælfric speaks of the Holy Spirit's telling of having seen Mary ascending to heaven like a dove. The following quotation contains the last words of the speech and Ælfric's comment:

"And, swa swa on lengtenlicere tide, rosena blostman and lilian hi ymtrymedon." Ðara rosena blostman getacniað mid heora readnysse martyrdom, and ða lilian mid heora hwitnysse getacniað ða scinendan clænnysse ansundnes mægðhades.²²

The Ambrosian symbolism had come to England, though with no recognition of Ambrose as the originator. In fact, another Ambrosian symbolism, not hitherto pointed out, appears in a still different work of the Old English period. It is to be found in the prose version of the Old English *Salomon and Saturn*, where Saturn asks,

Saga me, hwylc wyrt is betst and selust?

and Salomon answers:

Ic ðe secge, Lilige hatte seo wyrt, forðam ðe heo getacnað Crist.²³

With this should be compared the symbolic identification of the lily with Christ in one of the passages quoted from the *Commentarius* of Ambrose (cf. above, p. 253-4).

It would be gratifying to be able to identify the *Preface* quoted in Chaucer's source, and to which reference is made by Chaucer himself (*Second Nun's Tale*, v. 271). Ambrose, however, so far as I can discover, wrote no such *Praefatio*, either in works recognized as his or in those attributed to him. He apparently never mentioned Saint Cecilia or Tiburce or Valerian. On the other hand, Chaucer's use of the *Preface* is of importance for its slight evidence of originality and, as we shall see, for the additional symbolism of the "palm of martirdom."

²¹ *Homilies* I, 444. Lowes in his second paper (footnote 6) makes acknowledgment to Tupper for this second reference.

²² Ælfric later explains that Mary did not actually suffer "bodily martyrdom," but her mental anguish was equivalent to it, and she thus deserved the roses of the martyr's crown. Along with the adoption of these two symbolic interpretations of Ambrose, it is worth noting that Ælfric, in his Homily *In Natale unius Confessoris* (II, 548), makes no mention of the Ambrosian symbolism of the violet.

²³ Kemble's edition in the *Ælfric Society* Publications, p. 186.

In the first place Chaucer's addition to his original, in which he calls Ambrose "this noble doctour dere," is the poet's own recognition of the high place Ambrose had come to hold in the Church. Thus he is sometimes ranked with Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great "as one of the Latin 'doctors',"²⁴ or made "one of the most illustrious Fathers and Doctors" with Augustine, St. John Chrysostom and St. Athanasius "as upholding the chair of the Apostles in the Tribune of St. Peter's at Rome."²⁵ Again, in the last line of the speech of Ambrose, summing up the virtue of St. Cecilia,

Deuocioun of chastitee to loue,

Chaucer has slightly modified his source and made clearer the real sacrifice. Paraphrasing the Latin,

Viros virgo duxit ad gloriam, mundus agnovit, quantum valeat
devotio castitatis,

he has made more explicit the renunciation by adding "to love," with the rare use of *to* 'against.' The line means "devotion to chastity as against love."

The older use of *to* 'against' in this place, on which I have seen no comment of like effect, is the only one that can explain the line. Although Skeat's great *Glossary* to Chaucer does not recognize it, and the *NED.* has no Chaucerian example, it is known not only in Old English (see *Toller-Bosworth* under "to I, 1 f."), but appeared in various works of Chaucer's own age as well. It occurs in *Clannesse* 1230, *Piers. Plow. A.* III, 274, Wyclif's *Psalms* 50, 6 and 84, 6. The *Piers Plowman* instance was recognized by Skeat in his *Glossary*, the other citations are from the *NED.* The proposed Middle English Dictionary should be on the lookout for more illustrations of the word.²⁶

²⁴ Rev. A. J. Grieve, *Encyc. Brit.* article.

²⁵ *Cath. Encyc.*, Ambrose.

²⁶ See the *NED.* under "to, VII b." I do not see that *to* "is used after words denoting opposition or hostility" as the *NED.* says, and the *Toller-Bosworth*. The "opposition" is wholly in the *to* itself, as shown by the examples. It seems to be merely a retention of an older meaning; compare its cognate Greek *δὲ* 'but,' "usually having an opposing or adversative force" (Liddell and Scott). The *Cent. Dict.* does this better in recognizing under "to, 8" the meanings 'against, over against' and giving, besides three Elizabethan examples, one from

Finally, the figure of the "palm of martirdom" is one used by Ambrose, who so delighted in the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. It is true that he did not always interpret the palm in the same way. When commenting on *Cant.* 7, 8, *Ascendam in palmam* etc., he quotes the preceding verses 6 and 7, *Quam pulchra* etc., and interprets the palm as follows:

Sed etiam ipsa charitas palma est, ipsa est plenitudo victoriae. . . . Qui vincit, ascendit in palmam, et manducat fructus ejus.²⁷

But in the *Sermones* ascribed to Ambrose is found the figure which Chaucer and his source attributed to him. In *Sermo XX* we read:

Palmae, inquam, offeruntur vincentibus. . . . Per palmam dextera martyris honoratur. . . . Praemium enim quoddam est palma martyrii. . . . Est plane palma martyribus suavis ad cibum, umbrosa ad requiem, honorabilis ad triumphum, semper virens, semper vestita foliis, semper parata victoriae, atque adeo marcescit palma, quia martyrum victoria non marcescit.²⁸

This does not mean that Ambrose was the first to use the "palm of martirdom," as he was the first to use the symbolism of the lily and the rose, for the former expression had been used two centuries before by Tertullian in the last paragraph of his *De Spectaculis*.²⁹ But it does mean that Ambrose, who was responsible for the symbolism of the "corones two," had also used this new expression with peculiar force, and with direct application to such a martyrdom as that of St. Cecilia.

Addison and one from Irving. Under the same heading it places the present-day examples like *hand to hand*, *two to one*. The latter is explained in the *NED*. definition of "to, III, 19" as "connecting the names of two things (usu. numbers or quantities) compared or opposed to each other." Unfortunately, it seems to me, the *Cent. Dict.* does not connect its Middle English examples of *to* 'against' with those of later times, but places them under "to, 17. In various obsolete, provincial or colloquial uses." Under this heading it gives the *Piers Plow*. example of Skeat, and one from *Polit. Poems* (Furnivall):

To thee only trespassed have I.

At any rate enough has been said to justify giving Chaucer's *to* in the *Second Nun's Tale*, l. 283, the special sense of 'against.'

²⁷ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 15, 1610.

²⁸ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 17, 416-7.

²⁹ See also *Rev.* 7, 9, though without clear reference to martyrs.

In the absence of any *Praefatio* directly attributable to St. Ambrose, it is not too much to conceive the manner in which his name became attached to the Life of St. Cecilia. The Ambrosian symbolism so permeates the story that some clerical writer may well have illustrated the *palma martyrii* in the last quotation from Ambrose by reference to St. Cecilia and Valerian. After that, the further incorporation of Ambrose as directly testifying to the worth of the principal characters in the Tale was a simple matter. While, too, Jacobus de Voragine and Chaucer following him, halted the story to cite authority for "the miracle of these coronas tweye," this is not so different from Chaucer's own digressive method in other places. Compare vv. 505-10 of the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, or the much longer digression on the bringing up of children in the *Physician's Tale* (vv. 72-104), to take two examples from his later works. May we not also say that Tyrwhitt's objection to the St. Ambrose reference is largely, if not entirely, removed by the proof here given of the much more important place of Ambrose in the whole story than has hitherto been suspected.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON

P.S. As I read the last proof of this article *Mod. Lang. Notes* for May has come, with Mr. Parker's extremely interesting reference to the *duas coronas* given to Abel in the *Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium*. These now seem to me a development of certain passages of Scripture, as 1 *Cor.* 9, 25; *Jas.* 1, 12; and *Rev.* 2, 10; 3, 11; 4, 4. At least the material of which Abel's crowns were composed is not mentioned, or any flower symbolism such as is made so important in Chaucer's *Life of St. Cecilia*. It is this flower symbolism of the *corones two* which I have traced to St. Ambrose, and for which he seems to have been responsible. The two crowns given to Abel are also different from the single crowns of individual types given to Cecilia and Valerian.

O. F. E.

XIV.

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF CHAUCER'S FRANKLIN

AN uncertainty as to the social position of franklins in general, and of Chaucer's Franklin in particular, has occasionally manifested itself since the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1810, Todd¹ quoted an elaborate note from Waterhous's *Commentary* on Sir John Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, which tended to show that franklins did not belong to the gentry. Todd was unable to square this with the fact that Chaucer's Franklin was "at sessionouns," since by a statute of Edward III,² which he cited, justices were *seigneurs*, and that he was "ofte tyme" a knight of the shire, since by another statute³ members of parliament were "chivalers et serjantz des meulz vaues du paies." Todd was thus left in doubt as to the gentility of the Franklin. As a later examination of Fortescue's remarks will show, it is not he but his commentator who must be blamed for lowering the status of Chaucer's sanguine country gentleman. If Todd had been of firmer mind, or if he had studied the subject more deeply, he would not have left the matter in doubt—a trap for unwary feet in later times.

One cannot be sure that the late Henry Bradley consulted Todd before passing the definition of "franklin" in *N.E.D.*, but he may have been influenced by it. In any case, the examples quoted in the article certainly do not warrant of themselves the flat-footed statement as printed:

2. A freeholder; in 14-15th c. the designation of a class of land-owners, of free but not noble birth, and ranking next below the gentry.

The last clause is, of course, the one disputable, since nobody has ever ranked franklins among the nobility. The last clause, however, is open to serious challenge.

The matter would perhaps have remained one of legal and lexicographical interest only, if in 1906 Professor Root had not

¹ H. J. Todd, *Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer*, pp. 247-9.

² 34 Edw. III, cap. 1.

³ 46 Edw. III.

accepted Bradley's definition without question and based upon it an interpretation of Chaucer's Franklin that was novel and ingenious rather than sound—as I shall endeavor to show.

The Franklin [he wrote] has much in common with the better type of the "self-made man." He has at his disposal all that money can buy, and he has held office in his own county; but he is uncomfortably conscious of a certain lack of "gentility,"—betrayed by his fondness for the words "gentil" and "gentillesse,"—and of the full education which would adorn his prosperous estate. . . . Conscious that, with all that he has acquired and attained, he can never be quite the complete gentleman, he would fain be the father of a gentleman; but his hopes are disappointed by the unfortunate vulgar proclivities of his son and heir.⁴

—The Franklin is, in short, a parvenu. If Professor Root had not had in mind the clause for which Dr. Bradley stands responsible, "ranking next below the gentry," it is unlikely that he would have felt any lack in the rather learned and eminently dignified figure whom Chaucer has drawn. He might have asked himself how the Franklin acquired his property and rose in the world; and he might have remembered squires' sons and baronets' sons, and even scions of the peerage, who in English novels and plays of later time have shown a taste for the company of their social inferiors, as well as a deplorable tendency "to pleye at dees, and to despende"—or to commit the equivalent follies of their age.

It shows the influence of Professor Root's admirable book that Professor Kittredge, in another admirable book, should have betrayed by a casual sentence his acceptance of the view just quoted. "The Franklin," he remarks, "is a wealthy man, ambitious to found a family."⁵ The statement is in no way elaborated or defended, which has its significance. In less than a dozen years, it seems, an ill-supported interpretation had acquired such legendary value that it could be stated with dogmatic precision.

Yet this reading of Chaucer's lines is quite unwarranted by the evidence I have been able to gather. Warton was certainly right when he said of the Franklin that he was "a country

⁴ R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, 1906 (Rev. ed. 1922), pp. 271-2.

⁵ G. L. Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, 1915, p. 204.

gentleman," although the second part of the definition he gave, "whose estate consisted in free land,"⁶ could be more accurately put.

Let us see, to begin with, what clues Chaucer actually gives us as to the social status of his Franklin. (1) He was in the company of a "Sergeant of the Lawe."⁷ (2) He was wealthy and lived generously on his land.⁸ (3) He was "lord and sire" at "sessions,"⁹ which means that he sat importantly as justice in petty sessions. (4) He had often been "knight of the shire," representing his county in parliament.¹⁰ (5) He had been a sheriff.¹¹ (6) He had been a "countour," probably auditing the accounts of the sheriff.¹² (7) He was a "vavasour"—none "worthier."¹³ He calls himself a "burel man" and says that he never slept on Parnassus, learned Cicero, or acquainted himself with the colors of rhetoric,¹⁴ which are certainly the half-humorous deprecations of a person who made no pretence of clerklly lore, though he showed sufficient learning in his tale. Each of these points has significance, and, taken together, they offer very complete and interesting confirmation of the Franklin's position as a member of the landed gentry. Before considering them, however, we had best see whether, by examining the evidence, we cannot reach a clearer notion of what the term "franklin" really means than is afforded by the dictionaries.

In a couple of cases that have been recorded the word certainly indicates a freeman as distinguished from a villein, without further suggestion of rank. About 1440 it was glossed "libertinus" in the *Promptuarium Parvulorum*, which is uncomplaining enough. Similarly in a *Vita Haroldi*, written about 1300, we read that the wounded king was carried off the battlefield "a duobus ut fertur mediocribus viris quos francalanos sive agricolas vocant agnitus."¹⁵ There can be no doubt, I think, that the unknown author regarded franklins as very low creatures indeed. Mätzner in his *Sprachproben* and the editors of *N. E. D.* are probably justified, with the support of these

⁶ *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, II, 202.

⁷ A. 331.

⁸ A. 335-354.

⁹ A. 355.

¹⁰ A. 356.

¹¹ A. 359.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ A. 360.

¹⁴ F. 716-726.

¹⁵ Ed. W. de G. Birch, 1885, p. 34.

two instances, in giving "freeman" as one meaning of "franklin," but scarcely in supposing it to be the primary one.

All the other illustrations that I have been able to find—and considerable searching has not enabled me to add notably to the collections previously made—refer to the franklin as a member of a landholding class, and, when scrutinized closely, ^{*}to a class of very good social position. At least, the context makes this so abundantly clear in most instances that ^{*}one can no longer doubt the propriety of calling the franklin a gentleman. ^{*}Even in the thirteenth century, I make out, he was the equivalent of the country squire of modern England.

The three earliest examples of the word that have been found are in charters. The first of these is from 1166, during the reign of Henry II. In a grant to Cernel Abbey, we read: "Super dominium ecclesiae sunt feoda trium militum et dimidii, cum tenura Francolensium in villa Cernae. Quisque autem istorum debet facere wardam ad praeceptum vestrum apud Castellum de Corfe uno mense per annum."¹⁶ The number of franklins is not mentioned, but they must have been men of some importance if they severally had the duty of guarding Corfe Castle. Their wealth would depend upon their number, the aggregate of their holdings being to the amount of three and a half knights' fees, unless—as is possible—they had holdings from other overlords than the abbey. At all events, these franklins must have been persons of substance and consideration.

The next two examples are in *Charter Rolls* from the reign of John, and both from charters given to conventual establishments. The first specifies as one of the holdings of a convent "unam carrucatam terrae apud Hamerwich cum villanis et franchelano."¹⁷ The second reads: "confirmamus omnia feuda militum et franccolanorum qui tenent de eodem monasterio et quod habeant octo hundreda sua et justiciam de eisdem hundredis libere et quiete et plenarie cum omnibus libertatibus."¹⁸ In the first of these cases, which is specific, the franklin could not have been a very wealthy person, since an estate of

¹⁶ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 1896 (Rolls Ser. 99), I, 212. Quoted in DuCange from the *Liber niger Scaccarii*, concerning which see Hall's introduction.

¹⁷ *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, Record Com., 1837, p. 43, col. 1.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 82, col. 1.

between 160 and 180 acres would hardly put him out of the company of "dirt farmers"—if I may use an admirable Americanism. At the same time, he would have the villeins as laborers, and he may have done very well. In the second case, it will be noted that knights and franklins are mentioned in the same phrase as holding from the monastery, and apparently on the same terms. The only distinction between them which appears is one of titular rank, rather than of tenure.

It is an interesting fact that as early as the thirteenth century Le Fraunkeleyn was used as a surname, and for persons who, if inheritances and holdings of land may be taken to indicate anything, had a very solid—if not brilliant—social position.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, we could scarcely have better evidence than this of the assured position of the class.

We may next examine a group of references by versifiers who wrote at the end of the thirteenth century or in the fourteenth. The first of them is the shadowy Robert of Gloucester, who in his account of King Lear thus warned parents against giving up their land to their children:

Vor wel may a simple frankelein . in miseise him so bringe.
Of lute lond wanne þer biuel . such cas of an kinge.²⁰

"Simple franklin" he is called, but, please note, in contrast to royal majesty: quite as if one should set off a member of the squirearchy against the king.

An example from *Cursor Mundi* is instructive in another way. The author is reporting the conversation of Jacob with Pharaoh, who says of the magnificent Joseph:

First he was here als our thain
But now es he for ai franckelain.²¹

Considering the honors held by Joseph at the time, it would seem that Pharaoh was meant to imply more by his antithesis

¹⁹ See, for example, the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* and *Calendar of Close Rolls*, as well as the *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi*, ed. C. Roberts, 1836, which cover the years 1216–1272. The use of settled surnames for people above the lower classes is a phenomenon of earlier date than is sometimes supposed.

²⁰ *Metrical Chronicle*, ed. W. A. Wright, 1887 (Rolls Ser. 86), I, 61, vv. 821–2. Dated 1290–1300.

²¹ *Cursor Mundi*, dated 1300–1325, ed. R. Morris, 1874–1893 (E.E.T.S.), vv. 5373–4.

than the mere contrast of freedom with serfdom. One must not press this too hard, to be sure, since the author needed a rhyme. The couplet could never have been written, however, if early in the fourteenth century franklins were considered to belong to the lower orders.

Nor, surely, would Nicolas Trivet have set down in his Anglo-Norman *Chroniques* that "Thomas Brotherton (filius R. Edouardi I) apres le mort son pere esposa la fille de un Fraunclein appelle Alice."²² It makes little difference that modern historians aver that the Earl of Norfolk's father-in-law was Sir Thomas Hales of Harwich, or that Trivet's statement is manifestly absurd in one particular, since Thomas of Brotherton was not born until 1300, while his father died in 1307. The point is that a contemporary chronicler could confuse a knight with a franklin after this fashion. Evidently he recognized no wide gulf between the two classes.

Of two examples of the word from Robert Mannyng of Brunne, one is amusing rather than important, though it couples franklins with squires, which—as we shall soon see—was an exact equation in the fifteenth century, at least. Conan sends to Dianot for his daughter Ursula,

And gentil damysels vngyuen,
þat able to mennes companye were þryuen,—
Squyers doughtres, & frankelayns,
To gyue hem to knyghtes & to swayns.²³

The difficulty here is to find the meaning that Robert can have attached to "swayns." His second example is more useful to us. In regard to the Statute of Mortmain, in the second part of his *Chronicle*, he wrote:

Was mad an oþer statut, þat non erle no baroun,
No oþer lorde stoute, ne fraunkeleyn of toun,
Tille holy kirke salle gyue tenement, rent no lond.²⁴

²² Unfortunately I have to quote this from Spelman, *Glossarium Archæologicum*, 1664, sub "Franchling," since the chronicle has not yet been edited. It is said to have been written about 1334, which was four years before the death of Thomas.

²³ *The Story of England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1887 (Rolls Ser. 87), I, 230, vv. 6545–8. Dated 1338.

²⁴ Ed. as by Pierre de Langtoft by T. Hearne, 1725, p. 239. This part of Robert's work is not in Furnivall's edition. It was based on Pierre de Langtoft, which explains Hearne's error of ascription.

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The corresponding lines in Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle*, which was Robert's source, run as follows:

Est fet l'estatut, ke counte, ne baroun,
Ne seynur de terre, parmi la regioun,
Face à seinte Eglise offrand ne doun
De terre ne tenement, si par cungé noun
Du rays e de son consayl.³⁵

Robert apparently felt that "lorde stoute" was not a sufficient translation for "seynur de terre" and so added "fraunkeleyn of toun."³⁶

In *Piers Plowman* we find "franklin" used three times. In the first instance, the Dreamer in the guise of an idle London priest is conversing with Conscience. In an obviously ironic strain he talks about the privileges of the clergy, chief among them being idleness. He then says:

For shold no clerk be crowned . bote yf he ycome were
Of franklens and free men . and of folke yweddede.
Bondmen and bastardes . and beggers children,
Thuse by-longeth to labour . and lordes kyn to seruen
Bothe god and good men . as here degree asketh.³⁷

There is a contrast here between bond and free, it is true; but the whole implication of the passage is that franklins are gentle-folk. From the second instance in *Piers Plowman* no satisfactory conclusions can be drawn, I think; but it should be noted in passing. Wit is discoursing to Holy Writ about the contrariety of "Westminster law," in that it visits the sins of the fathers upon the children.

For thauh the fader be a frankelayne . and for a felon be hanged,
The heritage that the air sholde haue . ys at the kynges wille.³⁸

³⁵ Ed. T. Wright, 1866-8 (Rolls Ser. 47), II, 174.

³⁶ This phrase is illustrated by a writ analyzed in *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte, 1916, II, 56, No. 233. In this writ, dated 1 Sept. 9 Edward II (1315), Thomas de Polington is described as "lord of the whole town of Polington." "Town" was doubtless used in the sense familiar to all New Englanders.

³⁷ Ed. W. W. Skeat, 1886, C, Pass. vi, 63-7. The conjectural data assigned by Skeat to the C text is 1393.

³⁸ C, Pass. xi, 240-1.

It is hard to tell whether the franklin is here taken as an example of high degree or low. The third case is, however, quite conclusive as to the writer's estimate of the social position of franklins. Conscience is the speaker. Jesus, he says, was knight, king, and conqueror, having by virtue of conquest the right:

To make lordes of laddes . of longe that he wynneth
 And fre men foule thralles . that folweth nouzt his lawes.
 The Iuwes, that were gentil-men . Iesu thei dispised,
 Bothe his lore and his lawe . now ar thei lowe cherlis.
 As wyde as the worlde is . wonyeth there none
 But vnder tribut and taillage . as tykes and cherles.
 And tho that bicomme Crysten . by consaille of the baptiste,
 Aren frankeleynes, fre men . thorw fullyng that thei toke,
 And gentel-men with Iesu . for Iesus was yfulled,
 And vppon Caluarye on crosse . ycrouned kyng of Iewes.²⁸

In the opinion of the B redactor of *Piers Plowman*, which the C redactor saw no reason to dispute, franklins were not only freemen, but they were gentlemen. This one passage would be sufficient of itself to refute the notion that they ranked "next below the gentry." It shows the fallibility of any system whatsoever that this quotation actually appears in *N.E.D.*, but without the fine and significant phrase "gentelmen with Iesu," and is used to illustrate the meaning "freeman."

† From the first half of the fifteenth century we have detailed and precise evidence of another kind as to the position of franklins. It comes from a source that could not be bettered—a book of etiquette. In the nature of things, the John Russell who compiled this *Book of Nurture*²⁹ had to put his mind on questions of precedence. He gives³¹ as the estates "equal with a knight," who sit at table three or four to a mess, the following: abbot and prior "sans mitre," dean, arch-deacon, Master of Rolls, under justices, barons of the King's Exchequer, provincial of a religious order, doctor of divinity, doctor of "both laws," prothonotary, pope's collector, and mayor of the staple. At a squire's table, sitting four to a mess, come sergeants of law, late mayors of London, masters of chancery, all "prechers,

²⁸ B, Pass. xix, 32–41. Dated 1377. In C, Pass. xxii, 32–41.

²⁹ *The Babeys Book*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1868 (E.E.T.S. 32).

³¹ Pp. 188–9.

residenciers, and persones that ar greable," apprentices of law, merchants, and franklins. This list seems to us, perhaps, slightly whimsical, but it could doubtless have been defended in each particular by John Russell. Incidentally it gives evidence as to the social esteem into which merchants had come by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when their position was certainly higher than in later times. They ranked with the gentry. That all the folk mentioned in the second list were so regarded is made clear by still another list of those who eat with squires,³² which does not mention franklins but which ends with "gentlemen and gentlewomen." The whole matter was evidently quite clear in John Russell's mind.

We may now return to Sir John Fortescue, who was mentioned in the beginning of this paper. In his famous *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, which was composed between 1463 and 1471, he wrote:

Regio etiam illa ita respersa, refertaque est Possessoribus Terrarum et Agrorum, quod in ea Villula tam parva reperiri non poterit, in qua non est Miles, Armiger, vel Pater familias, qualis ibidem Franklain vulgariter nuncupatur, magnus ditatus Possessionibus; necnon libere tenentes alii, et Valecti plurimi, suis Patrimoniis sufficientes ad faciendum Juratum in Forma prae-notata.³³

In the excellent translation of 1775, reprinted in Amos' edition, this runs:

England is so thick-spread and filled with rich and landed men, that there is scarce a small village in which you may not find a knight, an esquire, or some substantial householder, commonly called, a Frankleyne; all men of considerable estates: there are others who are called Freeholders, and many Yeomen of estates sufficient to make a substantial Jury, within the description before observed.³⁴

As Fortescue goes on to comment on the wealth of some of the "valecti" and as he clearly classifies the franklins with the knights and esquires rather than with the "libere tenentes alii," we may conclude that his notions coincided with those of John Russell. Franklins were gentlefolk.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

³³ Cap. 29. Ed. A. Amos, 1825, p. 237.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

Chaucer's Franklin, however, was not simply a member of a large and flourishing class: he had individual characteristics and distinctions, which throw light on the possibilities open to men of his rank and serve at the same time to fix his personal status. I have enumerated above eight such points. Most of them are worthy of brief notice, and some of them deserve close study.

The Franklin was, in the first place, going to Canterbury in the company of a Sergeant of the Law, whose learning and success are equally emphasized. The association was a natural one. Not only were the two men of the same rank, as we have seen to be the case on the testimony of John Russell, given above; but they would have had associations in public and private business that might have led to friendship. The Man of Law, it will be remembered, had often sat as justice of assizes, "by patente, and by plein commissioun,"³⁵ where the Franklin would have been in attendance both as an important landholder and as a "countour," not to mention the litigation in which men of any substance seem almost continuously to have been engaged during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although Chaucer cannot have been using "countour" in quite the sense in which it was taken by John Selden in his *Titles of Honour*, when he wrote: "For a *countour* was, if I am not deceived, a serjeant at law, known also then by both names,"³⁶ it is clear that the Franklin not only understood business but had also some knowledge of the law. In this connection, it may be observed that "sergeant" seems to have been used not only of lawyers but to designate propertied gentlemen who were not knights. In a statute of Edward III³⁷ we read that neither men of law "pursuant busoignes en la Court le Roi," nor sheriffs during their terms of office, shall be returned to parliament as knights of shires. "Mes voet le Roi, que Chivalers et serjantz des meulz vaues du paies soient retornez." Of similar import is a

³⁵ The meaning of these terms is well illustrated by a reference to sheriffs in *Statutes of the Realm*, 28 Edw. III, cap. 9 (1354): "viscontes de diverses contees, par vertue des commissions et briefs generals."

³⁶ *Works*, 1726, III, 1027. Selden quotes the *Mirror of Justices* ("Chez le seigneur Coke en l'epist. du 9. livre"): "Countours sont serjeants, sachans la ley del roialm."

³⁷ *Statutes of the Realm*, 46 Edw. III (1372).

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reference in Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle*. The members of a military expedition to Gascony are thus designated:

Barouns e vavasours de gentil lynage,
 Chuvalers et serjauns of lur cosinage,
 Gens à pé sanz noubre de more et bosage.³⁸

These sergeants may safely be equated with franklins.

That the wealth of Chaucer's Franklin was not exceptional we know from the testimony of Sir John Fortescue, already quoted. 'He was no upstart, but like a vast number of other untitled gentlemen of the time had great possessions. The notion that peers and knights were the only important landlords in the complicated world of feudal tenure is a serious mistake, though perhaps a natural one. In reading the *Calendars of Inquisitions* for the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, one is impressed by the size of the holdings of men who were neither noblemen nor knights. Some of these wealthy commoners had land scattered over several counties.³⁹ The Inquisitions prove very conclusively both the wealth and the importance of men below the estate of knights. In the light of all this, it seems in no way odd that Chaucer's Friar, who must have loved good cheer, should have made himself beloved and familiar

With frankeleyns over-al in his contree.⁴⁰

Nor was it strange that Chaucer should have stressed the food and drink in his Franklin's house. John Russell's *Book of Nurture* may again serve to illustrate the point. Russell gives a rhymed bill of fare, headed "A fest for a franklen,"⁴¹ which would have been adequate, one would think, for any earl or baron. In the fifteenth century, as well as in the fourteenth, the landed gentry seem to have been fairly prosperous.

There is every justification, indeed, for the following remarks of Thomas Fuller:

³⁸ Langtoft's *Chronicle*, ed. T. Wright, 1866-8 (Rolls Ser. 47), II, 230.

³⁹ See the case of John Giffard: VII, nos. 78, 180; IX, no. 686. This same Giffard may possibly be referred to elsewhere without specific designation.

⁴⁰ A. 216.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 170-1.

And here under favour I conceive, that if a strict inquiry should be made after the ancient gentry of England, most of them would be found amongst such middle-sized persons as are above two hundred, and beneath a thousand pounds of annual revenue. . . . Men of great estates, in national broils, have smarted deeply for their visible engagements, to the ruin of their families, whereof we have too many sad experiments, whilst such persons who are moderately mounted above the level of common people into a competency, above want and beneath envy, have, by God's blessing on their frugality, continued longest in their conditions, entertaining all alterations in the state with the less destructive change unto themselves.⁴²

In a word, the country gentleman, well-to-do or passably rich, flourished in the fourteenth century quite as much as in the seventeenth century, or in the nineteenth.

Such men, naturally enough, were not infrequently chosen to represent their counties in parliament. A scrutiny of the lists of persons summoned during the reigns of Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV shows that a knight of the shire was by no means always a knight in degree, although it is true that he commonly held that rank. Unless a gentleman was by birth and estate an outstanding figure, it is evident, he would scarcely have been returned. Certain counties were more prone than others to elect untitled men, but the honor was largely reserved for knights. It is all the more notable that Chaucer's Franklin had been in parliament "ful ofte tyme." Like everything else that is said of him, this shows that he was a notable man in his shire. And of course he was a gentleman by token of his election, for it would have been contrary to law as well as of custom to send a lesser person to Westminster. A statute of 1372, already quoted, says specifically: "Mes voet le Roi, que Chivalers et serjantz des meulz vaues du paies soient retornez."⁴³ Even more explicit is a law of the following century, which provides that knights of shires

soient notablez Chivalers dez mesmez lez Counteez pour lez queux ils serront issint esluz, ou autrement tielx notablez Esquiers gentils homez del Nativite dez mesmez les Counteez comme soient ablez destre Chivalers, & null home destre tiel Chivaler que estoise en la degree de vadlet & desouth.⁴⁴

⁴² *Worthies of England* (1662), ed. P. A. Nuttall, 1840, I, 63.

⁴³ *Statutes of the Realm*, 46 Edw. III.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* 23 Hen. VI, cap. 14.

That Chaucer's Franklin had been a sheriff indicates quite as clearly as his return to parliament that he was a man of high position in his county. "For," as Thomas Fuller rightly says, "the principal gentry in every shire, of most ancient extractions and best estates, were deputed for that place."⁴⁵ Indeed, the post of viscount, or sheriff, was a great honor in mediaeval England, although in duties and in expense it made a heavy tax on its occupant. Any examination of documents issuing from the court, like the Close Rolls or the Parliamentary Writs, shows the importance and the extraordinary variety of the business that fell to the lot of the king's local representative. Men of standing were chosen for the office, since no one who lacked either social prestige or personal ability could possibly have succeeded in it. A very good understanding of the place held by the sheriff can be obtained by reading the great legal treatise of the mid-thirteenth century, Henry de Bracton's *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*.⁴⁶ No one who has perused Bracton will be in danger of underestimating the position of sheriff in the mediaeval English system.

The care with which they were selected is well shown by Sir John Fortescue, to whose witness I have already appealed. He says that on the morrow of All Souls a large group of specified high officers of the Crown meet in the Court of Exchequer,

ubi ii omnes communi Assensu nominant de quolibet Comitatu tres Milites vel Armigeros, quos inter caeteros ejusdem Comitatus ipsi opinantur melioris esse Depositionis et Famae, et ad officium Vicecomitis Comitatus illius melius dispositos; ex quibus Rex unum tantum eligit.⁴⁷

It would be beside the point to inquire whether the sheriffs so selected invariably used their power to the common advantage of all. Our present interest is not in the history of the sheriff's office—which would be a fascinating study—but only in its high esteem during the Middle Ages.

Chaucer says, finally, of his Franklin that nowhere was there "such a worthy vavasour." In regard to this I have met with no comment so good as that of the learned John Selden, from

⁴⁵ *Worthies of England*, ed. Nuttall, 1840, I, 61.

⁴⁶ Ed. G. E. Woodbine, 1922, or T. Twiss, 1878 (Rolls Scr. 70).

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 231. Cap. 24.

whose observations it will be useful to quote the most pertinent sections. "The use and continuance of the name of vavasor was such, that from the Normans, until the time of Henry IV, it was a name known; but feudal only, not at all honorary."⁴⁸

"And the author of *Fleta* (lib. i, cap. 5, § 4): sub regibus sunt comites & barones, duces, milites, magnates, vavasoires, & alii subditi ut liberi & servi, qui omnes aetatem xii annorum ad minus habentes ferre tenentur regi fidelitatis sacramentum."⁴⁹

"Now for the nature of a vavasour; though we perhaps may soon miss in giving an exact definition of him, yet it is plain that he was ever beneath a baron. And it seems he was in the more antient times only a tenant by knight's service, that either held of a mesne lord, and not immediately of the king, or at least of the king as of an honour or mannor, and not in chief, both of which excluded him from the dignity of a baron by tenure."⁵⁰

Very justly Selden says of Chaucer's calling the Franklin a vavasour: "It is likely that he gave him this title, as the best, and above what he had before commended him for. Neither would he have put it as an addition of worth to a *sheriff* and a *countour*, unless it had been of special note and honour."⁵¹

John Selden's wisdom is shown not least of all in his conclusion that "we perhaps may soon miss in giving an exact definition" of a vavasour. Modern historians have been equally at a loss to define the term with precision. F. W. Maitland said of it: "Whatever else we may think of these vavassores, they are not barons and probably they are not immediate tenants of the king."⁵² In Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* there occurs this further unsatisfactory statement: "Neither the theory that the *vavassor* must needs be a vassal's vassal, nor the derivation of his name from *vassi vassorum* can be regarded as certain. In England the word is rare."⁵³

Comparatively rare, no doubt, it is; yet it was recognized, and was perhaps no more indefinite in meaning on English than on French soil, where the term appears to have been used

⁴⁸ *Titles of Honour, Works*, 1726, III, 660.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, III, 661. See *Fleta, seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani*, 1685, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, III, 1027 (Note no. 248, to fol. 661).

⁵² *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 1897, p. 87.

⁵³ 2nd ed. 1899, I, 546, note 1.

with considerable latitude. Henry de Bracton, who has been cited above in reference to sheriffs, was certainly not in doubt as to the position of vavasours in the thirteenth century, although his description of them leaves something still to be desired.

Item in temporalibus imperatores, reges, et principes in his quae pertinent ad regnum, et sub eis duces, comites et barones, magnates sive vavasores, et milites, et etiam liberi et villani, et diversae potestates sub rege constitutae. . . . Sunt et alii potentes sub rege, qui barones dicuntur, hoc est robur belli. Sunt etiam alii qui dicuntur vavasores, viri magnae dignitatis. Vavasor enim nihil melius dici poterit quam vas sortitum ad valetudinem. Sunt etiam sub rege milites, scilicet ad militiam exercendam electi, et cum rege et supradictis militent.⁴⁴

It is interesting to notice that Bracton mentions vavasours after barons but before knights, and implies a distinction of kind, as if barons and vavasors represented social grades, while knights were functionaries in the business of war. There is no doubt, it seems to me, that the vavasour, like the baron, was thought of in connection with his feudal tenure of land rather than in his military capacity, although he owed service to his lord as much as any knight. He was a smaller man than a baron, but a man of the same sort. This is substantiated by another remark of Bracton's, when he is discussing rights of dower: "Sed quod dicitur de baronia non est observandum in vavasoria vel aliis minoribus foedis quam baronia, quia caput non habent sicut baronia."⁴⁵ Knighthood was in another category. To Bracton, apparently, the two estates were not commensurable; and if so to him in the thirteenth century, it would be idle for us in the twentieth to attempt to establish the precise social value of each. What is pertinent to our present inquiry is this: on Bracton's evidence, the vavasour was a landholder of considerable importance. Bracton says nothing about the nature of his tenure, which perhaps means that the distinction between tenants-in-chief and sub-tenants appeared less sharp to the mediaeval lawyer than to the modern historian. At all events, the vavasour was a magnate, and a person of dignity.

⁴⁴ *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. Woodbine, p. 32, Twiss, I, 36-8.

⁴⁵ Woodbine, p. 269, Twiss, II, 60.

This is borne out by the use of the term by other writers than Chaucer. Pierre de Langtoft, who died about 1307, employed it three times in his *Chronicle*. In the first instance, which has already been quoted to illustrate the use of "sergeant," he was describing a body of troops, among whom he mentioned:

Barouns e vavasours de gentil lynage
 Chuvalers et serjauns of lur cosinage,
 Gens à pé sanz noumbre de more et boscage.⁵⁶

In the second case, a military force was again in question. King Edward sent to relieve Dunbar:

Le counte de Garenne, of tut son poer,
 Le counte de Warwyk, et Hüge le Despenser;
 Barouns et vavassours, chuvaler, esquyer,
 Surays et Norays, i alaynt de bon quer.⁵⁷

The third quotation is self-explanatory:

A cele mesavenue estaient tuez
 Vavassours curtoys de gentil parentez.⁵⁸

It is evident that Pierre de Langtoft regarded vavasours as gentlefolk, and as only a little lower than barons.

Only a few decades later, Robert Mannyng of Brunne used the word in describing King Arthur's allocation of lands after his conquests on the Continent:

He gaf also sire Beduer,
 þat was of fe his boteler,
 He gaf hym in fe all Normandie,
 But þenne hit was cald Neustrie,
 Boloyn he gaf to sire Holdyn,
 And Mayne to Borel his cosyn;
 He gaf giftes of honurs,
 & landes & rentes, to vauasours.⁵⁹

In this passage the term is comparatively colorless, but it in no way contradicts the usage of Langtoft.

A line from the English *Sir Ferumbras*, which was written in Chaucer's time, appears at first sight to offer a contradiction. It runs:

⁵⁶ See note 38.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 240.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, 298.

⁵⁹ *The Story of England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1887 (Rolls Ser. 87), p. 384.

Litel prowess for me it were wiþ a vavasour for to melle.⁶⁰

The implication that a vavasour was a person of low estate is, however, seen to be false when the context is considered. Ferumbras is talking foolishly at the moment to none other than the great Oliver. A braggart, he would have it understood that dukes and earls are the only proper antagonists for so great a warrior. There is nothing here to upset the notion elsewhere obtained that a vavasour was a person of social distinction.

It is perhaps worth while, in concluding our study of the word, to quote the opinion of Camden, who gives an account of the social orders in England as a part of the introduction to his *Britain*. He is more fantastic than John Selden, but he deserves attention.

Vavadores, sive *Valvasores*, proximum post Barones locum olim tenuerunt, quos à Valvis Iuridici deducunt. Franci, cum in Italia rerum potirentur, *Valvasores* illos dixerunt, qui à Duce, Marchione, Comite, aut Capitaneo plebem, plebisve partem acceperant. Rara haec fuit apud nos dignitas, & siqua fuit, jam paulatim desiit. Nobiles minores sunt Equites aurati, Armigeri, qui vulgo Generosi, et Gentlemen dicuntur.⁶¹

Later he remarks:

Generosi vel promiscue nobiles sunt, qui natalibus clari, aut quos virtus aut fortuna e faece hominum extulit.⁶²

It must have struck the reader, ere this, that "vavasour" in mediaeval English usage is scarcely to be distinguished from "franklin." Indeed, I see no reason for attempting to do so. Chaucer's Franklin was a vavasour, and doubtless all franklins were vavasours. The two words, both of which indicate a general social condition, and were in no sense titles, appear to be interchangeable. The rarity of their appearance in documents is due, I feel sure, to the fact that they were not very explicit. There is no doubt in the world, however, that a man who could properly be described by them held a very honorable status in the realm. Chaucer's Franklin was a member of that class of landed gentry which was already old in the fourteenth century

⁶⁰ Ed. S. J. Herrtage, 1879 (E.E.T.S. XXXIV), p. 16.

⁶¹ William Camden, *Britannia*, 1617, p. 86.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

and which has never felt the lack of any higher title than gentleman, though from it have come, first and last, most of the men who have made England great.

The cloud on the life of the white-bearded, ruddy gentleman whom Chaucer drew so vividly was not that he was baulked of founding a family, but that an honorable line seemed liable to extinction in the person of his ne'er-do-well son. If he spoke of "gentillesse"—and he uttered the word but once, outside his tale—it was simply because he was at the moment so much impressed by the contrast between the Knight's son and his own. The point of Harry Bailey's interruption seems to me to be that he was impatient and fearful of an old gentleman's garrulity. It is unfortunate that we have not his comment when the story was ended, for he might then have been less rude. Truly seen, the Franklin is as appealing a figure as any other among the pilgrims. The Host was clearly in the wrong when he mistook the cry of distress wrung from the heart of a proud old man for the beginning of a senile flood of words. That the Franklin was both proud and sure of himself is shown by his good-natured acquiescence at Harry Bailey's interruption. He went forward straightway with his tale, which turned on "gentillesse," to be sure, but on "gentillesse" in its highest phase. When all is said, where in literature can be found a better brief sketch of a true gentleman than Chaucer has made in his picture of the Franklin?⁶³

GORDON HALL GEROULD

⁶³ To Professor H. L. Gray of Bryn Mawr College I am indebted for a reference to franklins in Edmund Dudley's *The Tree of Commonwealth* (ed. 1859), which was written in 1509-10. The commons are said (p. 19) to include "merchantes, craftesmen and artificers, laborers, franklins, grasiers, farmers, tyllers, and other generallie the people of this realme." This seems to imply that by the sixteenth century the term franklin had fallen in esteem, especially as Dudley lists (p. 20) "substanciall merchantes, the welthie grasiers and farmers" as "chief of theis folkes." On the other hand, we find in *The Interlude of Wealth and Health*, ll. 512-3 (Malone Soc. Reprints, 1907) the following:

Merchauntes hath marchaundise and goods incomperable

Men of law and franklins is welthy which is laudable.

This interlude was written about 1557. It is interesting to notice that franklins are still classed with men of law and still accounted rich. Similarly, in the morality *All for Money* by Thomas Lupton, 1578, D iii (Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1910) Nichol-never-out-of-the-Law comes on the stage "like a riche frankeline." I owe the last two references to Mr. W. Willard Thorp of Princeton University.

XV.
THE SOURCES OF DRAYTON'S
BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

HOLINSHED has heretofore been considered the primary source of Drayton's *Battle of Agincourt*. "Its faithfulness to Holinshed," declares Mr. H. H. Child in his article on Drayton, "brings it frequently into touch with Shakespeare's *King Henry Fifth*."¹ Similar is the statement made by Garnett in his edition of the poem:

When his historical authority inspires, Drayton is inspired accordingly; when it is dignified, so is he; with it he soars and sings, with it he also sinks and creeps. Happily the subject is usually picturesque, and old Holinshed at his worst was no contemptible writer.²

Later in his introduction, however, Garnett recognizes certain differences between the two accounts:

On a more exact comparison of Drayton with Holinshed, we find him omitting some circumstances which he might have been expected to have retained, and adding others with good judgment, and, in general, with good effect.³

In this paper it is my purpose to show that some few of these circumstances which were added "with good effect" were derived directly from Speed; and further that it is not certain, though it is probable, that Drayton made direct use of Holinshed, since virtually all those definite details which Drayton apparently owed to Holinshed might have been derived from either Hall and Stow, or Hall and Speed.

Inasmuch as the several chroniclers pillaged from one another with an unsparing hand it is impossible, in many cases, to determine which was the particular source used by Drayton. Indeed, an antiquarian like Drayton probably would read and compare the accounts of the siege of Harfleur and the battle of Agincourt given by the important chroniclers such as Hall,

¹ The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. IV, p. 221.

² The "Battle of Agincourt," ed. Richard Garnett, Intro. p. xv.

³ Id. Intro. p. xvii.

Holinshed, Stow, and Speed. That Drayton in the quest of historical data, however, read the common originals of most of the chroniclers, Titus Livius and Monstrelet, or that he, as did Holinshed and Stow, consulted the lives of Henry the Fifth by the Pseudo-Elmham or by the author known as the Translator of Livius, seems unlikely, for these works do not appear to contain any of the incidents or details in Drayton's poem, which Drayton could not equally well have obtained from either Holinshed and Speed, or Hall and Speed.

These ultimate sources and, to a less extent, the chronicles include many details relating to Harfleur and Agincourt which do not appear in the poem; and the poem, on the other hand, contains many descriptions and incidents which are obviously of Drayton's own invention. His aim seems to have been to write a detailed but spirited narrative, beginning with the embarking of the army from England, and including the siege of Harfleur, and the battle of Agincourt. Since Drayton was planning a poem in the epic manner, it seemed to him essential and appropriate to introduce the extended description of the preparations of the host, the catalogue of ships, the list of the musters and blazons of the various shires of England, the description of the departure of the fleet, of the siege of Harfleur, and of the battle of Agincourt together with the various combats between the English and French peers on this famous field. These extended descriptions, which may have been suggested to Drayton by similar passages in such epics as the *Orlando Furioso* and the *Jerusalem Delivered*,⁴ were obviously, for the most part, elaborated from his own imagination, as were also the various speeches in the poem. In addition, he seems to have invented specific details, such as:

Long boats with scouts are put to land before,
Upon light nags the country to descry,⁵

⁴ For a list of a host with its various ensigns, see *Orlando Furioso* X, 77 ff.; XIV, 10 ff.; and *Jerusalem Delivered* I, 37 ff. The device of sending an angel down from heaven to guide the English, which appears to be a unique feature of Drayton's poem, is likewise employed in the romantic epics of Ariosto and Tasso. See *Orlando Furioso* XIV, 75 ff.; *Jerusalem Delivered* I, 11 ff.; IX, 58 ff.

⁵ Speed may have suggested these lines, IX, 15, p. 629: "And thence sent his spiall to the town of Harflew."

and later on at the siege of Harfleur:

Four thousand horse that ev'ry day go out,
And of the field are masters many a mile.

Drayton likewise departs from the account in the chronicles in a few minor respects. For instance, after the entry into Harfleur, he says that the English immediately

The strongest forts and citadel make sure,

whereas virtually all the chroniclers inform us that the two strongest forts on the haven-side did not yield for ten days. Again, he departs from his sources near the end of the poem. According to the chronicles Henry, after the slaughter of the prisoners, met and defeated the French rearguard under the Earl of Marle and Fawconbridge. Drayton, entirely omitting the defeat of the rearguard, introduces Du Marle fighting amid the engagements of the main battle.

Not only does Drayton depart from the chronicles in some particulars, but he is also inaccurate in a few passages where he seems obviously to be following them. For instance, in a note at the beginning of the poem, he gives the date of the parliament called at Leicester as 1413, whereas all accounts agree that it was in 1414. Again, Drayton tells us that, previous to the battle of Agincourt, three hundred archers were hidden behind a hedge, but all the chroniclers who note the fact give the number as two hundred.⁶ Likewise, near the end of the poem, it is stated that five hundred peasants plundered the English camp, whereas according to the chroniclers the number was six hundred.⁷ Such slight inaccuracies would have been natural to one who was relying either upon his memory or upon notes hastily taken.

Some lines in the *Battaile of Agincourt* seem to have been suggested by Shakspere's *Henry V*, which Drayton probably had both read and seen on the stage. Garnett has called attention to the strong resemblance between the prayer of Henry before the battle, that he be not held accountable for the sins

⁶ Cf. Holinshed, ed. 1808, vol. III, p. 79; Hall, ed. 1809, p. 66; Speed, ed. 1614, Bk. IX, Chap. 15, p. 632.

⁷ Cf. Holinshed, p. 81; Hall, p. 69; Speed, p. 633.

of his father, and the corresponding passage in Shakspeare's play.⁸ It is possible also that the line

Each with some green thing doth his murrain crown,

may have been suggested by the wearing of a leek in *Henry V*; and the hovering of the ravens over the armies before the battle may have been prompted by a similar incident in Shakspeare's drama.⁹

Excluding the aforementioned exceptions, a careful comparison of Drayton's poem with all the possible sources which he might have used, forces the reader to conclude that one primary source was either Holinshed or Hall. It is impossible to determine whether he used one only or both, as Holinshed's source for virtually all the material used by Drayton was Hall. There are, however, a few details which give one the impression that Drayton used Hall at first hand. First, Drayton's portrayal of the character of the designing Chichley, together with the main details of Chichley's speech, seem to be closer to Hall than to Holinshed.¹⁰ Again, the tale of the tennis balls and the story of Henry's going barefooted to the Church of St. Martins, immediately after the entry into Harfleur, both of which are recounted by Drayton, do not appear in Holinshed but are in Hall. Third, the speech of the Constable of France, just before the battle of Agincourt, may have been suggested to Drayton by the Constable's oration, delivered upon the same occasion in Hall. That Drayton had read Hall's chronicle thirty years before is certain, for he refers to Hall twice in the "Annotations of the Chronicle History" which succeeded each heroical epistle.¹¹ But these few variations from Holinshed are not sufficient to prove that one of Drayton's sources was Hall.

⁸ Act IV, I, 308 ff.

⁹ Act IV, 2, 51-2.

¹⁰ Drayton's material, however, may have been derived from Speed, as his account is almost as detailed as that of Hall.

¹¹ See Drayton's notes following the epistles of "William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, to Queen Margaret" and "Mary the French Queen to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk." Dr. Wilhelm Claassen, in his dissertation, *Englands Heroical Epistles, Eine Quellenstudie*, thus summarizes his conclusions regarding Drayton's use of Holinshed, Hall, and Stow: "Mit Vorliebe hat Drayton für seine historischen Bemerkungen die Chronik Stows benutzt, . . . Nicht minder stark ist Hall von ihm verwendet worden, . . . Nicht ganz so häufig kommt Holinshed in Betracht."

One would expect that the poet's instinct would prompt him to put a speech in the mouth of the Constable of France to contrast it with the one delivered by the King of England. The character of Chichley and the two stories were probably familiar to Drayton through tradition. Besides, both of these stories appear in Stow¹² and Speed.¹³

The poem also contains a few details which are in Holinshed but not in Hall. These are: Henry's proclamation at Harfleur regarding the maimed and the religious, the giving of five days respite to the besieged, and the saving of Gloucester by King Henry at the battle of Agincourt. The first and third of these, however, are found in Stow,¹⁴ and all of them are noted by Speed.¹⁵

That Drayton selected material from the comparatively short narrative of Stow is possible, but there are an immense number of definite details derived either from Hall or Holinshed which are not in Stow and, with one possible exception, all those items which Drayton might have derived from Stow,¹⁶ as they are not in Holinshed and Hall, are found in Speed. Numerous details, in fact, are common to both Drayton and Speed which are found in no other important chronicler. It seems quite certain, therefore, that Speed was the other prime source of Drayton's poem.

The first indication we have that Drayton drew material from Speed appears in stanza fifty-five. Drayton's lines are:

Nine ships for the nobility there went,
Of able men, the enterprise to aid,
Which to the king most liberally they lent,
At their own charge, and bountifully paid.

¹² The *Annales*, ed. 1615, pp. 345, 348.

¹³ The *History of Great Britaine*, ed. 1614, pp. 628, 631.

¹⁴ The *Annales*, pp. 347, 350.

¹⁵ The *History of Great Britaine*, pp. 629, 630, 633.

¹⁶ These particular facts are noted in the comparison of Drayton with Speed. The one possible exception,—of slight account—is this: Stow is the only chronicler who says (p. 349) that "the King of England very early set forth his hoste in array." Drayton says that Henry arose

An hour before that it was fully light,
To see if there might any place be found
To give his host advantage by the ground.

Northumberland and Westmoreland in sent
 Fourscore at arms apiece, themselves and laid
 At sixscore archers each, as Suffolk shows
 Twenty tall men at arms, with forty bows.

Warwick and Stafford levied at no less
 Than noble Suffolk, nor do offer more
 Of men at arms, and archers which they press,
 Of their own tenants, arm'd with their own store:
 Their forwardness foreshows their good success
 In such a war as had not been before:
 And other barons, other earls that were,
 Yet dar'd with them an equal charge to bear.

Darcy and Camois, zealous for the king;
 Lovell, Fitzwater, Willoughby, and Ross,
 Berckley, Powis, Burrell, fast together cling;
 Seymour and St. John, for the bus'ness close,
 Each twenty horse and forty foot do bring
 More, to nine hundred mounting in the gross,
 In those nine ships, and fitly them bestow'd,
 Which with the other fall into the road.

The original passage in Speed is as follows:¹⁷

The temporall Lords their aides to the King, as followeth: The Earles Northumberland, Westmerland, 40 men at Armes & 120 Archers a peece. The Earles Warwicke, Stafford, 20 men at Armes and 40 Archers a peece. The Earle of Suffolke, a shippe, 20 men at Armes and 40 Archers. The Earle of Abergaveny 20 men at Armes, and 20 Archers. The Lords Lovell, Barkley, Powis, Camois, S. John, Burrell, —a shippe, 20 men at Armes and 40 Archers a peece. The Lords Fitzwater, Darcie, Seymour, Rosse, Willoughbie, —Halfe a shippe, 20 men at Armes and 40 Archers a peece. The lord Morley 6 men at Armes and 12 Archers. The whole number thus granted and appointed amounted to—of Men at Armes 346, Archers 552, Ships $9\frac{1}{2}$.

One notes that Drayton, besides leaving out Abergaveny and Morley, varies from Speed in one detail only,—he doubles the number of men at arms of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Otherwise, the two accounts agree in every important particular.

The next indication of possible borrowing from Speed appears in stanza eighty-six:

¹⁷ p. 628.

To the high'st earth whilst awful Henry gets,
From whence strong Harfleur he might easily see.

Speed says: "He took the hill neere adjoyning."¹⁸ Again, in stanza ninety, Drayton may have received the suggestion for the line

From his pavilion where he sat in state

from the phrase "who sate in his Pavilion under a cloth of estate" in Speed.¹⁹

Drayton's account of the king's challenge to the dauphin and the fact that Henry, while waiting for an answer, stayed at Harfleur eight days also appears to be taken from Speed, as these facts appear in no other chronicle of importance.²⁰ Drayton's lines are:

And sends his herald to king Charles to say,
That though he was thus settled on his shore,
Yet he his arms was ready down to lay,
His ancient right if so he would restore:
But if the same he wilfully denay,
To stop th' effusion of their subjects' gore,
He frankly off'reth in a single fight
With the young dauphin, to decide his right.

Eight days at Harfleur he doth stay, to hear
What answer back his herald him would bring:
But when he found that he was ne'er the near,
And that the dauphin meaneth no such thing
As to fight single, nor that any were
To deal for composition from the king;
He casts for Calais to make forth his way,

The passage in Speed is as follows:

Moreover, he sent the said Monsieur de Gracourt, and with him Gwyen King at Armes unto the Dolphin to let him know that he would stay eight dayes in Harflew, to expect his comming, where

¹⁸ P. 629.

¹⁹ P. 628.

²⁰ It does not appear that Drayton read Speed very carefully, for on the next page Speed contradicts himself thus: "Here King Henry abode the space of twelve or fiftene dayes, expecting an answere of his message sent to the Dolphin."

they might treat of an accord, . . . and if they could not accord, for the sparing of Christian blood, he was pleased to decide the quarrell by single combat between them two.²¹

Furthermore, two details in Alanson's speech, the fact that the army numbered

Scarce thirty thousand when to land they came,
and the statement that the soldiers were forced

. . . on the berries of the shrubs to feed

may have been derived from Speed.²² Certain similarities between Drayton and Speed likewise appear in stanza one hundred and thirty-two in the speech of the Duke of Berry. The stanza reads:

That day at Poitiers, in that bloody field,
The sudden turn in that great battle then
Shall ever teach me, whilst I arms can wield,
Never to trust to multitudes of men;
'Twas the first day that e'er I wore a shield,
Oh, let me never see the like agen!
Where their Black Edward such a battle won,
As to behold it might amaze the Sun.

The following passage occurs in Speed:

Whereat the Duke of Bery was highly offended, and advised the contrarie, laying before the king the hazard of warre, out of his own experience, being himself at the battell of Poytiers, where King John unfortunately was taken by the English, which proved (as he alleged) a great break-neck to France.²³

The following description by Drayton of the French line of battle appears to be based directly upon Speed:

The constable and admiral of France,
With the grand marshal, men of great command;
The dukes of Bourbon and of Orleance,
Some for their place, some for their birth-right stand;

²¹ P. 630.

²² Pp. 629, 631. In Stow the number of fighting men is twenty-nine thousand. See *Annales*, p. 347.

²³ P. 631. In Speed, the speech of the Duke of Berry is a reply to the princes who insist that the King and Dauphin be invited to come and watch the battle. In Drayton, the speech is delivered at the council at Rouen.

The dauphin of Averney (to advance
 His worth and honour) of a puissant hand;
 The earl of Ewe, in war that had been bred;
 These mighty men the mighty vaward led.

The main brought forward by the duke of Barr,
 Nevers, and Beaumont, men of special name;
 Alanzon, thought not equall'd in this war:
 With them Salines, Rous, and Grandpre came,
 Their long experience who had fetch'd from far
 Whom this expected conquest doth inflame,
 Consisting most of cross-bows, and so great,
 As France herself it well might seem to threat.

The duke of Brabant of high valour known,
 The earls of Marle and Falconbridge the rear;
 To Arthur earl of Richmond's self alone
 They leave the right wing to be guided there:
 Lewes of Bourbon, second yet to none,
 Led on the left; with him that mighty peer
 The earl of Vendome, who of all her men
 Large France entitled her great master then.

With this may be compared the account by Speed:

The Vantguard was led by the Constable, the Dukes of Orleance and Bourbon, the Earle of Eu and Bouciqualt the Marshall, Dampier the Admirall, Guychard Dolphin de Auvergne, and Cluuet of Brabant. The maine battell by the Duke of Barre, the Earles of Alenzon, Nevers, Blaumont, Salines, Grandpre, and Rousse. And the rereguard by the Duke of Brabant, Earles of Marle, Furquenberge, and Monsieur de Lornay; the right wing was commanded by Arthur Earle of Richmond, and the left by Lewis de Bourbon, Count de Vendosme great Master of France, . . . (p. 631).

Holinsheds account²⁴ differs somewhat in arrangement and is much more detailed. Apparently Drayton chose the shorter account as being much simpler to render into verse.

Shortly after the passage just quoted, Drayton gives the following description of Henry:

In warlike state the royal standard borne
 Before him, as in splend'rous arms he rode,
 Whilst his curveting courser seem'd in scorn

²⁴ Holinshed, ed. 1808, III, 78-79. This is taken over directly from Hall.

To touch the earth whereon he proudly trod,
Lilies and lions quarterly adorn
His shield, and his caparison do load:
Upon his helm a crown with diamonds deckt,
Which through the field their radiant fires reflect.

This likewise appears to be drawn from the corresponding passage in Speed:

In the maine Battell all in compleate and bright shining armour, the King rode himselfe, his shield quartered with the royall atchievements of England and France, upon his helmet he ware a Coronet, the circle whereof glittered with pearle and stones of an unestimable price: his horse of a fierce courage carreird as he went, the bridle and furniture of Goldsmithes worke, and the Caparisons most richly embroidered with the victorious Ensignes of the English Monarchy: Before him in gold and glorious coulours the Royall Standard was borne, . . .²⁵

Drayton describes the actions of the English army previous to the battle in the following terms:

The dreadful charge the drums and trumpets sound,
With hearts exalted, though with humbled eyes,
When as the English kneeling on the ground,
Extend their hands up to the glorious skies;
Then from the earth as though they did rebound,
Active as fire immediately they rise,
And such a shrill shout from their throats they sent,
As made the French to stagger as they went.

Wherewith they stopt; when Erpingham, which led
The army, saw the shout had made them stand,
Wafting his warder thrice about his head,
He cast it up with his auspicious hand,
Which was the signal through the English spread,
That they should charge; which, as a dread command,
Made them rush on, yet with a second roar,
Frighting the French worse than they did before.

For this incident the source again appears to be supplied by Speed:

²⁵ P. 632. This description, excepting the fact that the royal standard is not mentioned, is very similar to the one in Stow. Stow's source is the Pseudo-Elmham. See the *Annales*, p. 349.

When he had thus said, his army fell prostrate on the ground,²⁶ and committed themselves unto God, The ranging of the Battell King Henry committed to an old experienced Knight called Sir Thomas Erpingham: who with a warder in his hand led the way, which when he saw time he threw up into the aire, whereat the whole army gave a great shout;²⁷ The French beholding this Offer, kept still their owne standing, which the English perceiving, made forward and came on giving another shoute, (p. 632).

Again, in Drayton's description of the first part of the battle, the material for the following stanza appears to be taken directly from Speed:

When soon De Linnies and Sureres haste
To aid their friends, put to this shameful foil,
With two light wings of horse, which had been plac'd
Still to supply where any should recoil:
But yet their forces they but vainly waste,
For being light into the general spoil,
Great loss De Linnies shortly doth sustain,
Yet 'scapes himself, but brave Sureres slain.

Speed's account of this incident, which is noted by no other important chronicler, is as follows:

Their wings likewise assayd to charge the English; but Monsieur de Lignie in the one not well seconded by his troopes was forced back: and Guilliaum de Sureres charging home, in the other, was slaine (p. 632).

Again, the description of the Duke of Brabant's reckless sacrifice of his life, to which Drayton devotes almost five stanzas, was probably suggested by the statement of Speed:

The English still following the advantage: against whome Anthoine Duke of Brabant, hoping by his example to encourage others (followed with a few) turned head, and brake into the English Battell, wherein manfully fighting he was slaine (p. 632).

It is likewise to Speed that we must turn for the source of Drayton's account of the fight between Alanson and King Henry:

²⁶ This incident is also noted by Stow, p. 349.

²⁷ This incident is noted by both Holinshed and Hall. The second shout, however, is noted by Speed only. Cf. Holinshed III, 80; Hall, p. 68.

Upon the king Alanson pressed so sore,
 That with a stroke (as he was wond'rous strong)
 He cleft the crown that on his helm he wore,
 And tore his plume, that to his heels it hung;
 Then with a second bruis'd his helm before,
 That it his forehead pitifully wrung;
 As some that saw it certainly had thought,
 The king therewith had to the ground been brought.

But Henry soon, Alanson's ire to quit,
 (As now his valour lay upon the rack)
 Upon the face the duke so strongly hit,
 As in his saddle laid him on his back;
 And once perceiving that he had him split,
 Follow'd his blows, redoubling thwack on thwack,
 Till he had lost his stirrups, and his head
 Hung where his horse was like thereon to tread.

When soon two other seconding their lord,
 His kind companions in this glorious prize,
 Hoping again the duke to have restor'd,
 If to his feet his arms would let him rise;
 On the king's helm their height of fury scor'd,
 Who like a dragon fiercely on them flies,
 And on his body slew them both, whilst he
 Recovering was their aid again to be.

The king thus make the master of the fight,
 The duke calls to him as he there doth lie:
 "Henry, I'll pay my ransom, do me right,
 I am the duke Alanson, it is I."
 The king to save him putting all his might,
 Yet the rude soldiers, with their shout and cry,
 Quite drown'd his voice, his helmet being shut,
 And that brave duke into small pieces cut.

Holinshed's brief statement runs thus:

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valient knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanson, yet with plaine strength he slew two of the Duke's companie, and felled the duke himselfe, whom when he would have yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand (ed. 1808, III. 81).

Speed gives the following more detailed account:

Alenzon then coped with King Henry in fight, and with his Axe cut a part of his Crowne, which blow was so surelie laid on, that therewith his helmet was battered into his brow, but the Lyon enraged, with redoubled strength stroke the French gallant unto the ground, and slew two of his men that seconded their Master. The Duke thus down, cried to the King, I am Alenzon, whom Henry fought to have saved, and so had done had not the deafe eares of revenge stopt all sound of life, against him, that so had endangered their Sovereign Lord (pp. 632-3).

Finally, one may compare Drayton's account of the circumstances which influenced Henry to order the slaughter of the prisoners:

For that his soldiers tired in the fight,
 Their prisoners more in number than they were,
 He thought it for a thing of too much weight
 T' oppose fresh forces, and to guard them there.
 The dauphin's pow'rs yet standing in their sight,
 And Bourbon's forces of the field not clear;
 Those yearning cries that from the carriage came,
 His blood yet hot, more highly doth inflame:

And in his rage he instantly commands
 That every English should his pris'ner kill,
 Except some few in some great captain's hands,
 Whose ransoms might his empty coffers fill.

Though Holinshed's account of this affair agrees in the main,²⁸ it lacks several of the parallels to Drayton in details which appear in the following passage in Speed:

But King Henry breathlesse, and in heat of blood, seeing certain new troopes of the King of Sicils appeare in the field, and the same strong enough to encounter with his weary men, fearing (as he had cause) that the Bourbon Battalion upon sight of fresh succours would gather in a body, and againe make head, considering withall how his men were overcharged with multitudes of Prisoners, who in number surmounted

²⁸ Vol. III, p. 81. Holinshed's account of Henry's reasons for slaughtering the prisoners is as follows:

He doubting least his enimies should gather together againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enimies, or the very enimies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to live, contrarie to his accustomed gentleness, commanded by sound of trumpet, that every man (upon paine of death) should incontinentlie slaie his prisoner.

their Conquerors, . . . these and other necessities constraining, King Henry, contrary to his wonted generous nature, gave present commandement that every man should kill his Prisoner, which was immediately performed, certaine princepall men excepted (p. 635).

The comparison of the foregoing passages leads to the conclusion that Drayton must have read and assimilated the historical information regarding the Battle of Agincourt which is furnished in at least two of the more important chronicles of his time. Speed was evidently one of Drayton's principal sources. The other main source was either Holinshed or Hall. As one might expect, Drayton selected and arranged his material, historical and imaginative, to suit his poetic purpose.

RAYMOND JENKINS

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XVI.

A PROBABLE SOURCE OF BEAUMONT
AND FLETCHER'S *PHILASTER*

THOUGH it is recognized that Beaumont and Fletcher generally followed Jonson's example in inventing their own plots, studies of their plays have led to direct sources elsewhere—largely in Spanish romances. Their plays, instead of attempting to picture real life, are provided with distant settings and filled with improbable situations, unnatural characters, and a sentimental atmosphere, so that it was an easy matter to draw material for them from the romantic tales of such writers as Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Gonzalo de Cespedes, and Mateo Aleman.¹

Accordingly, it is no great surprise to find that *Philaster* exhibits indebtedness to a continuation of the most popular of Spanish pastoral romances, the *Diana* of Montemayor. That Beaumont and Fletcher were acquainted with the Spanish language "beyond all doubt"² does not make it more likely that they knew the English *Diana*, since Bartholomew Yong's translation, completed in 1583, was unpublished till 1598; but that they almost habitually depended upon Spanish sources, convinces one of their peculiar interest in the literature of the peninsula.

In the search for the source of *Philaster* three authors have been proposed: Sidney, Shakespeare, and Montemayor. With the exception of the *Cymbeline-Philaster* relations—to be considered later—and the suggestion of *Hamlet* in the irresolution of *Philaster* at the beginning of the play, source study has centered about the girl-page Bellario. She has been traced to the Zelmane of Sidney, the Viola or Julia of Shakespeare, and

¹ See A. W. Ward, *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Lit.*, 1875; E. Koeppl, *Quellenstudien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, J. Marston's und Beaumont und Fletcher's*, (Münchener Beiträge VI), 1895; A. H. Thorndike, *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, 1901.

² Ward, II, p. 753.

the Felismena³ of Montemayor.⁴ Beyond these observations *Philaster* is supposed to have been "the contrivance of the authors themselves."⁵

It is evident, however, from facts to appear that the Englishmen borrowed copiously from a story occurring, not in Montemayor's *Diana*, but in its continuation by Alonso Perez. Bandello's "thrilling incidents and scenes of high-wrought passion," Symonds observes, "we are wont to deem the especial property of Fletcher." It may be important, then, that the story of Perez is distinctly of the novella type—in the entire work it is the only one approaching indecency—and naturally may have impressed the English playwrights, particularly Fletcher.⁶ How conspicuously it is removed from the pastoral background is apparent from a reading and a survey of the cleverness with which ultimately it is resolved into the pastoral background, and thus linked with the main plot.

Beaumont and Fletcher's plots are strikingly similar. The rôle of sentimental love is always prominent and always contrasted with sensual love. Generally, five types are present: the love-lorn maiden, the evil woman, the noble but sentimental hero, the faithful friend, and the brutish boor; and *Philaster* is no exception. An examination of the following story from the *Diana* reveals, faintly yet unmistakably, all these types but one—the evil woman. Moreover, incidents and situations

³ By mistake called "Fellisarda" by Weber and Dyce, as noted by Daniel in *Variorum* edition of *Philaster*, and by Boas in the *Temple Dramatists* edition.

⁴ Though they probably knew Montemayor's story of Felismena, it is unlikely that the authors of *Philaster* had in mind Felismena as the model of Bellario. The two are entirely different creatures: Felismena, who almost incessantly probes her master for some token of affection; Bellario, who does not desire her devotion ever to be revealed to her lord. In exception to this statement, cf. following passage in *Philaster*, when after the eloquent speech of Bellario (II, iii, 52-64), Arethusa remarks, 65-66:

"Oh, you're a cunning boy, and taught to lie
For your master's credit."

and, in *Diana*, the reply of Celia to the flattery of Felismena: "Thou hast learned quickly of thy Master to sooth."

⁵ Daniel, pp. 119-120.

⁶ However, "with the exception of three scenes, two half scenes and a few insertions or revisions by Fletcher, *Philaster* is Beaumont's" (C. M. Gayley, *Beaumont, the Dramatist*, 1914, p. 346). For analysis of Fletcher's share in play see further pp. 346-348.

common to romance and play admit further evidence of derivation, though in *Philaster* the authors were frequently forced to invent.

The story in the *Diana*, Books VII and VIII, is recited first by Placindus, then by Martandrus, two subordinates in the action. Eventually the tale leads to the revelation of the parentage of two prominent youths in Perez' continuation, Delicius and Parthenius, an outcome which does not affect the completeness of the story as the source of *Philaster*; for like many of its fellows, the story serves to prolong the main pastoral tale.

Rotindus, King of Aeolia, favored the chief of one of the houses of his kingdom, namely, Sagastes; but "with perpetuall hatred procured to empouerish Disteus," the head of the other house of the kingdom. Disteus "who, though in possessions and reuenewes was not equal to the other [Sagastes]; yet in vertue, wherewith his minde was bountifully enriched, farre surpassed him." Moreover, Disteus, unlike Sagastes, was favored of the people, who loved him "secretly for his owne deserts" (pp. 330-331).

To a degree, this situation corresponds to that at the opening of *Philaster*. The King of Calabria enjoys both Sicily and his own kingdom. Philaster has been unlawfully deprived of his right to the kingdom of Sicily, and though allowed his freedom, is in intense disfavor with the King.⁷ Like Disteus, he is beloved of the people of both Sicily and Calabria. The Spanish prince, Pharamond, in the play corresponds to Sagastes. Through favor of the King he is on the point of marrying the princess and thus of becoming heir to both kingdoms, Sicily and Calabria (I,i).

Disteus "with vertuous and sincere love was not a little enamoured of Dardanea Sagastes sister, a yoong gentlewoman passing faire and rich, she being also adorned with all those gifts of nature, and minde, which onely enstall that noble sexe in immortal praises. . . . Her loue likewise to him was chaste and pure, being onely grounded vpon Disteus his noble vertues, and singular goodness, that was then the common subiect of

⁷ The very obvious similarity of the situation, as it is conceived by the deposed heir Philaster, to that at the opening of Sh's. *Hamlet*, is unrelated to the equally obvious similarity in circumstance to the *Diana*.

euery mouth;" etc. Dardanea has loved him long, but in view of the enmity between the two houses, has kept to herself the secret of her affection. Despairing of a union with the head of the rival house, she has even married another, an act to which Arethusa in the play has about committed herself: she has consented to marry Pharamond. On the death of her husband, Dardanea would fain have married Disteus, yet "for honor" dared not divulge to him her passion (p. 331).

The same condition in *Philaster* prevented the marriage of Philaster to Arethusa. The King's displeasure with Philaster was apparently the only obstacle to his paying suit to Arethusa. Near the beginning of the play, his love for her appears from his speech both before he comes into her presence (I, i, 350-354), and when he is in her presence (especially I, ii, 74-75). Moreover, Arethusa conceals her love for Philaster until she is on the verge of an unwilling marriage with Pharamond. The interview of Philaster and Arethusa (I, ii) seals their fortunes. Knowing that their affection must, for his safety, remain a secret, they hit upon a scheme for conveying messages between themselves.

Sagastes, thinking to wound Disteus, entices from him his beloved "nurse" Palna, and places her in Dardanea's service. The old woman, however, leaves Disteus in the hope of re-awakening love in each, and of acting as a go-between. This motive she discloses indirectly to Disteus in her letter (p. 334); he, realizing his nurse's purpose, falls desperately in love with Dardanea anew, and confesses his love in writing to Palna (p. 336).

In the touching description of his meeting with Bellario (I, ii, 109-138), Philaster promises to send him to Arethusa as a go-between. The reason for secrecy on the part of the lovers and the "boy" servant, unsuspected by the lady's kin, is the same in play and romance; namely, hostility of the two families, that of the lady and that of her lover. Although the reason for maintaining secrecy is not peculiar to this story and to this play, yet the method of securing communication, as well as the sequence of events in each, bears unmistakable resemblance. As actors Palna and Bellario⁸ correspond; the

⁸ An indication of the independence of Beaumont and Fletcher is to be seen in the dramatic uniqueness of Bellario's disguise, which is unknown to the

discrepancy in individual portrayal is due to influence foreign to the *Diana*: to the exigencies of dramatic necessity.

It has been argued that Bellario is drawn from Julia of Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen* or directly from Felismena of Montemayor's romance. But as Daniel⁹ remarks, Bellario, unlike Julia and Felismena, "has never been beloved and doesn't even desire that her love should be known." This trait of disinterested devotion Bellario holds in common with three notable predecessors in the rôle of girl-page: Silla, in Riche's *Apollonius and Silla*,¹⁰ Viola in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and conspicuously Zelmane, daughter of Plexirtus, in Sidney's *Arcadia*. Apparently Beaumont and Fletcher's unique girl-page is a sort of composite of these three. In short, the authors of *Philaster* saw opportunity of utilizing a far more dramatic character than that of the aged nurse Palna in Montemayor's story. It seems, however, that they returned eventually to the Spanish tale.

In the romance Dardanea learns that Sagastes, her brother, "vsed not to stay at home in the nights, whereupon incited with desire and feare, she would faine know whither he went," etc. (p. 339). So in *Philaster*, Arethusa learns of the falseness of her intended husband Pharamond (II, iii). Though Pharamond has many traits which were probably original with Beaumont and Fletcher, in the main he corresponds to Sagastes in the romance. The mystery of Pharamond's dereliction results in the discovery of his shameful intrigue with Megra, an ill-reputed lady unconnected with the royal family. In the romance Segastes is a foil to Disteus. In this rôle Segastes corresponds unmistakably to Pharamond. Thus the necessity, here as elsewhere in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, of providing a foil to the hero found ready suggestion in the Spanish story. In breaking to the King the news of Pharamond's

audience until the end of the play. This point is noted by V. O. Freeburg, *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama*, 1915, p. 84.

⁹ Var. ed. of *Philaster*, p. 120.

¹⁰ Silla has stolen away secretly from her father's house. In order to leave her home, Bellario has professed a pilgrimage (cf. Portia in Sh's *M. of V.*). The pretext was possibly suggested by the *Diana*, where Marthea, the mistress of Sagastes, has given the same excuse to her parents in order to delay her marriage to him.

falseness Arethusa sought to clear herself of further obligation to this impending husband. There is no corresponding motive with respect to Dardanea and no dramatic development like that employed by Beaumont and Fletcher, though the potentialities in the tale are plainly visible.

In *Philaster* and in *Diana* there is the discovery of a shameful rendezvous; in one, of Pharamond and Megra; in the other, of Disteus and Dardanea. The situations are distinctly analogous; there is no correspondence and no logical connection in respect to these characters concerned; only the situations correspond. Similarly, in both play and romance after the discovery, the disgraced pairs, being united, abandon the scene of action: Pharamond and Megra go to Spain, Disteus and Dardanea to some distant place, where they become shepherd and shepherdess. It is convenient at this point to proceed, first, to the connection of Megra's slander of Bellario (II, iv, 150ff.), then to the disappearance of Arethusa, rather than to the immediate results of Dardanea's inquiries concerning her brother.

The suspicion aroused in Megra regarding the honesty of Bellario with her mistress Arethusa soon comes to the ears of Philaster (III, i). His reaction is violent and extreme. This motive may probably be traced to the Italian play *Gl'Ingannati*, where Flaminio learns that his mistress is in love with his messenger, the woman-page (end of Act II). His reaction is somewhat similar to that of Philaster; yet there his suspicion is well-founded. Flaminio declares: "I will take such revenge as all the land shall ring of." In the Italian play the feigned affection of the woman-page is a ruse to gain finally the love of her master.¹¹ On the other hand, the outburst of disappointment and anger against womankind, as Disteus learns of the "desertion" of his beloved nurse Palna, may have caught the eye of the authors of *Philaster*. The mood is provoked by her who, like Bellario, serves Disteus as a go-between. Disteus, in conversation with his servant Ansilardus, attributes her sudden action in leaving him "to that mutabilitie, which is naturally incident to woman." Ansilardus, like Dion with Philaster (III, i), clinches his conviction of the frailty of woman-

¹¹ Likewise, for the scene in *Philaster* which pictures Arethusa awaiting the return of Bellario (III ii) there is a similar one in *Gl'Ingannati*, as the enamoured mistress awaits the coming of the page.

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kind. In each piece the accusation, though made on different grounds, is totally false; in each it is made against the messenger-servant, all of whose actions are in the interests of the accuser. In the romance there is no malicious accuser like the Megra of *Philaster*.

To proceed to a corresponding circumstance occurring subsequently in play and romance, the sudden disappearance of Arethusa (IV, ii) and that of Dardanea, though differently motivated, are both the occasion of a search: by the King and Pharamond, in the play; by the King and Segastes, in the romance. Disteus is known to be accountable for the disappearance of Dardanea; Philaster likewise disappears, and though not thought to be connected with Arethusa's absence, later is captured and imprisoned with her. The nurse Palna, in the one, and the boy Bellario, in the other, both have disappeared; all the characters mentioned absent themselves simultaneously. Disteus' love for Dardanea has been discovered; Philaster's for Arethusa is not revealed to Pharamond and the King until after their capture (V, iii).¹²

In the Spanish tale it is said that Segastes loved Marthea, a young woman of good repute, but unconnected with the court. This lady despised Segastes "for his bad conditions and intolerable pride." (What better suggestion for a Spanish prince whose speech is "nothing but an inventory of his own commendations" (I, i, 165-166)? Both are insufferable braggarts.)¹³ However, she shows him "a good countenance—being glad to be served by so mightie a man" (p. 338). Such an attitude is comparable to that of Megra towards Pharamond (II, ii). It is to this lady that Segastes, spending his nights away, pays suit. Dardanea employs the aid of her confidante Palna in seeking to discover where Segastes resorts at night. Palna employs her nephew, Placindus, to follow Segastes. In a somewhat similar way, it is Galatea, a friend of Arethusa, who with something of the alertness of Palna, discovers the intrigue of Pharamond and breaks the news to Arethusa. At this point in both play and romance, investigation of the intrigue commences.

¹² Martandrus and Placindus, secret friends of Disteus, correspond to Dion, Cleremont, and Thrasiline, secret friends of Philaster.

¹³ As the boor possibly Pharamond, like Don Armado in Sh's *L.L.L.* and others, is only the conventional Spaniard of the English stage.

Continuing the narrative in the *Diana*, Beldaninus, a rival lover of Segastes, perceives his attentions to his lady; he decides to halt operations by lying in ambush with certain of his kinsmen, to make away with Segastes. On a certain night Disteus goes abroad in the disguise of Placindus, whom Palna, unknown to Dardanea, has commissioned to seek out Segastes (p. 341). As Disteus comes upon Segastes, who is attacked by Beldaninus and his friends, he enters the fray and succeeds in rescuing Segastes from certain death (pp. 346-347).

There are isolated features in *Philaster* which correspond to this happening and to the attending circumstances. It has been stated that Segastes is hated, Disteus loved. Furthermore, after the disappearance of Disteus, Segastes shortly discontinues the search, contenting himself with the seizure of Disteus' goods; he and the King fear the people, who so greatly love Disteus. In *Philaster* it is not until after Philaster's capture that the King realizes the danger from his subjects which he is incurring in imprisoning this popular hero.¹⁴

Prince Pharamond, in disfavor from the beginning with the native Calabrians, is taken prisoner by citizens who come to rescue Philaster from prison (V, iii). At the suggestion of the King, Philaster addresses the angry mob, and so rescues his enemy, Pharamond (V, iv). Thus in both pieces the hero voluntarily delivers from death his enemy and rival in power. The relative positions structurally occupied by the love of Pharamond for Arethusa in the play and that of Segastes for Marthea in the romance are identical. In both works these motives are distinctly subordinate. The rivalries between Segastes and Disteus and between Pharamond and Philaster are based upon grounds other than those of love. Furthermore, the love of Segastes for Marthea, weak and shallow as it is, is contrasted strongly with the abiding love of Disteus for Dardanea, an affection founded upon virtuous deserts. So in the play the ambitious love of Pharamond for Arethusa and his impure love for Megra are dramatically contrasted to the deep and thoughtful devotion of Philaster for Arethusa, which admitted no impediment till momentarily reversed by the false accusation brought by Megra against her.

¹⁴ Cf. also the heavy ransom placed upon the head of Disteus—his apprehension implies that of Dardanea also—and in *Philaster* (IV, ii, 105 ff.) the King's passionate demands for his daughter.

It is safe to assume that Beaumont and Fletcher were guided by many definite sources, as well as by their own active imagination. *Philaster* bears strong resemblance to Shakespeare's *Othello*; certain lines are obvious echoes of *Macbeth*. It is an impossible task to determine definitely the limits of indebtedness.¹⁵ That the authors in main outline consciously followed the story of Perez, is fairly plain. The Spanish story possesses obviously marked limitations in its dramatic possibilities. Where these were reached, the English authors were forced to seek other sources.

Sufficient evidence has been adduced by Thorndike¹⁶ to show that in all probability Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*¹⁷ was written after Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*.¹⁸ This critic points out the similarity existing between the two plays sufficiently to prove that in writing *Cymbeline* Shakespeare drew from *Philaster*. Where Shakespeare reflects these features of *Philaster* which may be traced to the story of Perez, a comparison of play and romance, independent of *Philaster*, serves only to emphasize the conclusion that in this play Shakespeare is indebted to *Philaster* alone, not in any measure to the *Diana*. Moreover, many points which Shakespeare seems to have derived directly from *Philaster* are not to be traced to the *Diana*; and there remain features in *Philaster* borrowed from the romance which Shakespeare found no occasion to use. Furthermore, the parallel of *Philaster* and *Cymbeline* is far more clearly outlined than that of *Philaster* and the *Diana*. This fact may be explained in that romantic material is with far greater difficulty and more necessary distortion adapted to dramatic needs than is previous dramatic material.

¹⁵ Freeburg (p. 43) has found reminders in *Philaster* of Straparola's *Tredecim Piacevolissime Notti*, IV, 1 (Printed 1550).

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 152-160.

¹⁷ "In all probability it belongs as a whole to the year 1609-10" (Craig). See also Gayley, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

¹⁸ "The date, 1608, adopted by Dyce, Leonhardt, Macaulay, and students in general, is no more than a conjecture; but on the whole it seems a probable one." (Thorndike, p. 65.) Play written shortly before acted, between December 1609 and July 1610. (Gayley, *op. cit.*, p. 345.) Rather unsatisfactorily Gayley (*ibid.*, pp. 390-393) argues that there is no indication that *Philaster* influenced *Cymbeline*.

In conclusion, what has been determined of the methods of writing and of the materials Beaumont and Fletcher have employed in other plays, together with specific similarities existing in *Philaster* and the *Diana*, these point to this play's Spanish derivation. One is reminded that Shakespeare had used the story of Felismena in the romance as the basis of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and that Sidney had employed not only narrative plot but the structural plan of the *Diana* in fashioning the *Arcadia*. And *Philaster* is frequently reminiscent of both Sidney and Shakespeare. By their knowledge of these two writers' use of the *Diana* Beaumont and Fletcher, with their natural interest in Spanish literature, were thus led to employ the Spanish pastoral in the preparation of their play *Philaster*.

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XVII.
THE TRIAL OF CHIVALRY, A CHETTLÉ PLAY

SHORTLY after completing my study of Henry Chettle¹ I chanced to read the anonymous *Trial of Chivalry*, printed in 1605 by Simon Stafford for Nathaniel Butter, as having "bin lately acted by the right Honourable the Earle of Darby his servants," and before I had half finished the play I became convinced that of the two dramatists concerned in its composition the chief was Chettle. This conclusion I reached quite independently, for I used the Tudor Facsimile reproduction of the quarto of 1605 and was unaware that Bullen in the introduction to his reprint had remarked: "If I were obliged to make a guess at the authorship, I would name Chettle or Munday, or both."² Nor had I observed that Fleay³ also had suggested Chettle as one of the authors of this play.

The most obvious evidence for Chettle's authorship is that presented by the numerous parallels of phrase between the *Trial of Chivalry* and Chettle's acknowledged plays. In the subjoined list of such parallels—which might be expanded to twice the number—reference is made to the following editions of Chettle's plays:

- Trial:* *The Trial of Chivalry*, Bullen's *Old English Plays*,⁴ vol. iii.
K.H.D.: *Kind Heart's Dream* (1592), Shakspeare Allusion Books,
 Pt. 1, ed. C. M. Ingleby for the New Shakspeare
 Society, 1874.
E.M.G.: *England's Mourning Garment* (1603), same volume as
 above.

¹ *Henry Chettle: A Study of his Life and Works*, Cornell dissertation, 1925.

² *Old English Plays*, ed A. H. Bullen, III. Bullen at the same time put forward the suggestion that *The Trial of Chivalry* was identical with *Love Parts Friendship*, by Chettle and Smith in 1602. This identification, however, is impossible inasmuch as *The Trial* is a much earlier play and belonged to the Earl of Derby's company, whereas *Love Parts* belonged to the Admiral's Men at the Rose.

³ J. G. Fleay, *Biographical Chronical of the English Drama*, II, 318-9.

⁴ I have noted several bad errors in Bullen's reprint; in one case a whole line is omitted and a speech given to the wrong person, which makes the passage senseless (see III. iii, p. 318, lines 1-6).

- Piers Pl.*: *Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship* (1595), reprinted by Hermannus Varnhagen, Erlangen, 1900.
- Downfall*: *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (1598), Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. VIII.
- Death*: *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (1598), *Ibid*, vol. VIII.
- L.A.Y.*: *Look About You* (1594-96?), *Ibid*, vol. VII.
- Grissil*: *Patient Grissil* (1599), ed. J. P. Collier for the Old Shakspeare Society, 1841.
- Blind Beggar*: *The Blind Beggar of Bednal-Green* (1600), ed. W. Bang, Louvain, 1902. (Materialien zur Kunde, Band I.)
- Hoffmann*: *The Tragedy of Hoffmann* (1602), ed. A. F. Hopkinson, London, 1917. (Privately printed.)
- (1) *Trial*, I. i, p. 268.
Pem. That Pembroke *speaks* the *truth*, behold my sword,
 Which shall approve my words substantial.
- Trial*, IV. i, p. 331
Nav. 'Tis false, and we'll *maintain* it with our *swords*.
Lew. 'Tis *true*, and we'll maintain it with our swords.
- Death*, II. ii, p. 268
Ches. My own *sword* shall *maintain* my tongue's *true speech*.
- (2) *Trial*, I. i, p. 268
Rod. If war be judge? *Why*, *shallow-witted* Burbon—
- Death*, I. ii, p. 225
Don. Reliev'd, say'st thou? *why*, *shallow-witted* fool—
- (3) *Trial*, I. i, p. 269
Phil. We will not rise from this *submissive ground*,
 Till we obtain, if not a peace, a truce.
- Blind Beggar*, IV. iii, 2306-8
Capt. West. I'll to the king, and never raise my knee from
 the cold earth,
 Till I obtain by privilege of fight,
 A black revenge for worthy Momford's fall.
- L.A.Y.*, xxxiii, p. 504
Henry. I will not rise; I will not leave this ground,
 Till all these voices, joined in one sound—
- L.A.Y.*, xxxiii, p. 500
Glost. You see my knees kiss the cold pavement's face

 Look, Henry, here's my hand; I lay it down,
 And swear, as I have knighthood, here't shall lie
 Till thou have used all thy tyranny.
 (See also No. 30)

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(4) *Trial*, I. ii, p. 274

Pem. Pity such true love, which like blessed seed
Sown in such fertile soil, his princely breast,
By the *rough stormy* brow and winter's hate
Of adverse parents should be timeless *nipped*.

Trial, V. ii, p. 351

Pem. . . . how hath France
Sown such inveterate hate within your breast—

Grissil, V. ii, p. 85

Gri. . . . consider of her tender years,
Which, as the flower in spring, may soon be *nipp'd*
With the least frost of cold adversity.

Grissil, V. ii, p. 86-7

Mar. That multitude,
That many-headed beast, *nipp'd* their sweet hearts
With wrongs, with bitter wrongs.

Piers Pl., p. 19, 24

. . . . *nip* thy affections in the bloom, that they may never
be of power to bud.

K.H.D., p. 61, 14-5

Now, in the blooming of thy hopes, thou sufferest slander
to *nip* them ere they bud.

Downfall, I. iii, p. 112

R.H. For the *rough storm* thy windy words hath rais'd,
Will not be calm'd, till I in grave be laid.

(5) *Trial*, I. iii, p. 277

Kath. 'Mongst whom, the noble Pembroke, like the sun,
Outshines the borrowed glory of the rest:
And well I may compare him to the sun,
That but once lookt upon with his fair shape,
Hath dazzled my poor senses, and left me blind.

L.A.Y., xxxiii, p. 500

Henry. Now shineth Henry like the midday's sun,
Through his horizon darting all his beams,
Blinding with his bright splendor every eye,
That stares against his face of majesty.

E.M.G., p. 103, 31-4

. . . . so potent a prince he was . . . that he seemed, like
the sun in his meridian, to shower down gold 'round about the
horizon.

L.A.Y., xxiii, p. 454

Rich. Shine brightly in thy sphere—

- Grissil*, III. i, p. 38
 . . . as her I rais'd
 To shine in greatness' sphere.
- Downfall*, V. i, p. 202
King. True pillar of my state, right lord indeed,
 Whose honour shineth in the den of need.
- Death*, V. ii, p. 326
Lei. . . . let some comfort shine on us, your friends,
 Through the bright splendour of your virtuous life.
 (See also Nos. 21 and 35)
- (6) *Trial*, I. iii, p. 281
Kath. Work on, sweet painter, to enrich mine eye
 With that which else procures my *tragedy*.
- Trial*, III. iii, p. 316
Lew. More *tragedies* at hand?
- Trial*, V. ii, p. 348
Pem. . . . if Pembroke's eye
 Encounters his, he meets his *tragedy*.
- Hoffmann*, III. ii. 217
 This act is e'en our *tragedy's* best part.
- Hoffmann*, I. iii. 18
 He was the prologue to a *tragedy*—
- Hoffmann*, V. ii. 163
 Their ends shall finish our black *tragedy*.
- Death*, I. ii, p. 228
Prior. I may effect this Robin's *tragedy*.
- Death*, I. iii, p. 244
Prior. To join with us in this black *tragedy*.
- Piers Pl.*, p. 25, 9
 . . . awaiting only opportunity to effect in act what he had
 long conceived, even the last scene in Celinus' *tragedy*.
- Piers Pl.*, p. 27, 28-9
 Here ends the *tragedy* of true avarice.
- (7) *Trial*, I. iii, p. 283
Painter. Madam, his *heart* must be imagined
 By the description of the *outward parts*.
- Death*, I. iii, p. 247
R.H. Closes the powers of all my *outward parts*,
 My freezing blood runs back unto my *heart*.
- Downfall*, V. i, p. 198
John. And from her eye flies love unto my *heart*,
 Attended by suspicious thoughts and fears
 That numb the vigour of each *outward part*.

Hoffmann, III. i. 142-3

. . . . death now assails our *hearts*,
Having triumphed o'er the *outward parts*.

(8) *Trial*, II. ii, p. 291

Bur. Navarre, you sprinkle me with foul reproach,
And *dim* the lustre of our royal name
With colours of dishonour.

Piers Pl., p. 23, 25-6

. . . . let not the glory of your worthy government be
dimmed with this lustful and incestuous appetite.

Piers Pl., p. 24, 22-4

Curb these humours that, suffered, will with a headlong
fury obscure the former brightness of your virtues—

Piers Pl., p. 19, 31-2

. . . . one defect may *dim* the glory of all other of his
perfections.

(9) *Trial*, II. ii, p. 291-2

Bur. Thy daughter's looks,
Like the north star to the *sea-tossed mariners*,
Hath brought me through all dangers, made me turn
Our royal palace to this stage of death—

E.M.G., p. 114, 25-30

Even as a calm to *tempest-tossed* men

. . . .
So comes our king: e'en in the time of need.

E.M.G., p. 105, 1-3

She brought us comfort, as the clear sun doth to
storm-stressed mariners.

(10) *Trial*, II. ii, p. 292

Bur. Navarre, this setting sun, which sees our wrong,
Shall, ere his morrow's beams gild the proud East,
View Hymen's rites turn'd to a tragic feast.

Trial, II. iii, p. 302

Phil. For here I swear, as I am royal born,
I'll marry thee before the morning's sun
Hath run the third part of his glorious course.

Trial, III. iii, p. 318

Nav. Conjoin with Bourbon? ere three suns shall set
In the vast kingdom of Oceanus—

Hoffmann, V. i. 283-4

Lor. Before the sun hath run his midday course,
I will to-morrow yield him to your hands.

Piers Pl., p. 4, 18-9

Celydon would set the crown of Thrace upon your head,
before the sun were twice set.

Grissil, II. ii, p. 30

But ere the sun to his highest throne ascend,
My indignation in his death shall end.

(11) *Trial*, II. ii, p. 293

Phil. Were it to reach the furtherest northern clime,
Where frosty Hyems with an icy mace
Strikes dead all living things, I'd find it out;
And borrowing fire from those fair sunny eyes,
Thaw winter's frost and warm that dead cold clime.

Piers Pl., p. 20, 9-10

. . . . would she follow to the utmost India, to the burning
zone, to the frozen pole, to the depths of death.

(12) *Trial*, II. ii, p. 293

Phil. *This earth is hell*, this day a tedious night.

Hoffmann, V. i. 242

This earth appears to me as vile as hell.

Hoffmann, II. iii. 163

Oh, hell of life—

L.A.Y., xi, p. 418

Glo. . . . this life's a hell.

(13) *Trial*, II. iii, p. 297

Bel. And let this answer satisfy for all:

Burbon, I cannot nor I will not love thee.

Bur. Cannot nor will not? Zounds, madam, but you must.

Bel. Must I?

Bur. And shall.

Bel. And will you *force* me to it?

Hoffmann, IV. iii. 209-15

Hoff. But new-made mother, there's another fire

Burns in this liver,—lust and hot desire,

Which you must quench!—Must? Ay, and shall!

. . . . if she deny,

Force her! True, so!—*Si non blanditiis, vi!*

Piers Pl., p. 24, 32-3

. . . . vi, si non verbis.

(14) *Trial*, II. iii, p. 301

Bel. fetch me a looking glass

That I may see how sweet a *bride* I am.

Oh, I detest myself

I am not to be *married* but *to death*.

- Trial*, V. ii, p. 345
Pem. He that steps forward with a murdering thought,
Marries himself to death—
- Hoffmann*, III. i. 155
Lod. Your daughter has become a *bride for death*.
- Blind Beggar*, II. i. 618
Kate. . . . makes me *to death* and shame become a *bride—*
- (15) *Trial*, III. ii, p. 308
Ferd. I am bent to fight,
 And that with thee for the *best blood* thou bear'st.
- Blind Beggar*, V. i. 2346
Glo. As the *best blood* that's chamber'd in his breast.
- (16) *Trial*, III. ii, p. 311
 [Ferdinand, wounded, swoons]
Pem. O, yet a little longer, gracious time,
 Detain his princely spirit in his breast,
 That I may tell him he is misinformed,
 And purge myself unto my dying friend.
- Hoffmann*, III. i. 148-51
 [Lucibell, wounded, swoons]
Lod. Hover a little longer, blessed soul!
 Glide not away too fast; mine now forsakes
 Its earthly mansion. . .
- Death*, I. iii, p. 244
Prior. Keep in, keep in a little while thy soul,
 Till I have pour'd my soul forth at thy feet.
- (17) *Trial*, III. ii, p. 312
Fisher. Oh, what contentment lives there in the brook!
- Blind Beggar*, IV. iii. 2012
Bess. Oh, what content attends this country life!
- Grissil*, IV. ii, p. 58
Jan. The Marquess hath to me been merciful,
 In sending me from courtly delicates
 To taste the *quiet of this country life*.
- Grissil*, III. i, p. 35
Gri. In your old cottage you shall find *content*.
- Blind Beggar*, IV. iii. 2071-2
Bess. Come to our cottage: though our state be poor,
 We live *content*, and that's a good man's store.
- Hoffmann*, II. ii. 1-2
Rod. Sir, since you are *content*, you here shall find
 A sparing supper, but a generous mind—

(18) *Trial*, III. ii, p. 311

Forester. How full of pleasure is this forest life!
My park I liken to a *commonwealth*,
In which my bucks and does are citizens.

Hoffmann, I. i. 31-3

Lor. . . . and fear no sergeants, for I think these woods
and waters are *commonwealths* that need no such subjects.

Grissil, I. i, p. 5

Marq. Let's ring a hunter's peal, and in the ears
Of our swift *forest citizens* proclaim
Defiance to their lightness.

(19) *Trial*, III. ii, p. 311

[Ferdinand wounded and unconscious]

For. How is the other? I do feel soft breath
Break from between his lips.

Hoffmann, III. i. 217-9

Rod. There's life in Lucibella, for I feel
A breath more odoriferous than balm
Thirl through the coral portals of her lips.

(20) *Trial*, III. ii, p. 313

Kath. I vow to die with thee: this field, this grove
Shall be my receptacle till my last. . .
My pillow shall be made a bank of moss,
And what I drink the silver brook shall yield.
No other camp nor court will Katharine have
Till fates do limit her a common grave.

Trial, IV. i, p. 322

Pem. . . . myself have sworn
Continued residence within this wood.

Trial, IV. i, p. 322

Pem. . . . for here I vow
To spend the remnant of my hapless days.

Trial, IV. i, p. 337

Kath. But, for thou canst not be reviv'd again,
I'll dwell with thee in death—

Hoffmann, IV, iii. 186-9

Duch. Where have you laid the body of my son? . . .
. . . . I'll build me there a cell
Made like a tomb: till *death*, therein I'll *dwell*.

Hoffmann, IV. i. 68-9

Luci. Well, he is gone [is dead].
And he dwells here, say ye? *I'll dwell with him*.

- L.A.Y.*, xxxiii, p. 504
Henry. My shirt of hair; my bed the ashy dust;
 My *pillow* but a lump of hard'ned clay.
- (21) *Trial*, III. iii, p. 314
Phil. Her *beauty*, e'er it suffered violence,
 Was like the sun in his *meridian throne*,
 Too splendant for weak eyes to gaze upon.
- Grissil*, III. i, p. 37
Mar. That she might shine in *beauty like the sun*.
- Grissil*, I. i, p. 11
Mar. Methinks her *beauty* shining through those weeds,
 Seems like a bright star in the sullen night.
- L.A.Y.*, xxviii, p. 471
 . . . let not one cloudy frown
 Shadow the *bright sun of thy beauty's light*.
- Death*, II. i, p. 256
King. While her fair eyes give *beauty to bright day*.
 (See also Nos. 5 and 35)
- (22) *Trial*, III. iii, p. 315
Lew. Join your hands,
 And all with us swear vengeance on the duke.
- Hoffmann*, V. i. 314-6
Mat. Join hands and ring him round.
 Kneel, on his head lay your hands, and swear
 Vengeance 'gainst Hoffmann.
- Hoffmann*, II. ii. 103-4
Sax. Brother, I trust as brother,
 Hold you this hand; Roderick, hold thou the other.
- Hoffmann*, IV. i. 78-9
Luci. Brother, your hand;
 And yours, good father; you're my father now.
- (23) *Trial*, III. iii, p. 315
Phil. I am his *foe*,
 And none but I will work his *overthrow*.
- Trial*, V. ii, p. 348
Philip. . . . he is Philip's *foe*
 And none but I must work his *overthrow*.
- Trial*, V. ii, p. 346
Phil. For one light puff of Fortune proves it so,
 Nay then our swords turn to your *overthrow*.
- Blind Beggar*, I. i. 1745
Y. Playn. . . . weep for *woe*,
 That I have liv'd to see your *overthrow*.

- Blind Beggar*, I. i. 184
Y. Playn. Your great desire for Momford's *overthrow*.
L.A.Y., xxiii, p. 450
Richard. Thou dost delight in those odd humours *so*,
 That much I fear they'll be thy *overthrow*.
 (24) *Trial*, III. iii, p. 317
Lew. Petty king,
 For this our wrong, look to be our *underling*.
Grissil, I. i, p. 8
Gri. My hands shall make me pale death's *underling*.
Grissil, IV. ii, p. 62
Gri. And low obedience for low *underlings*.
L.A.Y., xxvii, p. 469
Glo. Robin, bethink thee, thou art come from kings.
 Then scorn to be a slave to *underlings*.
L.A.Y., xxxiii, p. 502
Rich. . . . now he's my *underling*.
 (25) *Trial*, III. iii, p. 318
Lew. He did a deed of merit and of fame,
 Poisoned the sister of a ravisher,
 A *Tarquin*, an incestuous *Tereus*,
 And our poor child, the *wronged Philomell*.
E.M.G., p. 98
 And sing her rape, done by that *Tarquin*, *Death*.
Piers Pl., p. 6, 30-1
 In this wood *Tereus* ravish'd and *wrong'd Philomel*; he and
 his son did perish for her only rape.
Hoffmann, V. ii. 120-2
 Or, if you see she turns violent,
 Shut her perpetual prisoner in that den;
 Make her a *Philomel*; prove *Tereus*.
Hoffmann, I. iii. 18-21
Hoff. He was the prologue of a tragedy,
 That, if my Destinies deny me not,
 Shall pass those of *Thyestes*, *Tereus*,
Jocasta, or Duke *Jason's* jealous wife.
Blind Beggar, IV. ii. 1802-3
Y. Playn. Deny me, and I'll turn a *Tereus*,
 Murder thy father, then cut out thy tongue.
 (26) *Trial*, III. iii, p. 318
Rod. Ha, ha! I *laugh to see* these kings at jar.
Trial, II. iii, p. 300
Bel. I cry'd for help, but none did succor me.
Rod. I know he did, and *laugh to think* on it.

Hoffmann, I. i. 53-4

Hoff. Ha, ha! how I *laugh to see* how dastard fear
Hastens the death-doomed wretch to his distress.

Hoffmann, V. ii. 33-4

Lor. I *laugh to see*
How I outstrip the prince in villainy.

Death, I. ii, p. 230

Prior. Ha, ha, ha! I cannot choose but *laugh*
To see my cousin cozen'd in this sort.

Blind Beggar, I. i. 180-209

Sir Robt. Ha, ha, ha! gill, gill, gill! I have been ready
to burst [with laughter];
Son, pray thee, tell me how thou laid'st this plot?

Y. Playn. But now you see the end, Momford's disgrac'd,
And I am unsuspected in this case.

Hoffmann, IV. ii. 140

Hoff. Art thou not plumped with *laughter*, my Lorrique?

Grissil, IV. ii, p. 56

Gri. For *villains laugh* when wrong oppresses right.

(27) *Trial*, III. iii, p. 318

How *civil discord*, like a raging *flood*,
Swelling above her banks, shall drown this land.

Blind Beggar, I. i. 7

Bed. When *civil discords* stir uncivil arms—

Downfall, II. i, p. 133

Chester. . . . let not uncivil broils
Our civil hands defile.

Death, V. ii, p. 322

Lei. As rain in harvest, or a *swelling flood*
When neighbouring meadows lack the mower's scythe.

Piers Pl., p. 1

. . . swelling floods—

(28) *Trial*, IV. i, p. 319-20

Pem. This should be the *unlucky fatal place*
Where causeless hate drew blood from Ferdinand.
Behold the grass: a purple register
Still blushing in *remembrance* of our fight.
Why wither not *these trees, those herbs and plants*?
And every neighbour branch droop out their grief?
Pour souls, they do, and have wept out their sap.

Trial, IV. i, p. 322

Kath. Know you this *dismal place* you do frequent?

Trial, IV. i, p. 326

Bel. Within this *desolate forsaken forest*?

Hoffmann, V. i. 77—

Duch. And thou hast brought me to the *dismal'st grove*
That ever eye beheld. No wood-nymphs here
Seek with their agile steps t'outstrip the roes;
Nor doth the sun suck from this quachy plot
The rankness and the venom of the earth;
It seems *frequentless for the use of men*—

Lor. But if I do not err in my belief,
I think *the ground, the trees, the rocks, the springs*,
Have, since my princely master Otho's wreck,
Appeared more *dismal* than they did before,
In memory of his untimeless fall—

[V. i. 113-4]

Lor. We buried it with him; it was his shroud;
The *desert woods* no fitter means allowed.

[V. ii. 18-9]

Hoff. It were not fit you should see the *fatal place*,
That still seems *dismal* since the prince's death.

(29) *Trial*, IV. i, p. 322-3

Pem. Begirt with *wounds* that like so many *mouths*—

Death, IV. ii, p. 292

Hubert. Till here and there, through large *wide-mouthed*
wounds—

(30) *Trial*, IV. i, p. 324

Pem. To be content to *kiss the lowly earth*—

Trial, V. i, p. 349

Rod. Now life and hope and state must *kiss the ground*—

Hoffmann, I. i. 130

I join my soft lips to the solid earth.

Hoffmann, III. i. 242

Kneel down, and at my bidding *kiss the earth*—

(See also No. 3)

(31) *Trial*, IV. i, p. 324

Pem. And when insulting death drew short his breath,
And now was ready to *close up his eyes*.

Hoffmann, III. i. 75

Luci. Come, Lodowick, and *close my night-veiled eyes*—

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Hoffmann, V. i. 106

Duch. None sung thy requiem, no friend *closed thy eyes*—

Death, I. iii, p. 248

R.H. [dying] Matilda, *close mine eyes*.

(32) *Trial*, IV. i, p. 327

Clown. Is my young lord buried here? I say no more,
but I pray God send him a joyful *insurrection*.

Hoffmann, III. ii. 43-5

Old Still. Now sir, the old duke has put out a *declamation*
[declaration], and says our rising is no other than a *resurrec-*
tion [insurrection].

Hoffmann, III. ii. 179

Old Still. Ay, truly, my lord, we raised the *resurrection*.

(33) *Trial*, IV. i, p. 332

Pem. And desperate let them *run to misery*.

Grissil, III. i, p. 39

Mar. Headlong they *run* to their impiety.

Hoffmann, II. iii. 81

Hoff. Go, *run* to mischief!—

Hoffmann, III. ii. 285

Lor. Go; speed to spoil yourselves!

K.H.D., p. 60, 28-9

Alas that men so hastily should *run*

To write their own dispraise, as they have done.

(34) *Trial*, IV. i, p. 337

Kath. But, for thou canst not be reviv'd again,
I'll dwell with thee in death, and as my *spirit*

Mounts to the happy *mansion* of thy spirit—

Hoffmann, III. i. 148-51

Lod. Hover a little longer, blessed *soul*!

Glide not away too fast; mine now forsakes

Its earthly *mansion*, and on Hope's gilt wings

Will gladly *mount* with thine where angels sing—

(35) *Trial*, V. i, p. 338

Rod. Now whilst our armies, wearied with the heat
That the bright *sun* casts from his *midday throne*—

Trial, III. iii. p. 314

Phil. Was like the *sun* in his *meridian throne*.

L.A.Y., xxxiii, p. 500

Henry. Now shineth Henry like the *midday's sun*—

Hoffmann, V. i. 283

Before the sun hath run his *midday course*—

Grissil, II. ii, p. 20

But ere the sun to his *highest throne* ascend—

E.M.G., p. 84, 5

. . . so potent a prince he was . . . that he seemed like the
sun in his *meridian*.

(See also Nos. 5 and 21)

(36) *Trial*, V. i, p. 342

Peter. To avoid prolixity, I'll kill him, yet first give me
leave to *weep* for my master.

Hoffmann, IV. ii. 135-7

Hoff. I'll stay a while to *weep*

My tributary tears, paid on the ground

Where my true joy—your prince, my uncle—fell.

Hoffmann, III. i. 231

Hoff. I must withdraw and weep; my heart is full—

Blind Beggar, IV. ii. 1829

Momf. I'll in and weep, for what can I do more?

(37) *Trial*, V. ii, p. 345.

Pem. Nay, smile not; though our number's few,
Our *great hearts* tell us we shall conquer you.

Death, IV. ii, p. 291

Hubert. My heart grieves that so *great hearts* as yours are—

L.A.Y., xxxiii, p. 495

Glo. Though you sit higher, yet my *heart's* as *great*.

Queen. *Great hearts*, we'll make you shorter by the neck.

(38) *Trial*, V. ii, p. 348

Phil. But now he's fallen into the lion's paw,
From whence the *whole world* cannot ransom him.

Trial, V. ii, p. 349

Pem. Here Pembroke takes his stand,

Come France and *all the world*, I will not start,

Till Philip's knightly sword pierce Roderick's heart.

Trial, V. ii, p. 352

Phil. Were the *whole world* join'd in so false a thing,
Alone I'd combat all and clear the king.

L.A.Y., xv, p. 430

Henry. Gloster shall die; all Europe shall not save him.

L.A.Y., xv, p. 431

King. I'll have her head, though *all the world* reprove me.

Downfall, II. i, p. 130

John. . . . it shall, though *all the world* say no.

Death, I. iii, p. 239

Don. Robin shall die, if *all the world* say no.

- Hoffmann*, III. ii. 60-1
 . . . stand to it lustily, *all the world* shall roar, but we'll
 have victory.
- Grissil*, IV. i, p. 52
Gri. Would *all the world's* cares might be thrown on me.
- (39) *Trial*, V. ii, p. 349
Phil. Whilst in the midst by fair and equal fight,
 I send this traitor to *eternal night*.
- Death*, III. iv, p. 282
Lei. . . . for my eyes saw
 A shambles of dead men about his feet,
 Sent by his sword into *eternal shade*.
- Hoffmann*, V. i. 161
 Fetters the wretched in *eternal night*.
- E.M.G.*, p. 104, 28-9
 . . . death's *eternal sleep* utterly benumbed all her senses.
- (40) *Trial*, V. ii, p. 354
Pem. France, on whose bosom I stand—
Blind Beggar, III. iii. 1580-2
Momf. Alas, that this fair world, by sin deform'd,
 Should bear upon her bosom—
Blind Beggar, V. i. 2590
Capt. West. That treads upon the bosom of the earth—
- (41) *Trial*, V. ii. p. 354
Pem. I'd sooner from a mountain cast myself.
Hoffmann, IV. iii. 88-9
Hoff. Run unto the top of some dreadful scar,
 And thence fall headlong on the under-rocks.
Hoffmann, V. ii. 131-2
Lor. She, madder than the wife of Athamas,
 Leaped suddenly into the sea [from a cliff].

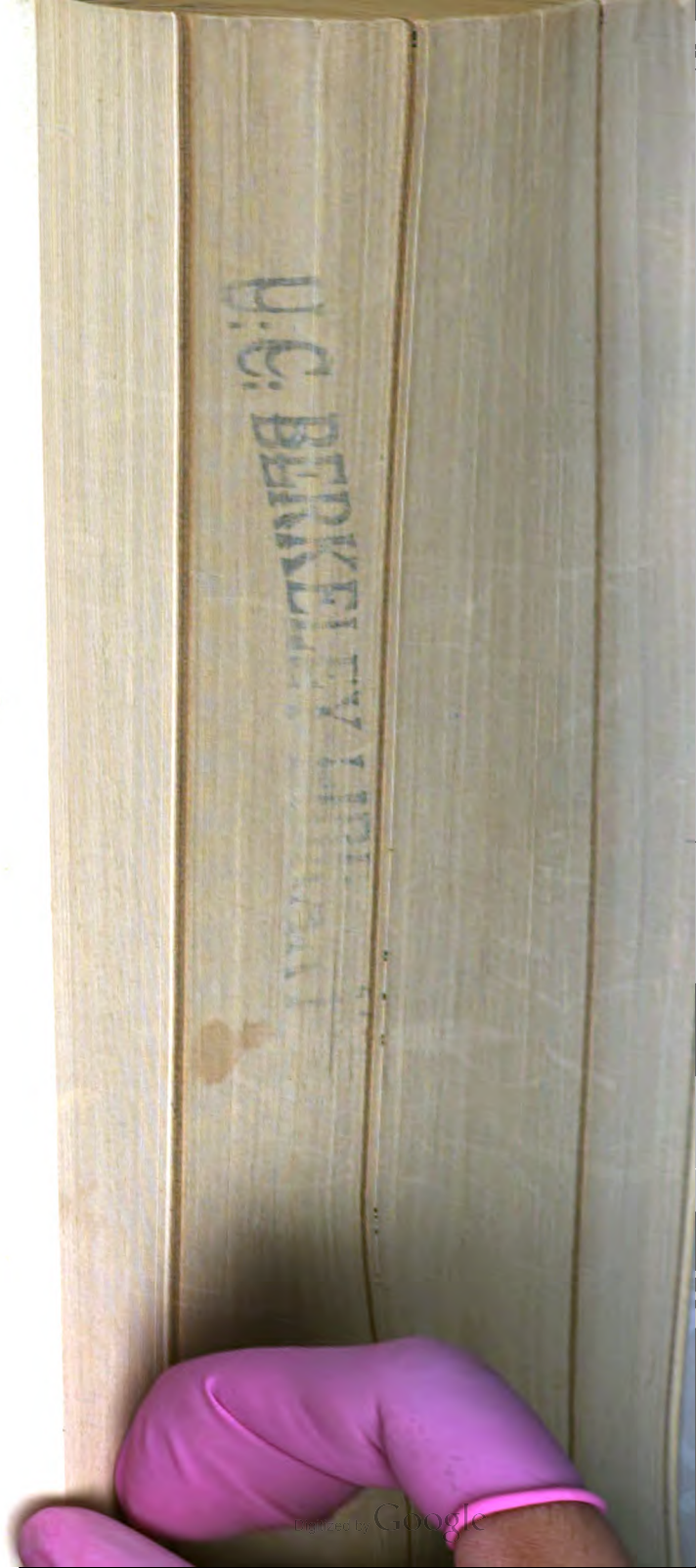
In the foregoing parallels one may recognize many figures of speech and tricks of phrase which are definitely characteristic of Chettle's writing. Thus he makes persons, beauty, honour, virtue, poverty, etc., "shine like the sun," and usually like the sun in its "meridian," at its "midday" height, or "highest" point in the sky. (See Nos. 5, 21 and 35) There are numerous references to one's meeting his "tragedy" (No. 6), a goodly number to kissing the "ground" ("earth") (No. 30), and to the "lowly", "humble," or "submissive" earth (Nos. 3 and 30). Chettle's characters are forever embracing each other, or shaking hands; they speak in terms of "ten thousands" or "all the

world." Among smaller matters, particularly noticeable are the words "purple" and "bright," "civil" and "uncivil," "black," and the large number of compound words. Hardly a page of his plays is free from compound words, a single page not infrequently containing as many as five or six,—notably in *The Death*, where no less than four occur in a speech of sixteen lines.⁵

Moreover, many of the ideas in *The Trial* show remarkable similarity to those in Chettle's plays. An example is the idea of marriage with death, or, more especially, of becoming a "bride for death." In *The Trial*, Bellamira's beauty is ruined, and she, though her lover Philip swears he will marry her, looks in the mirror to see "how sweet a *bride* I am" (See No. 14), whereupon she exclaims: "I am not to be *married* but to *death*." In *Hoffmann*, Lodowick, the lover of the sorely wounded Lucibell, informs the Duke of Austria that his "daughter has become a *bride for death*," In *The Blind Beggar*, Kate Westford is forced against her will to wed Playnsey, her cousin's former fiancé, and declares that the deed "makes me to *death* and shame become a *bride*." The idea of a marriage with death occurs a second time in *The Trial*.

Another striking idea is that of dwelling until death beside the grave of the beloved one. In *The Trial*, Pembroke and Katharine are respectively Ferdinand's friend and lover. They believe him dead, and a monument is built in the forest where he was supposed to have been killed. There Pembroke twice declares he will remain for life, and Katharine twice makes the same resolve, to " *dwell with thee* in death." (See No. 20). In *Hoffmann*, there are two distinct recurrences of the idea, in much the same words. Lodowick, Lucibell's lover, dies, and Lucibell says: "And he dwells here, say ye? I'll *dwell with him*." So the Duchess of Lunenberg, when she hears of the death of her son, determines to "build me there a tomb; till death, therein I'll *dwell*!" Closely allied to this is the fact that the wood wherein Ferdinand was supposedly killed becomes, in the eyes of the sorrowing ones, a "dismal place," an "unlucky fatal place," a "desolate forsaken forest," and the grass, trees, and plants seem to mourn "in remembrance" of the dead one. (See No. 28). Precisely the same adjectives are used to describe the forest where Otho

⁵ *The Death*, IV. i, pp. 178-9.



of *Hoffmann* was murdered, and the same phenomenon of natural objects mourning "in memory of his untimeless fall" is observed.

Still another idea used twice by Chettle, but seldom, if ever,⁶ by other dramatists, is that of one person pleading with a dying friend or lover to "keep in" his "soul" ("spirit") but a little longer until he can explain something, or in order that he may accompany the dying one in the moment of death. This likewise occurs in *The Trial*. It is to be noted first that in all cases both the dying person and the speaker feel sure of death. In *The Trial*, Pembroke and Ferdinand, two friends, fight a duel, and both fall wounded, fatally they think. Ferdinand swoons, and thus Pembroke addresses his senseless body (See No. 16):

O, yet a little longer, gracious time,
Detain his princely spirit in his breast,
That I may tell him he is misinform'd,
And purge myself unto my dying friend.

In *Hoffmann*, Lodowick and Lucibell, two lovers, are wounded, fatally they likewise believe. Lucibell swoons, whereupon Lodowick conjures her:

Hover a little longer, blessed soul!
Glide not away too fast; mine now forsakes
Its earthly mansion, and on Hope's gilt wings
Will gladly mount with thine where angels sing
Celestial ditties to the King of Kings.

Again, in *The Death*, Robin Hood lies dying from a poison given him by the Prior, who is apprehended and condemned to death. The Prior repents, and throwing himself at the feet of Robin, exclaims:

Keep in, keep in a little while thy soul,
Till I have pour'd my soul forth at thy feet.

But the passage which fully convinced me that Chettle wrote *The Trial of Chivalry* is the allusion in III. iii, p. 318, to the stories of Tereus and Philomel, and of Tarquin. (See No. 25). Whenever Chettle has occasion to speak seriously of a deed of ravishment, he never fails to mention Tereus. From 1595, when

⁶ The only other occurrence I know of is in Part II of Heywood's *Edward IV*, and it is not impossible that Chettle had a hand in that play.

he wrote *Piers Plainnes*, until 1602, when *Hoffmann*, his last extant play, appeared, he continued to utilize the story of Tereus.

This array of parallels is amply sufficient, in my opinion, to establish Chettle's authorship of *The Trial of Chivalry*. But further evidence in support of this conclusion is to be found in the types of character which are introduced in this play. Perhaps the most important of these is the type of villain. As Bullen has already remarked, "Bourbon and Roderick [in *The Trial*] are just such a pair of villains as young Playnsey and Sir Robert Westford in Chettle and Day's *Blind Beggar*."⁷ The observation may be carried further. For Chettle has two types of villains, both of which appear in *The Trial*: the first type, here represented by Bourbon and Roderick, may be described as strong-willed, haughty, malignant, daring, and wholly unscrupulous. To this type belongs not only Sir Robert Westford of the *Blind Beggar* but much more so Sir Doncaster, the Prior, and King John of *The Death*, and Hoffmann. The second type is represented in *The Trial* by Peter de Lions; though not so strong-willed as the villains of the first type, he is as conscienceless and he will do anything for money, if it may be done with safety. In other words, he is an under-villain, a useful tool for the great villains. These lesser villains are always humorous. Of this type are Lorrique of *Hoffmann*, young Playnsey of *The Blind Beggar*, and Skink of *Look About You*.⁸ Perhaps the most singular feature of all these villains is their habit of "laughing" when some one is in sorrow or distress. After Bourbon has ruined the beauty of Bellamira's face with poison, Roderick, his accomplice, says: "I know he did, and *laugh* to think on it." (See No. 26). The two villains together cause the kings of France and Navarre to war with each other, and Roderick rejoices: "Ha, ha! I *laugh* to see these kings at jar." Roderick and Bourbon later chuckle over the success of their plans, which involved the grief of many people. As for the villains in Chettle's other plays, the Prior of *The Death*, when Robin Hood is to be poisoned, remarks: "Ha, ha, ha! I cannot choose but *laugh*, To see my

⁷ Bullen, *Old English Plays*, III.

⁸ It might be well to note, though, that Playnsey is not very humorous, and Skink has no greater villain to serve; but they nevertheless preserve the essential characteristics of the type under discussion.

cousin cozen'd in this sort." When Hoffmann has his enemy's son in his power, he exclaims: "Ha, ha! how I *laugh to see* how dastard fear Hastens the death-doomed wretch to his distress." Later he brings about the deaths of three persons, and then says to his under-villain, "Art thou not plumped with *laughter*, my Lorrique?" Again, after he has caused a brother to kill his brother and his sweetheart, and after killing a duke, Hoffmann desires to "sing a hymn unto the Fates, Composed of *laughing* interjections."⁹ Lorrique betrays Hoffmann to death, and soliloquizes, "I *laugh to see* How I outstrip the prince in villainy." By a plot, Playnsey and Sir Robert Westford (*Blind Beggar*) accomplish the disgrace and exile of noble Momford, whereupon Sir Robert exults: "Ha, ha, ha! gill, gill, gill! I have been ready to burst" with laughter. Through the mouth of Grissil, Chettle explains why all of his wicked characters have this peculiar trait: "For *villains laugh* when wrong oppresseth right." There are yet other similarities between the villains of *The Trial of Chivalry* and those of his known plays, but what I have pointed out is enough to show that Roderick, Bourbon, and Peter de Lions are typical of Chettle.

The Clown of *The Trial*, Katharine's man, may not so readily be recognized as Chettle's. No doubt can remain, though, after a comparison of his scattered speeches, which are but few, with those of Stilt and Old Stilt of *Hoffmann* in III.ii. The Clown has a humorous knack of misusing words, as have the two Stilts, father and son. Prince Ferdinand is thought to have been killed. The Clown, standing beside his supposed grave, remarks: "I say no more, but I pray God send him a joyful *insurrection*." (See No. 32). Stilt and his father aid Prince Jerome in a rebellion against the Duke of Prussia, concerning which Old Stilt speaks: "Now, sir, the old duke has put out a declamation [declaration], and says our rising is no other than a *resurrection*"; and again, "Ay, truly, my lord, we raised the *resurrection*." The Clown wishes to compliment and placate Dick Bowyer, and does so as follows: "Not you, sir; I called you not so. I know you to be a very insufficient ill-spoken gentleman."¹⁰ Old Stilt thus commends Prince Jerome: "a virtuous prince, a wise prince, and a

⁹ *Hoffmann*, III. i. 237-8.

¹⁰ *The Trial*, III. i, p. 306.

most disrespectful prince."¹¹ The Clown is entirely Chettle's, and his humour is very different from that of Bowyer and his soldiers, a type of humour which Chettle never produces.

Finally, it may be noted that the plot of *The Trial* is constructed in accordance with Chettle's method in other plays, by a peculiar mixture of history and romance, wherein the romance takes the upper hand and changes the facts of real or supposed history to suit its purpose. Thus Schelling describes *The Trial of Chivalry* as a "mixture of romance and pseudo-historical lore. "Here," he continues, "on the background of a war and truce between France and Navarre of an indeterminable date, the loves of the two young princes of these lands are detailed, an English Earl of Pembroke figuring as a hero and one Cavaliero Bowyer as a humorist."¹² This, however, is one of the special characteristics which H. Dugdale Sykes¹³ and Tucker Brooke¹⁴ have pointed out in the plays of Chettle, and on the basis of it the former endeavored to prove Chettle's authorship of *Look About You*. None of Chettle's extant dramas is without its romance, and those which have an historical setting show clearly how little he regarded the facts of history. *The Blind Beggar*, *The Downfall* and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, and *Look About You* have English history for background, but disregard almost entirely facts in the lives of the historical personages whom they portray. *Patient Grissil* is based on a romantic legend, and *Hoffmann*, though distinctly a chronicle play, has no discoverable historical basis. *Hoffmann* also has a prominent romantic story. This peculiarity of *The Trial*, then, as being characteristic of all his plays, points to Chettle as the author.

In conclusion a remark may be ventured in regard to Chettle's collaborator in *The Trial* and the share of the play which is probably to be assigned to him. Cavaliero Dick Bowyer and his soldiers belong entirely to another hand than Chettle's, and so does Peter de Lions when he appears in connection with the Bowyer-Thomasin episode. The portion of the play dealing with these characters is comparatively small. The Clown is wholly Chettle's, even when he appears in the Bowyer scenes; and the

¹¹ *Hoffmann*, III. ii. 41-2.

¹² F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 413.

¹³ *Notes and Queries*, 12 S, XII (Apr. 28, 1923), p. 324.

¹⁴ *The Tudor Drama*, pp. 341-2

same seems to be true of Pembroke and Ferdinand. All other characters belong to Chettle. The collaborator's share of *The Trial* is confined to the following scenes and pages: *I.i*, p. 273, Peter's speech; *II.i*, p. 285-91, Bowyer and his soldiers, Peter and Thomasin; *III.i*, p. 303-7, Bowyer and his soldiers; *IV.i*, Bowyer's three short speeches on pp. 328, 329, 330; *V.ii*, further speeches by Bowyer (also a few by Peter) on pp. 343-4, 346, 347, 349-50, 351. Who this collaborator is, I do not know. Bullen suggests Munday or Day; Fleay¹⁵ and Greg,¹⁶ Heywood. Munday, I believe, cannot be the writer; Heywood seems, in my opinion, to be the likeliest guess.

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¹⁵ Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, II, 318-9.

¹⁶ Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 187.

XVIII.

THOMAS RANDOLPH'S PART IN THE AUTHORSHIP
OF *HEY FOR HONESTY*

HEY FOR HONESTY, the lively seventeenth century adaptation of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, was long attributed without question to the joint authorship of Thomas Randolph and a certain *F. J.* whose identity has never been ascertained.¹ The title-page of the first edition reads: "Πλουτοφθαλμία Πλουτογαμία. A Pleasant Comedie, Entituled Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery. Translated out of Aristophanes his *Plutus*, by Tho: Randolph. Augmented and Published by *F. J.*"² This unambiguous statement of dual authorship went unchallenged until 1875. Several attempts were then made to prove that Randolph had no part whatever in the translation, and that the whole play was written by *F. J.* It is the purpose of this article to present new evidence, first, that the play is in truth the result of dual authorship, and second, that Thomas Randolph was the original translator and adapter.

After the publication of the first edition in 1651 *Hey for Honesty* was not reprinted until 1875, when Hazlitt included it in his inaccurate edition of Randolph's works.³ The controversy in regard to Randolph's authorship of this play was opened immediately after by an anonymous writer in *The Saturday Review*⁴ who undertook to prove that Randolph could not have written *Hey for Honesty*. This writer states that *Hey for Honesty* is full of allusions to events that occurred after Randolph's death in 1635, and adds that it was "deliberately rejected by the editor of Randolph's works in 1652, 1664,

¹ Hazlitt found an "unpublished" play in the British Museum called *The Queen of Corsica*, 1642, by Francis Jaques. (*Works of Thomas Randolph*, ed. Hazlitt, 1875, II, 375.) Greg (*Handlist of English Plays*, 1900, p. 88) identifies this Francis Jaques with the *F. J.* who augmented *Hey for Honesty*. Without an investigation and comparison of the two plays, such an identification is, of course, conjectural.

² London, 1651, 4°, A-G in fours. Printed in two columns.

³ *Works of Thomas Randolph*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, London, 1875.

⁴ August 21, 1875.

and 1668, whom we know to have been his brother Robert, no bad versifier himself, and full of respect for Thomas Randolph's talents."

Fleay,⁵ Sir Sidney Lee,⁶ and Ward⁷ follow *The Saturday Review* and reject Randolph for the same reasons. The play "may have been founded on a translation of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes by Thomas Randolph," says Fleay, "but in its present state it is certainly more like the work of an imitator. . . . I believe that F. J., who 'augmented and published' it, wrote it altogether, using Randolph's name to cover his attack on the Roundheads." Fleay finds it significant, also, that the play "has no publisher's name to it, being surreptitiously printed."

The existence in *Hey for Honesty* of allusions to events that occurred after 1635 would, indeed, be convincing evidence that Randolph was not the original author were it not for the assertion in the first edition that the play was "augmented" by F. J. These later allusions can therefore be satisfactorily explained by assuming that they are the work of the second author, F. J. The mere fact that such allusions exist is not in itself conclusive proof that Randolph had no part whatever in the authorship.

A similar fallacy is evident in the other argument of *The Saturday Review*, that the play was "deliberately rejected by the editor of Randolph's works in 1652, 1664, and 1668." That it was not included in these editions is undeniable. But that it was rejected "deliberately" is by no means so certain. As Hazlitt suggests,⁸ "it may have been excluded accidentally or out of a feeling that it was the result of divided authorship."

⁵ F. G. Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891, II, 167.

⁶ *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, art. on Randolph, by Sidney Lee.

⁷ A. W. Ward, *Hist. English Dramatic Lit.*, 1899, III, 163.

⁸ Randolph's *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 374.

⁹ Hazlitt was well aware, in printing *Hey for Honesty*, that it contained allusions to events that took place after Randolph's death. But he attributes them to F. J. In foot-notes he calls attention to five of these allusions (*ibid.*, pp. 412, 418, 423, 440, and 447). In two of these, however, Hazlitt is mistaken. Concerning a reference to "dippers" and "anabaptists" (*ibid.*, p. 440), he says: "This passage reads like an addition by the editor and augments. The anabaptist controversy made no great stir till after the poet's death." As *The Saturday Review* points out, Jonson mentions "dippers" and "doppers" in 1620,

Finally, in regard to Fleay's contention that the play "has no publisher's name to it, being surreptitiously printed," it may be observed that in 1651, when the first edition was issued, the Puritan legislation against the theater had been in effect for nine years, and that the play, in its published form, was a virulent attack upon the dominant party. No other explanation of the publisher's desire to conceal his identity seems necessary.

Schelling,¹⁰ Kottas,¹¹ Parry,¹² and Moore Smith¹³ perceive the fallacies in these arguments, and credit the play to Randolph. Schelling finds similarities to Randolph's style in its broad humour and its type characters. Kottas sees Randolph's hand in its method of composition and in its spirit. He notes that the Puritans are satirized in *The Muses' Looking Glass*, and that both the Puritans and the Church of Rome are satirized in *The Conceited Peddler*. He finds also supposed similarities¹⁴ between *Hey for Honesty* and the *Amyntas*, and between *Hey for Honesty* and *The Jealous Lovers*. Dr. Parry observes that the general scheme as well as a number of individual passages are in Randolph's style. And Prof. Moore Smith lists ten parallel passages and rare allusions which appear in *Hey for Honesty* and also in Randolph's unquestioned works.

These scholars, though ably opposed by Ward, Fleay, Sidney Lee, and the anonymous author in *The Saturday Review*, appear to have the bulk of evidence on their side. Accordingly,

and 1625, and it could be added that the anabaptists had been mentioned repeatedly in literature before 1635. Again, Hazlitt calls an allusion to Gregory Brandon (*ibid.*, p. 412) an interpolation by F. J., because "Brandon was not the executioner so early as 1635." As a matter of fact, Brandon was the common hangman as early as 1616. He was succeeded by his son Richard Brandon (see D. N. B.) in 1640. Hazlitt must have been confusing Gregory with Richard when he wrote this note.

¹⁰ Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, 1908, II, 87.

¹¹ Kottas, *Thomas Randolph, Sein Leben und Seine Werke*, Wien und Leipzig, 1909, p. 81 ff.

¹² *Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph*, ed. Parry, 1917, p. 42.

¹³ Moore Smith, "The Canon of Randolph's Dramatic Works" *The Review of English Studies*, July, 1925, p. 310.

¹⁴ Kottas goes somewhat more deeply into the question, but his evidence is rendered doubtful by the inaccuracy of his statements. In comparing *Hey for Honesty* with Randolph's undisputed plays, he finds similarities which simply do not exist. It hardly seems possible that Kottas can have read some of the plays which he undertakes to discuss.

all that can be hoped in this essay is to approach the subject from a new point of view and to supplement the opinions of Schelling, Kottas, Parry, and Moore Smith with new material.

Whatever Randolph's connections with *Hey for Honesty* may have been, it is certain that he did not write any of the passages alluding to events that occurred after his own death in 1635. These passages must be the work of F. J. But it does not follow, as some critics would have it, that F. J. wrote the whole play. On the contrary, there is distinct evidence that it is the work of two authors, one of whom, F. J., introduced certain additions and interpolations in 1649 or 1650.

The play as it stands is a free translation of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes. Some parts of it, however, are much freer than others, and there are frequent passages which have no counterpart at all in the Greek. Now it is in this last group, in the passages which are entirely modern additions, that all the allusions of later date than Randolph's death occur. Sometimes one or two speeches are slipped in, often lengthy passages are inserted bodily; but invariably it is these additions and interpolations which contain the references to the Civil War.¹⁵ In fact, of the seventy or more allusions to events after Randolph's death,¹⁶ every one shows clear evidence of having been added at later date to some original form of the translation.

A few examples may serve, perhaps, to make this clear. The Introduction;¹⁷ the Epilogue; Act II, Scenes vi and vii; and Act V, Scene ult., are modern additions, and have no counterpart in Aristophanes. Yet these few scenes contain about a third of the Civil War allusions in the play. Again, Act II, Scene 1, contains the following speech:

Carion. Ay, in zooth, neighbor Lackland, as rich as Midas, if you had but ass's ears.

This speech in Aristophanes is as follows:¹⁸

Cario. Nay more, you shall be Midases, if asse's ears you'll tie on.

¹⁵ Most of the allusions to events after 1635 refer to the Civil War.

¹⁶ Of these Hazlitt notes three (Randolph's *Works*, II, 418, 423, and 447); Kottas two (op. cit., p. 81 ff.); and *The Saturday Review* ten.

¹⁷ Several references in the Introduction become clear when it is realized that the Ghost of Cleon is almost certainly intended to represent the ghost of Pym, who died in 1643.

¹⁸ *The Plutus of Aristophanes*, trans. by W. R. Kennedy, 1912, p. 17.

The next speech in Aristophanes is:

Chorus. I feel so gay, I feel so blithe, that I would like for pleasure,
If what you say is solemn truth, with you to tread a measure.

In *Hey for Honesty* this speech is rendered thus:

Stiff. I could give a penny for a Maypole to dance the morris for
arrant joy. Shall we be rich, i' vaith?

But, whereas these two speeches are consecutive in Aristophanes, in *Hey for Honesty* there is inserted between them a passage eleven speeches long, in which, be it noted, there are several of the above mentioned references to events after Randolph's death. This is the only passage in the scene, moreover, which contains such references. The evidence clearly points to the probability that F. J. inserted this passage when he was making his augmentations. Throughout the play, all the allusions to the events after 1635 can be shown to have been interpolated in some such manner as this.

An obvious objection to this theory suggests itself here. It is but natural, one might justifiably say, that all the allusions to later events are contained in the passages that are modern additions, and that have no foundation in Aristophanes, because in the literally translated portions of the play, there could be no references except those found also in Aristophanes. This objection is easily answered. There are no passages in *Hey for Honesty* so literally translated that references to England are precluded. In one of the sentences quoted above there are references to a *penny*, to a *maypole*, and to a *morris dance*. Yet this sentence is translated with not a bit more freedom than are the majority of the speeches in the play. Every page is crammed with allusions to contemporary men, books, customs, and events. Every sentence is a comment upon English manners of the seventeenth century. But only a relatively few passages contain allusions to events that took place after Randolph's death; and these, when a comparison with Aristophanes is made, seem very evidently to be the additions of a second author.

Consider, for example, the following typical passages. The *Plutus* of Aristophanes:¹⁹

Chremylus. Well, I'll reveal, for you of all my slaves,
I rank the first in loyalty . . . and theft.

¹⁹ Kennedy's trans., p. 2.

*Hey for Honesty:*²⁰

Chremylus. Well, I have not the power to conceal from thee any longer, for of all my slaves thou art so trusty, true-hearted, faithful, and honest, that I dare swear there is not an arranter thief amongst 'em.

*The Plutus of Aristophanes:*²¹

Cario. We hasted to the temple of the god,
Leading the creature then the wretchedest,
But now the happiest beyond compare,
And the most fortunate in all the world,
And first we took him down to the seashore,
And washed him.

*Hey for Honesty:*²²

Carion. Then I begin. First we came to the god leading Plutus, then most miserable, but now as happy as Fortunatus his nightcap. First we made him a dipper; we ducked him over head and ears in water, and then we made him an anabaptist.²³

Free though they are, these passages are quite obviously translations, or, if the term be preferred, adaptations of Aristophanes. There can be no doubt that the English is here derived, and fairly closely derived, from the Greek. Yet — and here is the crux of the situation — there is plenty of room in these passages for serviceable English allusions. *Dippers*, *anabaptists*, *Fortunatus his nightcap* — nothing could be more English, though plainly suggested in each case by the thought and situation in Aristophanes. Throughout the play, in fact, allusions to England before 1635 repeatedly occur in the most literally translated passages. Allusions to England after 1635, however, can be found only in the modern additions; in the passages that do not originate in Aristophanes.

In at least one passage, moreover, there is an allusion that must have been made before 1635. Act V, Scene i, contains the following sentence: "thou [i. e. the Pope], the devil, Cardinal Richelieu, and the French faction at court, have brought all the wars into England." This refers to Buckingham's ill-fated attempt to relieve the Huguenots at Rochelle,

²⁰ Randolph's *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 387.

²¹ Kennedy's trans., p. 36.

²² Randolph's *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 440.

²³ Hazlitt incorrectly calls this passage an interpolation by F. J.

in 1626-7, when Richelieu was oppressing them, and to the attendants of Queen Henrietta Maria who came over with her to England. It certainly could not have been written in 1649-51, when F. J. presumably made his "augmentations," for Richelieu died in 1642. The evidence is conclusive that *Hey for Honesty* is the work of two authors.

In showing that Thomas Randolph was the primary author and original translator of the play, I shall rely solely upon certain parallel passages in *Hey for Honesty* and in Randolph's undoubted works. An investigation of the versification of the play would be difficult and perhaps valueless, because any given specimen of verse may or may not have been tampered with by the editor, F. J. Moreover, a large part of the play is written in prose. The parallel passages, some of which, it must be admitted, are more convincing than others, follow, therefore, without further comment.

Hey for Honesty, p. 418:²⁴

Hang Brerwood and Carter in Crackanthorp's garter,
Let Kekerman too bemoan us;
I'll be no more beaten for greasy Jack Seaton,
And conning of Sandersonus.

Aristippus, p. 25:

Hang Brerewood and Carter in Crackenthorp's garter:
Let Keckerman, too, bemoan us:
I'll be no more beaten for greasy Jack Seaton,
Or conning of Sandersonus.

Hey for Honesty, p. 473:

Sir, was it you that was so saucy with my master's doors to knock them so peremptorily? they shall bring an action of battery against you.

Poems, p. 634:

What damage given to my doors might be,
If doors might action have of battery!

Hey for Honesty, p. 457:²⁵

. . . . full of Babylon lice,
Like the foul smock of Austria.

²⁴ All page numbers refer to Randolph's *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, 1875.

²⁵ Hazlitt notes the similarity of these two passages (*ibid.*, p. 457).

Aristippus, p. 29:

I gave the Duchess of Austria a receipt to keep her smock from being animated when she had not shifted it for a twelvemonth.

Hey for Honesty, p. 423:

. . . mine are all diminutives. Tom Thumbs,
Not one Colossus, not one Garagantua among them.

Oratio Praevaricatoria, p. 679:

. . . taceat miracula *Tom Thumb*;
Nec se gigantem jactet *Garagantua tantum*.

Hey for Honesty, p. 469:

. . . would any but an Orlando or Jeronymo have used a poor woman so?

Oratio Praevaricatoria, p. 680:

Impiger *Orlando* jam non est tam furioso;
Non te, *Jeronyme*, cogemus sugere lecto.

Hey for Honesty, p. 455:

Faith, I can walk the Exchange,
Put on an Indian face, spit China fashion;
Discourse of new-found worlds, call Drake a gander;
Ask if they hear news of my fleet of ships
That sail'd by land through Spain to the Antipodes
To fetch Westphalia bacon. I can discourse
Of shorter ways to the Indies . . .
. . . dream of plots,
To bring Argier by shipping unto Dover.

Poems, p. 637:

But when I view thee gravely nod and spit
In a grave posture, shake thy head, and fit
Plots to bring Spain to England, and confine
King Phillip's Indies unto Middleton's mine.

Hey for Honesty, p. 432:²⁶

Her lice come ap Shinken, ap Shon, ap Owen, ap Richard, ap Morgan,
ap Hugh, ap Brutus, ap Sylvius, ap Aeneas, and so up my shoulder.

²⁶ Noted by Moore Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 310. Cf. *Sir John Oldcastle*, Act I, Sc 1, l. 80: Her coozin ap Ries, ap Evan, ap Morrice, ap Morgan, ap Lleuellyn, ap Madoc, ap Meredith, ap Griffen, ap Davy, ap Owen, ap Shinken Shones. *The Shakspeare Apocrypha*, ed. Brooke, 1908, p. 130.

Oratio Praevaricatoria, p. 674:

. . . . ab Aeneâ ad Brutum, a Bruto ad Sylvium, a Sylvio ad Caradocam, a Caradoco ad Utherum Pendragonem, ab Uthero Pendragone ad Cadwalliderum et successores — ad Owen, ad Powell, ad Shinken, ad Shone, et sic ad Buckley.

Hey for Honesty, p. 400:

Sirrah Carion, where be your couple of footmen?

Poems, p. 520:

My legs run footmen by me, go or stand.

The following interesting allusions in *Hey for Honesty* occur also in Randolph's undoubted works: Banks the conjuror, p. 391, 438, *Aristippus*, p. 23; Hobson the carrier, p. 391, *Conceited Peddler*, p. 44; Sir Hugh Middleton,²⁷ p. 391, 447, *Poems*, p. 637; Doomsday Book, p. 399, *Conceited Peddler*, p. 47, *Muses' Looking Glass*, p. 248; "the gunpowder treason," p. 401, 415, *Aristippus*, p. 10, *Conceited Peddler*, p. 38, *Muses' Looking Glass*, p. 201; Prester John, p. 409, *Aristippus*, p. 27, 31, *Muses' Looking Glass*, p. 223; "the great tub at Heidelberg," p. 422, *Aristippus*, p. 30; Sir Giles Mompesson,²⁷ p. 456, *Aristippus*, p. 16; Aristotle's well,²⁷ p. 447, *Aristippus* p. 6, *Poems*, p. 637; Don Quixote, p. 437, *Conceited Peddler*, p. 49, *Oratio Praevaricatoria*, p. 679. Utopia, p. 478, 399, *Amyntas*, p. 279; Edward Littleton, p. 427, *Poems*, p. 536; Maxentius,²⁷ p. 467, *Poems*, p. 540; Diogenes, p. 393, *Aristippus*, p. 7, 12; Merlin, p. 430, *Aristippus*, p. 11, *Poems*, p. 565; Terra del Fuegos,²⁷ p. 480, *Poems*, p. 648; *Terra incognitas*, p. 480, *Conceited Peddler*, p. 37; the Fortunate Islands, p. 480, *Muses' Looking Glass*, p. 220. Pope Joan, p. 457, 488, *Poems*, p. 567; Pericles, p. 421, *Oratio Praevaricatoria*, p. 680; Talmud, p. 479, *Poems*, p. 566; Chaldee, p. 479, *Muses' Looking Glass*, p. 234; the Turk in Poland, p. 478, *Muses' Looking Glass*, p. 223; Dr. Faustus, p. 458, 459, *Aristippus*, p. 11; Tamberlain, p. 431, 436, 438, *Poems*, p. 540.

The following are the chief allusions to events of later date than Randolph's death in 1635. Many of them, such as the allusions to the Cavaliers, Roundheads, sequestrators, and to the excise, are repeated several times, so that the total number approaches seventy or seventy-five.

²⁷ Noted by Moore Smith, *loc. cit.*

Cavaliers (1641), Roundheads (1641), the Excise (1643), the use of Goldsmith's Hall as the Exchequer of the Commonwealth (1641), the decline of the Royalist cause (1645-6),²⁸ the military forces in the Civil War (1642), the death of Pym (1643),²⁹ the Directory of Public Worship (1645), Hopton and Montrose (1642), the Irish Rebellion (1641), the Levellers (1644), the Independents (1643), sequestration of Royalist property by Parliament (1642), the Westminster Assembly of Divines (1643), the service book (1636), the abolishment of Common Prayer (1645), the Book of Canons (1636), Prince Rupert (1642), siege of Basing House (1643), siege of Bristol (1643), use of St. Paul's Cathedral as a stable (1645), Rupert in command of the fleet (1648), death of Laud (1645), Prynne and Burton pilloried (1637), Ormond's forces (1641), Marston Moor (1644), Pope Innocent X (1644), the Long Parliament (1640),³⁰ Milton's divorce pamphlets (1643-4).

These allusions, as we have seen, do not prove that F. J. was the sole author of *Hey for Honesty*. On the contrary, they are the very means by which the dual authorship of the play is revealed. Because of this dual authorship, finally; because of the parallel passages quoted above; because of the presence of Randolph's name on the title-page of the first edition; and because of the similarities to Randolph's style noted by Schelling, Parry, and Moore Smith, Randolph must have been the original author of *Hey for Honesty*.

CYRUS L. DAY

²⁸ "Honest Cavaliers are known by their threadbare clothes." (Introd.).

²⁹ The Ghost of Cleon represents the ghost of Pym. In Cleon's long speech (Introduction) many of Pym's deeds are indirectly mentioned, such as the heavy taxation of 1642 and 1643, the Covenant (1643), and the impeachment of Manwaring (1628). This latter is referred to as having occurred "some twenty years now since," which, if the figure were exact, would place F. J.'s additions in 1648.

³⁰ Hazlitt (*Works of Randolph*, II, 490) is in doubt whether the parliament of 1628 or of 1640 is intended. The reference to the "plunderers" in the next line indicates that it is the Long Parliament that is referred to.

XIX.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF HOMER

LIKE others whose work happens to lie in the classics as much as in English, I have been indebted to Professor F. M. K. Foster's *English Translations from the Greek* (Columbia University, 1918) and the deeper one sinks into bibliographical quagmires the more one appreciates the labor, as well as the infinite possibilities of error, involved in compiling such a list. I say this because it is a rather easy and ungracious thing to pick holes in one section of a bibliographical manual covering a wide field. An independent survey of Homeric translations, which I undertook in the course of an attempt to trace the history of classical themes in English verse, discloses a number of omissions and some apparent mistakes in Dr. Foster's section on Homer. In presenting this supplement to his work I abide (except in one or two items) by his own principles, and confine myself to literal translations, excluding excerpts, adaptations, paraphrases and the like. In the following chronological list the numbered items refer to Foster's book; those without numbers are additions:

"2. Penelopes Complaint: Or, A Mirrour for wanton Minions. Taken out of Homers Odissea, and written in English Verse, by Peter Colse. 1596. 4°." (Foster, p.62).

This is far from a literal translation of Homer, being a free adaptation and paraphrase of some passages. It should not therefore be included.

"8, The strange, vvonderfull and bloudy Battell betweene the Frogs and Mise:. . . Paraphrastically done into English Heroycall verse by W. F. CCC. 1613. 4°." (Foster, p.63).

This also is not a translation, but a free, expanded paraphrase. The date quoted is probably a misprint for 1603.

"11. The Crowne of all Homers Workes Batrachomyomachia Or the Battaile of Frogs and Mise. His Hymn's—and—Epigrams Translated According to ye Originall. By George Chapman. [1624?] Fol.

Reprinted: [Introduction by S. W. Singer] 1818; [Edited by Smith] 1858; [Edited by Richard Hooper] 1887." (Foster, p.64).

I do not know any edition of Chapman's pieces by Smith. Hooper's edition was published in 1858, not 1887, and bears the imprint "London: John Russell Smith, Soho Square, 1858."

"12. Homers Iliads and Odisses, translated. . . by John Ogelsby [Licensed to Master Thom. Tycroft, April 18, 1656.]

Reprinted: [Iliad only] 1660; [Odyssey only] 1665; 2 vol. 1669."
(Foster, p. 64).

I do not know of any editions of Ogilby's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* earlier than those of 1660 and 1665, although Dr. Foster calls them reprints. 1660.—"The First Booke of Homer's Iliads. Translated by Thomas Grantham, M. A. of *Peter-House* in *Cambridge*. . . *London*, 1660."

The first book is translated into heroic couplets. The writer does part of the second book, but the catalogue of the ships is too much for him, and he explains: "I see no reason why I should afflict my Brain any further in translating a Buttery-Book, which will be irksome to the Reader; therefore I will *acquiesce* for the second Book, and go on to the third, by the help of my Almighty God, to whom be glory for ever." There follows the translation of the third book, which however shows no internal evidence of divine aid.

1726.—"The Iliad in a Nutshell: or Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice. [Translated in verse, and illustrated with notes by S. Wesley.] . . . *London*, 1726. 8°"

"25. Iliad, Book I. H. Fitz-Cotton. 1749. 8°." (Foster, p. 66).

This is a travesty, and should not be included.

1755.—"An Essay towards a translation of Homer's Works. In blank verse. With notes, by J. N. Scott *London*, 1755. 4°."

Dr. Foster may have omitted this because it consists of translations of excerpts, but there are so many of these that it seems worth mentioning.

"30. Hymn to Venus. [Translated by W. Congreve] [In Johnson's English Poets]. 1779-81." (Foster, p. 67).

In a chronological table this surely ought to appear under its original date, 1710 (*Works*, Tonson).

1781.—"Homer's Hymn to Ceres, translated in English verse, by R. Hole . . . *Exeter*, 1781."

Hole is named by Dr. Foster (p. 65), but only as one of a number of translators in an American reprint of 1872.

"36. Homer's Works in English. 12 vol., 1805-06. 8°." (Foster, p. 67).

This is one of a good many items for which the bibliographer does not supply enough details for identification.

1810.—"The Frog-and-Mouse-Fight, translated from the Greek by Edward, Lord Thurlow . . . [1810?] .4°. *Forming pp. 28-50 of some larger work apparently written by the second Lord Thurlow.*"¹

¹ Quoted from the Brit. Mus. Cat. My titles are taken almost wholly from the titlepages of books in the Brit. Mus., or from the Museum Catalogue.

1810.—"The battle of the Frogs and Mice; from the *Batrachomyomachia*: with miscellaneous translations *Cambridge*, [1810.]

This book includes a translation of part of *Iliad* i.

1810.—"A Translation of the first seven books of the *Odyssey* of Homer. [In verse. By Charles Lloyd.] *Birmingham*, 1810. 8°."

"41.—*Odyssey*: [Translated into English verse.] 1811. 12°." (Foster, p.68).

The meagre information leaves one uncertain what work is referred to.

1818 ff.—Shelley's translations of Homeric hymns. Dr. Foster mentions Shelley only as forming part of an American reprint of Parnell in 1872 (Foster, p.65).

"49. The First Book of the *Iliad*, translated by [William John] Blew. 1831." (Foster, p.68).

This book contains also translations of the *Batrachomyomachia*, the *Hymn to the Delian Apollo*, and *Iliad* ii.

1833.—"A Literal Translation of Homer's *Iliad*. Prepared according to the text of Doctor Kennedy's edition. By a Graduate of the University. New edition, etc. 3 vol *Dublin*, 1840-33. 12°"

In the Brit. Mus. copy vols. 2 and 3 are dated 1833, and vol. 1, 1840.

1834.—"Homerics [being a translation in verse of *Odyssey* Book V and *Iliad* Book III: attempted by Archdeacon Wrangham [Chester? 1834] 8°"

1835.—"A Literal Translation of the first, second, third, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of Homer's *Odyssey*. By a Master of Arts *Dublin*, 1835. 8°."

Reprinted, *London*, 1845.

"53. Homer's *Iliad*. 1841." (Foster, p.68).

I do not know what work is referred to.

1841.—"The first six Books of Homer's *Iliad*, with an interpagged translation, line for line, and numerous notes. By the Author of "The first six Books of Virgil's *Aeneid*" on the same plan *London*, 1841. 12°."

1842.—"The Hymns to Apollo, to Aphrodite, to Pan, and others, translated into English verse by W. M. W. Call *Lyra Hellenica*, 1842. 8°."

1843.—"Translations of two passages of the *Iliad* [iii.234-244 and vi.394-502 and a fragment of Kallinos. [By E. C. Hawtreys] *London*, 1843. 4°."

This may have been omitted as coming in the category of excerpts, but Dr. Foster does not adhere strictly to his own rule in that regard (see numbers 26, 38, 42, 57), and one is inclined to make an exception of Hawtreys' famous hexameters.

1844.—"The Iliad of Homer. [Book I.] Faithfully rendered in Homeric verse from the original Greek. By Philhellen Etonensis. [i. e. L. Shadwell] . . . London, 1844. 8°."

1845.—The Iliad of Homer. Faithfully rendered in Homeric verse from the original Greek. By Lancelot Shadwell. Books i-ix. 371 . . . London, 1844 (-45). 8°."

Book i. is the same as the preceding work of 1844. The books have separate paper covers. Books i., ii., iii., are dated 1844; books iv. and v., 1845; books vi., vii., viii., lack cover and date, and book ix. has a cover but no date.

"54. Homer's Iliad. 3 vols. 1846." (Foster, p.69).

I do not know what work this is.

"56. Iliad, translated by T. S. Brandreth. 1849." (Foster, p.69).

The Brit. Mus. copy consists of two volumes bound together, with separate titlepages, both dated 1846, not 1849.

"57. Homeric Ballads [from the Odyssey]; with Translation and notes by the late W. Maginn . . . 1850. 8° . . ." (Foster, p.69).

Maginn wrote ballads taken from the Iliad as well as the Odyssey. A collected edition appeared in 1856, edited by Shelton Mackenzie. 1850.—"The First Iliad of Homer. [Translated into English verse by W. G. T. Barter.] In *Poems, original and translated, etc.*, 1850, 8°." 1850.—"The Iliad of Homer, the First, Second, and Third Cantos: translated . . . in a metrical version most conformable, though not identical in construction, with the original Greek Hexameter . . . London, 1850. 6°"

"60. The Iliad of Homer, literally rendered in Spenserian stanzas by W. G. T. Barter, 1857." (Foster, p.69).

The titlepage is dated 1854; the preface, 1853.

1856,—"The Iliad of Homer: First Three Books . . . Literally translated . . . by a Graduate of the University[of Dublin]. New edition. . . . Dublin 1856. 12°."

These three books, except for some minor changes of revision, are the same as the first three of the 1840-33 set listed above.

1858.—"The Odyssey of Homer: Books i.-ii; construed literally and word for word by the Rev. Dr. Giles . . . 1858."

1860.—"Homer for the English, Iliad, Book v. The Prowess of Diomed. (Book vi. The Parting of Hector and Andromache) [with an English verse translation] . . . London, Eton [printed]; 1860. 8°."

Book v. occupies pp.79-108; book vi., pp.109-125. A pencilled note, dated June 13, 1860, on the flyleaf of the Brit. Mus. copy says: "Messrs. Whittaker & Co. state that this is the only part published, although it begins at p. 79."

1860.—"The Iliad. [A translation, in verse, of Books i.-xii., with a portion of Book xiii.] . . . [1860?] 8°."

1861.—"The Iliad of Homer, construed literally and word for word, by the Rev. Dr. Giles. 6 vol. [1861-82]."

1861.—"The Iliad of Homer. The First Three Books faithfully translated into English hexameters, according to the style and manner of the original. By . . . F. H. J. Ritso . . . London, 1861. 8°"

1862.—"The Odyssey of Homer . . . Books i.-vi [vii.-xxiv]. Construed literally and word for word by the Rev. Dr. Giles. 4 vol. [1862-77].

1862.—"Gradus ad Homerum; or, the A.B.C.D. of Homer: being a heteroclite translation of the first four books of the Iliad into English heroics, with notes. By X.Y.Z. [i.e. William Purton] . . . Oxford, 1862. 8°."

This is not exactly a travesty but a serious attempt at a translation in a colloquial style.

1862.—"Homer's Iliad. Book First. Translated into English hexameters by James Inglis Cochrane . . . London, 1862. 8°."

1862.—"The Iliad, Book, I., in English hexameters, according to quantity. By John Murray . . . London, 1862."

1862.—"Homer Iliad A. Literally translated into English hexameters. By James T. B. Landon . . . Oxford and London, 1862."

"65. Iliad Books xx-xxii, with a literal translation and English notes. 1862. 8°." (Foster, p.69).

I have not succeeded in identifying this work.

"67. Iliad. [Anonymous. In hexameters.] 1862." (Foster, p.69).

I have not identified this work.

1863.—"Homer Iliad B, Literally translated . . . by J. T. B. Landon . . . Oxford and London . . . 1863."

1863.—"Batracho-myo-machia: or, The Battle of the Frogs and Mice. An Homeric Fable; reproduced in dramatic blank verse. By T. S. Norgate . . . London and Edinburgh . . . 1863."

1866.—"Homer and the Iliad. [A translation of the Iliad into English verse, with dissertations, commentary, and notes.] By J. S. Blackie. 4 vol . . . Edinburgh, 1866. 8°."

1866.—"The First Book of the Iliad of Homer, etc. [i. e. Il. vi. 407-465 and Il. viii. 542-561] rendered in the heroic couplet by Omega . . . London, 1866."

1866."Translations into English and Latin. By C. S. Calverley . . . Cambridge and London, 1866."

This book contains a translation of Il. i.-ii.

"74. Iliad translated by Philip Stanhope Worsley. Edit. by Conington. 2 vol. 1868 . . ." (Foster, p.70)

This is not quite correct. Vol. 2, containing Books xiii-xxiv, was translated by Conington, with the exception of twelve stanzas of Book xiii, which are Worsley's. Vol. 1 is dated 1865.

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1868.—"Homeric Studies. [Containing Book i. of the *Iliad* and extracts from other books, *etc.*, "translated in the Early-English blank verse."] by E. L. Swifte *London*, 1868. 4°."

"79. *Iliad*. W. L. Collins. 1869. [Ancient Classics]." (Foster, p.70).

This work, the date of which is 1870, is not a translation.

"80. *Odyssey*. Translated by W. L. Collins. 1870 [Ancient Classics]." (Foster, p.70).

This also is not a translation.

"81. *Iliad*. Translated by John Graham Cordery. 2 vol. 1870" (Foster p. 70).

Both volumes of this work appeared in 1871.

1872.—"Key to the *Iliad* of Homer. For the use of schools By W. R. Smith. [With the text of the first and sixth books, a large portion of the fifth, and a few select passages from the second.] *Philadelphia*, 1872. 8°."

This book has the text, and a translation in heroic verse, of the parts mentioned.

1874.—"Homer's *Iliad*. Translated [into English blank verse] by J. B. Rose *London*, 1874. 8°."

1878.—"Notes on Homer's *Odyssey*, Books ix & x. With a literal translation, by a Graduate in Classical Honours *Cambridge*, 1875, 4°."

1876.—"The *Odyssey* of Homer; construed literally and word for word. Book 17 [1876] by the Rev. Dr. Giles."

"87. *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Translated by M. Barnard 2 vol. 1876." (Foster, p.71).

The one-volume *Odyssey* of 1876 does not mention any translation of the *Iliad* either done or contemplated, and I have not found any record of it.

1879.—"The Deeds and Death of Patroclos. Book xvi. of the *Iliad*, with notes and index, and a literal translation. By H. Dunbar *Glasgow*, 1879. 8°."

1880.—"*Iliad* i. By Charles Wellington Stone. *Cambridge*: University Press, John Wilson and Son. 1880."

"95. *Iliad*, Books xiii and xiv, translated by Herbert Hailstone. 2 vol., *Cambridge*. 1880." (Foster, p.71).

Two other small volumes, containing Hailstone's translation of Books xv and xxi, also appeared in 1880.

"98. *Iliad*, translated by Herbert Hailstone. 1882. Books xiii and xiv are reprints of No. 95." (Foster, p.72).

I have not encountered such a complete translation by Hailstone. 1889.—"The Ninth *Odyssey* of Homer rendered into hexameter verse by A. C. Grylls *Cambridge*, 1889. 8°."

"109. *Iliad*, Book xxii, with notes and translation by John Henry Freese. 1890.

Reprinted: [With Book xxiv] 1894." (Foster p.73).

According to the Brit. Mus. Cat., Books xxii and xxiii, together, appeared in 1890. The B. M. copy is undated.

1890.—"Homer's Iliad. Books xxii & xxiii. Translated into English by H. Hailstone *Cambridge*, 1890. 8°."

1891.—"The Odyssey of Homer, books ix.-xii. Rendered into English blank verse by W. Cudworth [Privately printed] 1891. 8°."

1891.—"The Sixth Book of Homer's Iliad. A prose translation by Hallam Tennyson. See Tennyson (Hon. L) *Lionel Tennyson. A memorial volume.* 1891. 8°."

1898.—"The Odyssey, Book vii, in English Verse *London*, Chiswick Press, 1898."

1899.—"The Homeric Hymns: a new prose translation and essays, literary and mythological, by Andrew Lang *London*, 1899. 8°."

1900.—"The Odyssey, rendered into English prose by Samuel Butler *London*, 1900. 8°."

1900.—"The First Book of the Iliad of Homer done into English by Edward Carpenter. [In verse.] 1900 *The Story of Eros and Psyche, etc.* 1900. 8°."

1908.—"Iliad Book ix. Translated from the text in the Pitt Press series by C. H. Prichard *Cambridge*, 1908. 8°."

1914.—"Hesiod. The Homeric Hymns and Homeric with an English Translation by H. G. Evelyn-White Loeb Classical Library, 1914." Listed by Foster only under Hesiod, p. 61.

In addition to the items queried in the above list, there are two or three other translations named by Dr. Foster which I have not yet been able to identify.

A few translations which have been issued since Dr. Foster's dissertation appeared may be added here for the sake of completeness.

1919.—"The Odyssey, with an English translation by A. T. Murray two volumes Loeb Classical Library, 1919."

1921.—"The Odyssey translated into English, in the original metre, by Francis Caulfeild *London*, 1921. 8°."

1922.—"Thirty-two Passages from the Iliad in English rhymed verse. By C. D. Locock *London*, 1922. 8°."

1922.—"The Wrath of Achilleus. Translated from the Iliad into quantitative hexameters [with a preface on English prosody] by George Ernle *London*. 1922."

1923.—"Thirty-two Passages from the Odyssey. In English rhymed verse by C. D. Locock *London*, 1923."

1924.—"The Iliad with an English translation by A. T. Murray. Vol. I. *London*, 1924."

J. N. DOUGLAS BUSH

XX.

ESSAYS AND LETTER-WRITING

THOUGH Mr. C. E. Whitmore in his paper, "The Field of the Essay"¹ has suggested with exceptional sharpness the full function of the letter in the development of various essay types, he has, like other writers on the essay, failed definitely to relate the two forms. Both types are exceedingly vague and complex. And if Mr. Whitmore decides that "the effort to discover a single continuous 'essay tradition' in English is vain" and adds that he "can see no reason to suppose that Lamb's work would have been in the slightest degree altered if Bacon had never written a line;" it is likewise true that the letter throughout its history shows perhaps even more striking irregularities and lack of discipline. Nevertheless, though both essay and letter are inchoate literary identities which have in the past taken on a variety of exteriors, there are undoubtedly points in common between them; there is even, I should like to show, sufficient evidence to argue a definite and deliberate indebtedness on the part of essay writers for elements which belong primarily to the familiar letter and to it alone of all recognized literary forms.

The problem of this relation has three phases. First, there was throughout the formative period of the essay a looseness of terminology and a vagueness of definition which served to confuse the two forms. In the second place, the mood of the essay is more closely related to that of the genuine familiar letter than to any other literary type. And finally, if it is possible to show that an author has ever been so far conscious of a relation between letter and essay as to take material from one to the other without completely changing it, the obligation would seem to be established.

In Montaigne, "father of the essay" in England as in France, we observe a scholar retired into a sort of romantic seclusion, who was wont to turn his mind inside out on paper, disclosing thereby some very curious and charming knick-knacks. It is

¹ *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI, 551 ff.

notable that he did not dedicate his work to a wide and dispersed public, but "To the private commodity of my kinsfolk and friends."² Writing in this vein, he had little prospect of a wide hearing, for both the conception of the essay and its name were innovations. Apparently it was not without consideration that he invented this non-committal form into which he sorted his reflections, or chose for it the new term, then as undefined as his writing was informal; for he was well aware of a long-established tradition that letters were the aptest containers for casual and not fully digested comment. Speaking of letters, he writes:

It is a kind of writing wherein my friends think I can do something; and I am willing to confess that I should rather have chosen to publish my whimsies that way than any other, had I had to whom to write; but I wanted such a settled intercourse, as I once had, to attract me to it, to raise my fancy, and to support me. For to traffic with the wind, as some others have done, and to forge vain names to direct my letters to, in a serious subject, I could never do it but in a dream, being a sworn enemy to all manner of falsification. I should have been more diligent and more confident had I had a judicious and indulgent friend whom to address, than thus to expose myself to the various judgments of a whole people, and I am deceived if I had not succeeded better. I have naturally a humorous and familiar style, but it is a style of my own, not proper for public business, but like the language I speak, too compact, irregular, abrupt, and singular; and as to letters of ceremony that have no other substance than a fine contexture of courteous words, I am wholly to seek.³

Montaigne was not only aware of the advantage of writing in the familiar vein, but as further quotation would have shown, was well acquainted with the intricacies of formalized letter-writing; in fact his disgust with the usual formalism probably deterred him from the use of letters quite as much as the lack of a suitable correspondent. Forged names and a counterfeit emotion could not possibly have made his material more agreeable. Why then bother with a convention which was more often abused than fully utilized? Thus the essay—thing and term—made its appearance in the history of literature.

² *Essays*, Author to the Reader.

³ *Essays*, A Consideration upon Cicero, Bk. I, Ch. xxxix.

The first English essayist in his turn saw clearly points of contact and likewise distinctions between the two forms, when he observed: "The word [*sc.* Essay] is late but the thing is auncient. For Senecaes *Epistles* to Lucillius, yf one marke them well, are but Essaies—that is dispersed Meditacons though conveyed in the form of Epistles."⁴ The Baconian essay consequently is deliberate, having little of the epistolary mood or manner.

Other and later writers, however, were not always as accurate as Montaigne and Bacon had been in distinguishing between letter and essay. There was, in fact, a long tradition of impersonal letter-writing. Guevara's letters, widely popular in English translations during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, were Senecan, and if, with Bacon, one mark them well, they were but essays.⁵ Bishop Hall followed in the same vein with his "six decades" of letters, which were much too heavily weighted with moral concerns to be letters as we now prefer to use the word; and in imitating him, Markham with his *Decades of Honour* (1622, 1625) and *War* (1622) sank to new levels of dull moralizing. Howell, it is true, in his *Epistola Ho-Eliaæ* found the real pace of published literary letters, but his imitators fell back sadly into a dull informative gait.⁶ At a later time Congreve and Dennis used the letter form for what we now without question call essays: Dennis in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Original Letters* (1721) actually refers to three *Letters on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare* as "an ESSAY upon the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare." George Farquhar put his *Discourse upon Comedy, in reference to the English Stage* in a letter to a friend—a "familiar letter" the title page calls it—because "Here is nothing that cou'd make for my Advantage in either *Preface* or *Dedication*; no

⁴ *Essays*, Dedication to Prince Henry, 1612 edit. This dedication was cancelled before publication owing to the death of the Prince.

⁵ The title-page of the *Spanish Letters, Historicall, Satiricall, and Moral, of the famous Don Antonio de Guevara*, (trans. 1697), advertises that they were "written by way of *Essay* on different Subjects, and every where intermixt with both *Raillerie* and *Gallantry*."

⁶ The tone of Thomas Forde (*Familiar Letters*, 1660), one of Howell's closest imitators, was somehow, in spite of the best intentions, impersonal. Loveday, another follower (*Letters*, 1659), has in one case at least—Letter XXVII to his Sister F. *Concerning Prayer*—written a genuine Baconian essay.

Speculative Curiosities, nor *Critical Remarks*; only which Hazard, not Study, brings into my Head, without any preliminary Method or Cogitation."⁷ Yet note, it was a discourse. It is not easy, therefore, to imagine precisely the immediate status of this new term "essay" in the world of letters. Certainly Montaigne's rambling excursions did much to make it popular, and it came gradually into use to excuse the public expression of informal opinion.

Nevertheless, the letter also continued as a literary form through a whole century and more, serving every cause in almost every vein. The truth probably is that this device, once conventionalized, was commonly used indiscriminately for any occasional short piece of writing. The very terms "letter" and "essay," frequently interchangeable, became, we may suppose, almost synonymous. The whole confusion is well hit off by the third Earl of Shaftesbury, who after taking some pains to discountenance the "practice among authors to feign a correspondence," points out the epistolary merits of Cicero, and Horace, and then pauses to censure Seneca for falling

into the random way of miscellaneous writing, say[ing] everywhere great and noble things, in and out of the way, accidentally as words led him . . . with infinite wit, but with little or no coherence, without a shape or body to his work, without a real beginning, a middle, or an end. . . . This is the manner of writing so much admired and imitated in our age, that we have scarce the idea of any other model. We know little, indeed, of the difference between one model or character of writing and another. All runs to the same tune, and beats exactly one and the same measure. Nothing, one would think, could be more tedious than this uniform pace. The common amble or *Canterbury* is not, I am persuaded, more tiresome to a good rider than this see-saw of essay-writers is to an able reader. . . . When an author sits down to write, he knows no other business he has than to be witty, and take care that his periods be well turned, or, as they commonly say, run smooth. In this manner, he doubts not to gain the character of bright. When he has writ as many pages as he likes or as his run of fancy would permit, he then perhaps considers *what name he had best give to his new writing, whether he should call it letter, essay, miscellany, or aught else*. The bookseller perhaps is to determine this at last, when all besides the preface, epistle dedicatory, and title-page is dispatched.⁸

⁷ *Love and Business* (1702), pp. 112 ff.

⁸ *Characteristics*, Miscellaneous Reflections, No. 1, Ch. III.

It becomes clear, then, that for a long period after an active intellectual curiosity had stimulated the tentative treatment of all sorts of topics, no word was in generally accepted use to cover this miscellaneous prose. The term "essay" accurately summarized the type, but it had connotations—arising perhaps from Bacon's elegant discourses—which may have debarred it from its logical place. The only recognized literary genre into which discussion of the sort had formerly been cast was the letter; consequently, it was still compelled to do service beyond its original and peculiar capacity.

Something more than the accidents of proximity and similar function, however, encouraged the dependence of essay upon familiar letter. Before 1700 the essay was revived as an individual form of literary expression, largely owing to the popularity of Saint-Evremond in England, and a consequent renewal of interest in Montaigne. It was also during this same period that the type of mind and the prose style which we find in Addison and Steele was finally matured. We have a new sort of writing, a wholesome graceful thing, to which the particularly apt term *essay* came to be applied. In mood then, likewise, there were many elements common to these two forms, elements which best appear if we isolate qualities in each which seem characteristic.

The familiar letter, we may agree, finds its initial impulse in conversation. It is what we may call oral; it is read as we read drama, always with the sound of the words in our ears, and the image of personal manner and gesture before our eyes. A familiar letter, being the means of communication between two friends at a distance, becomes the immediate and natural substitute for conversation, and the same qualities may be observed in each. In fact, the excellence of the true familiar letter is accurately gauged by the degree in which it *seems* to be conversational. Yet merely to imitate is not enough, for a mere catalogue of intimate comment no more makes a letter than the accurate record of conversation produces drama.

What, then, constitutes merit in a familiar letter? First of all it must be personal. All its individual characteristics are either symptomatic of the personal element, or supplementary to it, and no formal restrictions may be imposed. "A letter may be written upon anything or nothing," declared Cowper, "just as

that anything or nothing happens to occur."⁹ But to define in such terms is like reckoning distance in millions of miles, or thickness in terms of molecules; the idea must be translated into a comprehensible scale of values. From the best familiar letters, certain traits can fortunately be isolated and made to serve as further descriptive of the form. For instance, a discursive manner is pleasing, a wandering at impulse from topic to topic with lightness of touch and simplicity of presentation. Where such is the case, each subject is treated briefly, even superficially, and with no attempt to exhaust the idea. The best letters, like the best conversations, are characteristically without "rhyme," but seldom dispense with "reason." They are the relaxed utterances of orderly intellects. "When I write to you," Cowper once remarked in letters which are models of the "art of decorating insignificance," "I do not write without thinking, but always without premeditation; and the consequence is, that such thoughts as pass through my head when I am not writing, make the subject of my letters to you,"¹⁰ Again, every liberty in choice of matter and method is commonly allowed; is requisite, indeed, if the writing is to be truly familiar. In order to achieve through the letter the interplay of individualities which exists in good conversation, the writer unconsciously varies his mood as he moves from circle to circle. For the time being, his personality is diverted from its orbit, is retarded or accelerated, as it comes within the influence of some other magnetic body. His whim is his only law. Whatever may be its substance, a letter ought in some degree to be an expression of moods, mutually understood by reader and writer. In the way in which it thus implies an environment and interacting emotion, there is more than a hint of the dramatic monologue. The distinction lies chiefly in this, that the familiar mood, as Mr. Saintsbury has pronounced,¹¹ is not robust enough to carry strong emotion. The characteristic temper of good letters, as of the eighteenth century, is "the *peace* of the Augustans." Some sort of emotional sympathy, however, must always pass current between reader and writer, or the letter fails. An epistle to a philosopher friend

⁹ *The Correspondence of William Cowper*, ed. Thomas Wright, London, 1904; I, 221, Aug. 6, 1780.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 341, Aug. 16, 1781.

¹¹ *A Letter Book*, pp. 24-5.

may be loaded with metaphysics and still be excellent; though as a love-letter it has short-comings. In short, the familiar letter is a *relaxed, intimately personal communication from one orderly mind to another mind congenial in some respect*.

Now the analogy we have observed between the familiar letter and conversation leads to a further parallel which may turn out to be illuminating. There are three accepted prose types which in series seem to suggest an ascending scale of significance and formality: the *familiar letter*, the *essay*, and the extended *treatise* or *dissertation*. In speech a similar progression appears in *conversation*, the *informal talk*, and the *formal public address*. If these two series are really parallel, we should be able to strengthen the rather tenuous link between the familiar letter and the essay by examining for a moment the collateral and admittedly clearer relation of conversation to informal address.

The underlying distinction between conversation and the informal address arises from external conditions. Conversation involves the idea of a small group of more or less equal intellectual equipment though perhaps of divergent views, all of whom contribute to the progress of the discussion. The nature of a speech is defined by the fact of a *single* speaker before a *more extended audience*. Though the impulse in either case may be equally informal, different conditions modify the speaker's method. In the first place, when the audience is enlarged, the finer tints of meaning which the few selected listeners instinctively appreciated, become lost upon minds which are not in immediate personal sympathy. To compensate this loss the speaker cultivates a more inclusive manner. For similar reasons, the substance, which originally was involved with all manner of secondary considerations, he must now sift, putting the essential points in orderly sequence. Only elements which are immediately pertinent may be used.

All this time, however, the idea of interchange of opinion is fundamental and must be taken into account. With public speaking a convention is established—a sort of social contract—which allows one person to develop the whole argument. But that does not prevent reaction in minds of the hearers, a reaction mentally registered unless it becomes too intense and breaks through in voiced comment from the floor. This is the reason

for another distinction between the methods of conversation and public address. Whereas the individuals of a limited group may reasonably welcome the presentation of ideas with which they personally cannot agree, the public speaker before a less intimate audience wisely concentrates upon those issues whereon most of his audience is in accord.

Further, while the conversation may have been orderly, this modification for a larger public demands more careful presentation. However spontaneous its charm may appear, the success of a speech depends never on mere impulse, but always on art. To sum up, informal public address might be called conversation reduced to the common denominator of intellect among a numerous audience.

Turning back now from conversation to the familiar letter, let us apply experimentally this principle of the extended audience and observe the result. With the assumption of a wider group of readers the intenser note of intimacy is of course diffused; the artlessness of the true familiar style gives way to a more self-conscious manner, and the glow of sympathy becomes more or less impersonal. Lacking the possibility of an intimate response, the author is content to talk more of himself and his own point of view, and to think of his readers in the abstract. Nevertheless, where the subjective quality is so essential, there will be a certain natural response in the reader—the survival in a more real way than might at first seem probable of the original interplay between letter-writer and letter-reader. In the choice and treatment of topics, the complexities are sifted out and the important points are put in orderly sequence, with something like unity of design throughout. The tendency to discursiveness is put under a measure of control, and distracting elements which would cause diffusion of effect are usually excluded. Brevity is presumed, for exhaustiveness of treatment is at once unnecessary and undesirable. Rising out of the familiar letter then, we have a conscious literary form which nevertheless retains, with certain modifications, the basic traits of its parentage.

This is certainly very like the essay. Consider Professor Bradley's admirable summary of the elements which he held essential in that form: "Brevity, simplicity, and singleness of presentation; the strong play of personality, the subjective

charm; the delicate touch, the limited range of theme and of treatment; the ordered beauty through exclusion of all disordered moods and fiercer passions,—these flow directly from the presence and dominance of the lyrical element."¹² Similarly Ernest Rhys, prefacing a popular collection of essays, concludes: "We might end by claiming the essayists as *dilute lyrists*, engaged in a rhythm too subtle for verse, and lifelike as common-room gossip."¹³ Professor MacDonald in his study of the essay, though demurring at the use of the word "lyrical," agrees that the essay and the familiar letter have three elements in common: informality, spontaneity, and egotism.¹⁴ One writer goes so far as to call an essay "A written monologue or—in terms of another art—a personal letter addressed to the public."¹⁵ These definitions go far to confirm the notion that the mood of the essay differs from that of the letter not in its essential quality, but only as it is adapted to a more extended group of readers.

To have thus defined a point of definite contact between the essay and the familiar letter, does not, it is true, prove a direct obligation; but certain inferences are warranted. The familiar letter, so to speak, is a primary form: that is, while it has antecedents, and shows at different periods of its development traces of extensive foreign influence, yet its definitive quality has never altered; it is not a thing of art, but rather personal and innate. Its fundamental quality is the first-personal or lyrical mood. The essay, on the other hand, is artificial, a graceful medium of personal expression to a mildly sympathetic public. In it, too, the lyrical element predominates. Recalling these two forms to have had a very close physical proximity during the formative period of the essay, and that, with the establishment of the essay, the letter declined as a mould for informal expression, is it too fanciful to suggest on these grounds alone that the essay is under positive obligation to the familiar letter?

¹² C. B. Bradley, "The English Essay—Its development and some of its perfected types." *University Chronicle*, (Berkeley, Cal.), I (1898), 393 ff.

¹³ *A Century of Essays* (Everyman edition), p. ix.

¹⁴ W. L. MacDonald, *The Beginnings of the English Essay*. University of Toronto Studies, 1914.

¹⁵ D. T. Pottinger, *English Essays*, p. ix.

There is, however, a third link between letters and essays which should be even more convincing. In the history of published letters in England two traditions can be traced: a tradition of informative letters finding their obvious impulse in a primitive desire to inform or instruct; and a tradition of literary letters which possessed what may be called an æsthetic appeal. The tendency of letter-writers who had an eye—or both eyes—on the public was to modify the familiar quality of letters in one direction or another so that there developed a handful of prose types, partaking of both literary and informative qualities, which we now prefer to classify as essays.

It was James Howell among English writers in an unquestionably familiar mood who, through a nice adjustment of literary letter-writing to a contemporary taste for profitable information was the first to gain a wide and permanent reputation. Many of the *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ* were probably not authentic familiar documents; the very fact of Howell's writing while he was confined in the Fleet recalls what one writer has said of the essay: "By far the most common purpose of essay-writing is simple recreation."¹⁶ That, however, is not the only thing about these letters which reminds us of the essay. The character of some of them is more deliberate than we usually find in familiar intercourse. I refer for example to his series of letters on Languages,¹⁷ or that on the religions of the world.¹⁸ And it was the same Howell who wrote the letter on Wines,¹⁹ and those on Tobacco,²⁰ the Sibyls,²¹ or Dæmonology.²² These, one may

¹⁶ W. L. MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Bacon likewise writes: "As for my essays and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreation of my other studies, and in that sort purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant, that those kind of writings would, with less pains and embracement (perhaps), yield more lustre and reputation to my name, than those other which I have on hand." Letter to the Bishop of Winchester, *Works* (ed. Spedding, 1874), xiv, 374.

¹⁷ *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, Bk. II, Nos. 55-60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 8-11. Beside these it is only fair to set a similar series of letters on education, which William Cowper—most familiar of letter-writers—wrote to his intimate friend, Unwin; a comparison which should in part, at least, absolve Howell.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 54.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 43.

²² *Ibid.*, III, 23.

grant, are extreme cases, but throughout the four books there is a tone which leads one to suspect that the author had one hand on the pulse of the reading public, while he wrote letters to his friends with the other.²³ Another fact, too, connects Howell with the essay. More than one writer has characterized the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ* as "Addisonian," recognizing that some of them might stand quite unobtrusively among the *Spectator* papers. Moreover, Howell's letters were republished in 1708 for the first time in a period of twenty years—the longest interval since their first appearance—and again in 1713, 1726, and 1737. Evidently the popular taste which supported the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* favored Howell's letters. Addison himself seems to have borrowed from them at least once.²⁴ It is notable, also, that certain of these letters illustrate admirably the lyrical mood as it might be applied to the essay, the delicate infusion of personality which gives familiar charm.

What, then, in such instances where the subject and manner of writing were adequate in every way to an extended audience, was the ultimate consideration which decided for the letter form in preference to the essay? Frequently when the general tone was informative, the letter was chosen for the same reason that persuaded Congreve to use it when he wrote to John Dennis concerning *Humor in Comedy*, viz.: to avoid the implication of accurate and final treatment.²⁵ In other instances the letter was a fiction which disguised the real authorship or gave additional point to satirical utterance.²⁶

On the other hand, however, there is the sort of essay which, like the familiar letter, depends for its charm more on the familiar element than on any informative appeal. In this "familiar essay" the approach to the tone of the true familiar letter is so close that one can hardly discern the subtle difference

²³ For others of Howell's letters which are essentially essays, cf.: *Ep. Ho-El.*, I, v. 42; I, vi, 14; II, 8; II, 50; III, 3; III, 8; III, 9; IV, 7.

²⁴ Joseph Jacobs mentions these points of contact in his edition of the *Ep. Ho-El.*, II, lxvii.

²⁵ " . . . But such little Remarks, as may be continued within the Compass of a Letter, and such unpremeditated Thoughts, as may be Communicated between Friend and Friend, without incurring the censure of the World or setting up for a *Dictator*, you shall have from me since you have enjoyn'd it."

²⁶ E.g., Goldsmith's *Chinese Letters*, or Swift's *Drapier's Letters*.

between them. But the distinctions are probably these: essays are likely to be abstract in their central theme, and letters are regularly concrete; essays, even in their most familiar manner, more than letters, are moulded to a sort of contour; both excite an æsthetic reaction in the reader, but the letter aims to evoke an *individual personal* reaction, while the essay reaches out towards a *multiple personal* reaction.

The fact that a final distinction can be beaten so fine leads one to wonder whether there is any fundamental difference between familiar letters and the modern familiar essay. Stevenson writing on the *Character of Dogs*, Hazlitt on *Disagreeable People*, or *Want of Money*, or Lamb about *Poor Relations* or *Old China* come very near to the mood of the truly familiar letter. If one could but light on even a single instance in which an author carried a topic directly and smoothly from a genuine letter to an essay, we might finally conclude that there is a point where, without distortion, the mood and manner of the familiar letter merge into those of the essay.

Happily there are some excellent examples of this fusion. It is no accident that some of the princes among essay-writers of a century past have been also of the hierarchy of letter-writers. Consider Lamb. Or Stevenson. Both have left essays and letters which make to an astonishing degree the same sort of appeal. The casual reader feels this as quickly perhaps as the admirer and student, though he may not so deftly grasp the subtle distinctions. By looking more closely one sees that their essays are perhaps trimmed and shaped a little more carefully than their letters, omit details which are too intimate, or irrelevant to a chosen theme, focus a trifle more closely upon one idea, letting other suggestions—in a letter probably of equal importance—fall back to give the composition perspective. The letters, we might put it, are done in a single dimension with no shadows; the essays may be simple, carried through with stark economy of resource like an etching, yet having weight and depth and light and shadow to make them live, almost to move. Both, nevertheless, are lines upon paper, the same mediums, by the same hand, sometimes on identical subjects. This much we feel of more than one author who has left us work in both sorts.

But turning to a brief and more minute examination of this phase, we may find in Charles Lamb a most striking example of

how an author may rework for publication ideas or anecdotes which he had already sent to friends in his letters.²⁷ Sometimes the obligation of essay to letter is slight; the letter merely suggests a topic which had lodged in the author's mind and which sooner or later, when some incident stirs his recollection, emerges into an essay. Again, the letter may contain more ample material which is subsequently worked over into an article for Lamb's magazine public. Finally, there are two instances in which a letter or part of a letter is transferred to the printed page with only insignificant revision.

Let us imagine Lamb sitting in his "little back study in Bloomsbury" some evening well on in the year 1820, turning over his mind for an essay to be printed in the *London Magazine* for December. That afternoon Coleridge had taken away a volume—"Luster's Tables" as Becky, the maid, had it—and Lamb for the best of reasons resented it. Hadn't he always been pestered by friends who were more diligent in borrowing than in returning his precious volumes? Hadn't he once written Wordsworth something about chaining his books to his shelves "*More Bodleiano*" where people might "come and read them at chain's length?" "For of those who borrow," he added, "some read slow, some mean to read but don't read; and some neither read nor meant to read, but borrow to leave you an opinion of their sagacity."²⁸ Well, borrowing was chronic with Coleridge and he might have a reminder this time, for, wrote Lamb, "My third shelf (northern compartment) from the top has two devilish gaps, where you have knocked out its two eye-teeth." And by the way, that letter finished, would not this nasty habit of borrowing books make a good subject for the essay? From his heart, we may believe, he began to write: "The human species, according to the best theory I can form of it, is composed of two distinct races, *the men who borrow*, and *the men who lend*." And he is well on his way to a charming talk on this theme for some four or five pages of print.²⁹ First he talks of borrowing in

²⁷ The bare fact of these relations is mentioned at the several points by E. V. Lucas in the notes to his excellent edition of the *Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*. His immediate task did not lead him to study the resemblances, or, except in one instance, to comment even slightly upon them.

²⁸ To William Wordsworth, April 9, 1816.

²⁹ *The Two Races of Men*.

general, then of borrowing money, and finally he comes to his grievance against those who take away his treasures which are "cased in leather covers." He talks about C.—and "dear C." to whom the letter had been addressed, will probably recognize the author of the essay—but in a kindly tone, for "you are sure that he will make one hearty meal of your viands, if he can give no account of the platter after it." Yet, even this he tempers, for S.T.C. will surely return the volumes he takes "with usury; enriched with annotations tripling their value."³⁰

In this way a detail was taken from the letter, enlarged, remodelled—though in much the same style, even to the point of mentioning the authentic initials of the most recent offender—and converted into the more abstract and shapely reflection of the essay.

Another example reveals much the same process. In August, 1817, Lamb wrote to Barron Field, who was at that time in Sydney, New South Wales. The idea of writing to one so far away drew up in his mind a crowd of whimsical suggestions about the difficulties of keeping news fresh and authentic until his correspondent could read it. It is possible that as often as he wrote to Field he may have been struck by the futility of his "now's" and "will be's" when before they could be read they would long since be "has been's." However that may be, he printed in March, 1822 his essay on *Distant Correspondents*, still "in a letter to B. F. Esq. at Sydney, New South Wales."³¹ Owing perhaps to the time which seems to have elapsed between the early idea and the later essay, there is a considerable and interesting difference in the style. The essay has grown from one short paragraph in the letter. Again, the letter is a collection of news items or quaint comment, all practically of equal value; the essay groups all the whimsical side play round the central theme of a remote correspondent, makes everything lead delicately towards that single idea, and comes to a close as it began with quaintly exaggerating the inconvenience of corresponding

³⁰ Though this letter to Coleridge is undated, and has commonly been put in the year 1824—thus working grave injury to our pipe-dream—we have the opinion of Mr. Lucas (Vol. VI, p. 545) to support a feeling that one cannot separate this delightful letter and the essay of December, 1820.

³¹ Many of Lamb's essays are in the form of letters, either to his friends as here, or to the editor of the magazine in which he happened to be publishing.

at such long range. The style of the essay is more polished, but it lacks just enough of the spontaneity of the letter to make us think that Field was probably more pleased to read the letter as he received it than he would have been to get it as it was published in full dress almost five years later.

One other theme of the letters we find repeated in the essays, one which appears to have hung heavy in Lamb's sensitive mind,—the execution for forgery of a banker, Fauntleroy by name. The day following the hanging Lamb wrote to Bernard Barton in a quaintly sad mood reminding Barton how very easy it was to make a trifling slip like the poor banker and end so. It is not hard to imagine that Lamb may at times have been dogged by a morbid fear of committing theft—a fear which itself had compelled him as a child to take a forbidden peach. There are four months between this letter to Barton and the publication of the essay which he called *The Last Peach*.³² Here for a third time he takes the topic of a single paragraph in a previous letter as a nucleus about which to build a larger unit. But here, more than we have so far noted, there is a perfect identity of mood in the two versions, the same humorous droop of phrase, and the same wry twist of fanciful notions. It is not only then that ideas for essays are tucked away in earlier letters and there thoroughly at home; but even the *tilt of the mind* is carried over from one to the other—a literal transposition of the lyrical mood.

Similar to this and even more extended, is the relation of a letter from Lamb to Coleridge on March 9, 1822, to *The Dissertation upon Roast Pig*, which appeared in the *London Magazine* for the following September. It is impossible that Lamb could have written these two pieces independent of each other; and the process was clearly one of development from the letter into the essay, not of condensation in the other direction. Lamb's letter consists of a single paragraph (barring a short concluding one), into which he packs a series of images which rise before him at the thought of roast pig. Thence he passes by means of a transition about the limits of generosity to the anecdote of his giving as a child his precious six-penny plum-cake to an old man he met on the way back to school. There is really little topical connection between the roast pig and the plum-

³² December 1, 1824; and the *London Magazine* of April, 1825.

cake; consequently, no chance would be likely to throw them together on a second independent occasion.

The theme of the essay is the same as that of the letter—Roast Pig; and so it is labelled. It opens with a three-page apocryphal history of the discovery of the delicacy, which is not in the letter at all, and then point by point it picks up the mages of the early sentences of the letter and expands them into separate paragraphs, linking all together with the necessary transitions.

"They are interesting creatures at a certain age," says the letter. The essay reads:

I speak not of your grown porkers—things between pig and pork—those hobbydehoys—but a young and tender suckling—under a moon old—guiltless as yet of the sty—with no original speck of the *amor immunditiae*, the hereditary failing of the first parent, yet manifest—his voice as yet not broken, but something between a childish treble, and a grumble—the mild forerunner, or *præludium* of a grunt.

To Coleridge Lamb suggests, "What a pity such buds should blow out into the maturity of rank bacon." For his public readers he builds out the idea:

See him in the dish, this second cradle, how meek he lieth!—wouldst thou have had this innocent grow up to the grossness and indocility which too often accompany maturer swinehood? Ten to one he would have proved a glutton, a sloven, an obstinate, disagreeable animal—wallowing in all manner of filthy conversation—from these sins he is happily snatched away—

Ere sin could slight, or sorrow fade,

Death came with timely care—

his memory is odoriferous—no clown curseth, while his stomach half rejecteth, the rank bacon—no coalheaver bolteth him in reeking sausages—he hath a fair sepulchre in the grateful stomach of the judicious epicure—and for such a tomb might be content to die.

"Was the crackling the colour of the ripe pomegranate?" Lamb asks in the letter, and in the essay writes:

There is no flavour comparable, I will contend, to that of the crisp, tawny, well-watched, not over-roasted, *crackling*, as it is well called—the very teeth are invited to their share of the pleasure at this banquet in overcoming the coy brittle resistance—with the adhesive oleaginous—O call it not fat—but an indefinable sweetness growing up to it—

the tender blossoming of fat—fat cropped in the bud—taken in the shoot—in the first innocence—the cream and quintessence of the child-pig's yet pure food—the lean, no lean, but a kind of animal manna—or rather, fat and lean (if it must be so) so blended and running into each other, that both together make but one ambrosian result, or common substance.²³

Other suggestions and images flit back and forth between the letter and essay until finally Lamb arrives at the transition from roast pig to six-penny plum-cake. In the letter Lamb wrote:

To confess an honest truth, a pig is one of those things I could never think of sending away. Teals, wigeons, snipes, barn-door fowl, ducks, geese—your tame villatic things—Welsh mutton, collars of brawn, sturgeon, fresh or pickled, your potted char, Swiss cheese, French pies, early grapes, muscadines, I impart as freely unto my friends as to myself. They are but self-extended; but pardon me if I stop somewhere—where the fine feeling of benevolence giveth a higher smack than the sensual rarity—there my friends (or any good man) may command me; but pigs are pigs, and I myself therein am nearest to myself. Nay I should think it an affront, an undervaluing done to Nature, who bestowed such a boon upon me, if in a churlish mood I parted with the precious gift.

In the essay we read:

I am one of those who freely and ungrudgingly impart a share of the good things of this life which fall to their lot (few as mine are in this kind) to a friend. I protest I take as great an interest in my friend's pleasures, his relishes, and proper satisfactions, as in my own. "Presents," I often say, "endear Absents." Hares, pheasants, partridges, snipes, barn-door chicken (those "tame villatic fowl") capons, plovers, brawn, barrels of oysters, I dispense as freely as I receive them. I love to taste them, as it were, upon the tongue of my friend. But a stop must be put somewhere. One would not like Lear, "give every thing." I make my stand upon pig. Methinks it is an ingratitude to the Giver of all good flavours, to extra-domiciliate, or send out of the house, slightly, (under pretext of friendship, or I know not what) a blessing so particularly adapted, predestined, I may say, to my individual palate—It argues an insensibility.

²³ In the essay, this paragraph preceded the one opening, "See him in the dish . . .," and curiously this is the same as the relative position of the first mention of crackling in the letter. "You had all some of the crackling—" writes Lamb, "and brain sauce."

And here follows with somewhat less elaboration upon the passage in the letter the anecdote of Lamb's childhood generosity and his subsequent remorse for having disposed of the delicacy without a proper consideration for the sentiment behind the gift. After this digression he returns with unusual abruptness to the subject of pigs. Clearly this *exemplum* of the "impertinent spirit of alms-giving" is as remote from the central topic as in the letter it was from the delicious pig which Coleridge had dined upon. The letter carried him along from point to point, dictated the topics for his paragraphs, and when he arrived at the story of his boyhood experience, that too went into the mill. In relation to the rest of the essay, however, this episode is much less conspicuous than it was in the letter; it is so built about and closed in that it becomes finally just an odd stone in the structure.

Thus this letter is wholly assimilated to the plan of the larger structural unit without change of mood, and often without drastic revision of the style. In some instances we observe a suggestion drawn out into a filigree of delicate phrases. At other places, Lamb points his sentences with a trifle more skill, selects more carefully the words in the lists he so loves to compile, inserts a touch of more sophisticated humor to take the place of a purely personal quip, tints his style with a flatwash of subtle rhetorical dignity, and when all is done,—calls it an essay.

No examples could be found to illustrate more conclusively the practical relation of essay and letter which may exist in the trained literary consciousness of a writer. But to complete the evidence which this one author provides, mention may be made of a couple of essays which, with trifling, and from our immediate point of view wholly insignificant changes, have been taken intact from letters. In the former of these cases the authorship of the anonymous essay was first established by noting its close resemblance to the letter. On February 1, 1806, Lamb had recounted in a letter to Wordsworth his conversation with a young man about the poet Spenser, and his discovery later that his companion had all the time been thinking of a contemporary figure, William Spencer, and making irrelevant comments under that misapprehension. With a few changes this anecdote served for an article in the *Reflector* five years later, entitled *On the Ambiguities Arising from Proper Names*.³⁴

³⁴No. II, 1811.

The last example I have to mention of any marked adaptation by Lamb of ideas in his letters to a subsequent use in published essays is that in which a letter to Henry Crabb Robinson of January 20, 1827, describing the death of Lamb's friend, Randall Norris, and making an appeal for Robinson's interest in the widow's behalf, was transferred with only the slightest revision to the columns of Hone's *Table Book* in the same year.⁸⁵ Here it was entitled *A Death-Bed*, with a sub-heading, "In a letter to R.H., Esq. of B." The trifle was reprinted again among the *Last Essays of Elia* in 1833. This delicate sketch is at one and the same time familiar letter and familiar essay. A complete identity, as here, of familiar correspondence with published literary expression is almost overproving our argument, for was it not agreed that publication with the vast extension of audience which it involved was antipathetic to certain qualities in a familiar letter? Certainly we must here grant an exception; and at the same time offer a reason which of itself is illuminating. When one looks more closely at this letter of Lamb's to Robinson about Norris, one finds there very little of Robinson. It is really an exquisite expression of Lamb's purely personal emotions in the circumstances of Norris's death. So long as nothing of the personality of the second person is infused into the letter, nothing can be lost by changing the identity of that second person,—as in reality we do when we throw letters open to the public. Anyone may read this prose lyric of Lamb's with much the same feelings as Robinson presumably felt. Lamb, the artist, achieves thus a complete reconciliation between all the essential conditions of the genuine familiar letter and the equally exacting conditions of the essay with all that they imply.

If this examination of the relation between letter-writing and the English essay has been to any purpose, it will be hard to deny what amounts to a positive obligation. Not only were the peculiar qualities of each dim and ambiguous in the early periods of the development of essay-writing, but in very recent times, as the essay culminated in a finely artistic prose genre, the technique and the spirit of them have been so similar as to permit a transfiltration through the thin bounds which

⁸⁵ Vol. I, cols. 425-26, 1827.

ordinarily separate them. Furthermore, this is not a phenomenon which defies explanation. Analysis has shown that the essay temper differs from that of the letter not so much in a wholly new constitution as in a recomposition of the same elements. Perhaps all we have said does not prove beyond a doubt that between such vague and loosely constituted forms there has been a bond of definite obligation. And yet, considering the impossibility of ever proving by mathematical demonstration a case of literary relationship, we may, I believe, grant the case fairly conclusive.

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XXI.

WHIG PANEGYRIC VERSE, 1700-1760

A PHASE OF SENTIMENTALISM

THOUGH of slight intrinsic value, Whig poetry of the eighteenth century constitutes a distinct chapter in the history of English literature. The earlier interest of poetry relating to affairs of state had almost invariably taken the form of personal eulogy, satire, or violent invective—types produced in extraordinary abundance during the Restoration. While such verse continued to flourish indefinitely, the complete development of the party system of government enabled poetry to acquire a much broader and more influential sphere. The great body of Whig verse written in the eighteenth century is devoted to the expression of party ideals; it is concerned with principles rather than personalities. This change of function, deeply significant for the future relation of politics and *belles lettres*, arose largely from the fact that poets were irresistibly attracted by what Chevrillon calls the psychology of Whiggism. Fortunately for the Whig cause, the versifiers contrived to find in the Whig dogma the political embodiment of the most popular moral sentiments of the age. The advocacy of Whiggism thus became a phase of a sentimental movement which, beginning early in the century, eventually "spread like a mildew over the whole surface of literature." The fusion of political and moral ideals resulted in a program especially agreeable to the bourgeoisie. As the mercantile classes acquired wealth and political influence through Whig measures for the promotion of trade, the Whig poet's audience was gradually enlarged and the scope of his usefulness broadened. The political ideals advocated are surprisingly modern. With the change of a few special phrases, the principles and the sentimental arguments used in support of them would sound curiously familiar to readers of today. We are familiar also with the influence of a sentimental press upon the promises, if not the actual performances, of political parties. The one unfamiliar and distinctive circumstance is that much of the propagandist work now performed by journalists devolved at that time upon the poets.

I

Professor Courthope¹ has made an excellent study of Whig panegyric, but he leaves off at the point where the poets were only beginning to exercise their complete function as expositors and champions of Whig ideals. His examination is confined, virtually, to poems produced during the time of William III and of Queen Anne, taking into account, as the nature of a general history of poetry demands, only such productions as are at least comparatively notable for intrinsic literary value. The list includes early poems by Montague, Addison, and Prior; notice is given also to John Hughes and Thomas Tickell. A brief review of the same period is included here only as a necessary introduction.

Clearness of treatment, especially of verse composed in the initial stage, demands at the outset repetition of Mr. Courthope's statement that the line of demarcation between Whig and Tory was not always clear-cut. The Revolution of 1688 and the Declaration of Rights (1689) were essentially Whig measures. Through the change they produced in the government and through the policies afterwards pursued by the *roi fainéant*, William of Orange, the Whigs attained an ascendancy which was scarcely interrupted even by the accession of a nominal Tory ministry at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign and was never seriously imperiled until 1710. But in this revolutionary change moderate Tories had concurred as members of the Convention and afterwards, though reluctantly, as supporters of the foreign war precipitated by the Revolution. To have taken a different position would have been equivalent to joining the extreme, and indeed the only logical, group of Tories, the Jacobites. The union of Whigs and moderate Tories was an instance, however, of a combination of political forces agreed, if at all, only upon a single detail of policy and incapable of co-operating after that one purpose had been effected.² Since the expulsion of James II was due partly to the fear that the Roman Catholic religion might be firmly re-established in England as well as to the indignation aroused by the monarch's invasion of popular liberties, with many religious safety was the chief consideration. For those in whom the religious motive

¹ W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, Vol. V, ch. II.

² See C. B. Roylance Kent, *The Early History of the Tories*, 1908, ch. v

was uppermost the Bill of Rights possessed significance chiefly as a guarantee of restored Protestantism, and their interest declined as soon as they regarded England reasonably safe from the Romanist plot. Even those who were actuated primarily by political convictions were not agreed necessarily except upon the fundamental maxim that an oppressed nation is justified in revolting against a tyrannical sovereign. To confirm this right, it was patently necessary to wage war against Louis XIV. But from the beginning of the war the Tories were in an awkward dilemma. While fully committed to the principal, the only ostensible, design of the war, they found themselves in the ironical position of promoting this central cause of national safety at the price of sacrificing to their Whig allies the professed interest of their own party. At every step in the successful establishment of the Dutch sovereign's policies the power of the mercantile and moneyed class was enhanced at the expense of the landed gentry. The Tories were aiding the Whigs in the destruction of Toryism.

The irony of their position was brought into clear relief at the accession of Queen Anne (1702), when Tory ministers came into power under conditions which made it necessary for them to prosecute a second foreign war, one thrust upon them by the former Whig government and designed primarily in the Whig interest. This very circumstance, however, served in the end to fix a more definite character upon each of the two political parties and to define the political issue. It soon became evident to the Tory statesmen in control that necessary support of the war could be secured only from the Whigs. The new leaders themselves either became proselytes to Whiggism, as Godolphin did, or were driven from office. Thus in the end a more definite alignment than had existed before was secured through division of opinion concerning this one question of foreign policy. The Whigs were for continuing the war, the Tories for bringing it to a speedy conclusion.

It is easily seen why from the beginning poetical enthusiasm was confined almost exclusively to ardent Whig poets. Obviously, too, during the early stages of literary Whiggism panegyrists were necessarily preoccupied with military affairs. As long as British armies were engaged in a Continental war metrical eulogy retained, almost inevitably, much of its traditional

literary character. It was written primarily to celebrate the heroism of individuals and the valor of the British soldier or to ridicule the enemy. The personal note is prominent. At the same time much of the flattery was applicable to the English people as a whole. The one national virtue certain to be signalized was the unselfish motive that had animated the English to embark upon a foreign war. This was said to be purely unselfish. England was not waging a war of self-aggrandizement. She was actuated only by the noble design of perpetuating within her own territory the most liberal and beneficent government in the world and of imparting some of the blessings of the Glorious Revolution to oppressed peoples on the Continent. Poetical emphasis upon the national disinterestedness is at times delightfully egotistic. Now that St. George had swept his own house clean in 1688, he was endeavoring to set the houses of Europe in order. In all poems developing this strain of flattery the encomiast intended primarily to magnify the wisdom and humanity of the Whig patriots, those high-minded statesmen who had expelled the tyrant James II from the English throne and installed William III, the special agent deputed by the Goddess of Liberty to reign over Albion in her stead. There was at least a grain of truth in the bushel of rhetorical chaff; the Grand Monarch and Nassau, France and England, did offer points of striking contrast, and the advantages enjoyed by the English were due chiefly to the initiative of Whig leaders.

The arrival of William, champion of religious truth and political freedom, is described by his Whig subject William Walsh in the following strain:

Firm on the rolling deck he stood,
Unmov'd, beheld the breaking flood,
With blackening storms combin'd.
"Virtue," he cry'd, "will force its way;
The wind may for a while delay,
Not alter our design.

"The men whom selfish hopes inflame,
Or vanity allures to fame,
May be to fears betray'd:
But here a Church for succour flies,
Insulted Law expiring lies,
And loudly calls for aid.

"Yes, Britons, yes, with ardent zeal,
 I come, the wounded heart to heal,
 The wounding hand to bind:
 See tools of arbitrary sway,
 And priests, like locusts, scout away
 Before the western wind.

"Law shall again her force resume;
 Religion, clear'd from clouds of Rome,
 With brighter rays advance.
 The British fleet shall rule the deep,
 The British youth, as rous'd from sleep,
 Strike terror into France."³

At the time of Walsh's writing, in 1705, this was intended as a summary of what had actually been accomplished. William III had now been in his grave three years. What he had begun was being perfected by the "female hand" of his royal successor. The continuity of benevolent design is emphasized by two poems of Congreve's. *The Birth of the Muse*, addressed to Halifax, celebrates the virtuous achievements of William as summarized in the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) and bids

Britannia, rise! awake, O fairest Isle,
 From iron sleep! again thy fortunes smile.
 Once more look up, the mighty man behold,
 Whose reign renews the former age of gold.

How nobly this heritage of disinterested benevolence was fostered in the next reign is set forth in Congreve's *Pindarique Ode to the Queen* (1706). Serene upon her firm throne, Anne might have looked down upon the rest of the world with contempt.

But greatest souls, though blest with sweet repose,
 Are soonest touch'd with sense of others' woes.

Thus Anna's mighty mind,
 To mercy and soft pity prone,
 And mov'd with sorrows not her own,
 Has all her peace and downy rest resign'd
 To wake for common good, and succour human kind.

³ Horace, *Ode III, Book III, Imitated*. (1705). Compare Walsh's ironical praise of the Tories in *The Golden Age Restored* (1703). See also George Stepney's *Epistle to Charles Montague, Esq.*, a typical Whig panegyric of William III. Steele's *Christian Hero* and *Spectator* 516 are written in the same spirit.

Fly, Tyranny; no more be known
 Within Europa's blissful bound;
 Far as th' uninhabitable zone
 Fly every hospitable ground.
 To horrid Zembla's frozen realms repair,
 There with the baleful beldam night
 Unpeopled empire share,
 And rob those lands of legal right.
 For now is come the promis'd hour,
 When Justice shall have power;
 Justice to Earth restor'd!
 Again Astraea reigns!
 Anna her equal scale maintains,
 And Marlborough wields her sure-deciding sword.⁴

It appears from a poem by Nicholas Rowe that the new warlord, the Duke of Marlborough, was fully sustaining the unselfish character of his royal exemplar, William III:

What vast reward, O Europe, shalt thou pay
 To him who saved thee on this glorious day!
 Bless him, ye grateful nations, where he goes,
 And heap the victor's laurel on his brows.⁵

If it were necessary to award first place in adulatory absurdity, it might reasonably be assigned to John Hughes, in consideration of his three poems, *The Triumph of Peace* (1697), *The Court of Neptune* (1699), and *The House of Nassau* (1702). In the midst of much metrical bombast Joseph Addison preached the Whig moral in the calmer and more dignified couplets of his *Letter from Italy* (1704). The praise conferred upon English prosperity and freedom through contrast with the miserable conditions the young traveler beheld in Italy is the most

⁴ Similar sentiments are expressed in Congreve's *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin*. For fulsome eulogy of the Queen, compare Samuel Cobb's *The Female Reign* (1709).

⁵ A Poem, *On the Late Glorious Successes . . . Humbly Inscribed to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin* (1707). Compare Charles Gildon's *Libertas Triumphans* (1708). The Whig enthusiasm of Rowe's *Tamerlane* (1702) was such that until 1815 it was played annually on November 5, the anniversary of William III's landing. The Revolution is glorified also in the Prologue to Rowe's *Lady Jane Grey* (1715).

graceful of the numerous compliments in verse addressed to Montague and his Whig colleagues. Compared with other war-poems, Addison's *Campaign* (1705), though by no means a great poem, is entitled to similar praise.

II

Only one *motif* of the early Whig eulogists was retained by their poetical heirs. As the War of the Spanish Succession dragged on, less emphasis came to be placed upon the altruistic motive of the English; the time came when the fiction of Marlborough's unselfishness was too threadbare even for poetical repetition. But the glorification of British liberty to the shame of France and other countries of Europe continued indefinitely to be a pleasing duty of the versifiers, and the point was elaborated in greater detail by the Georgian poets. We could hardly expect a strict adherence to truth. At times the discrepancy between the theoretic perfection described by the poet and the actual conditions is painfully great. As a modification of tyrannical doctrines of the past the Bill of Rights was undoubtedly a long stride towards modern democracy. It all but disposed of the old belief in the divine right of kings. Undoubtedly, too, English chauvinists were partly justified in their proud comparison with neighboring governments, for under the new *régime* they enjoyed a larger measure of self-government than existed in any of the great Continental states. But it was not true that the political millennium had been ushered in. The effects of the Revolution were, after all, superficial. No patent gain had been made except by a small governing class. Lower down in the scale there were virtually the same inequality of privilege, the same class discrimination and misery that had existed before. In some respects indeed new economic conditions aggravated the servitude of the lower classes. This limitation had to be ignored by the metrical eulogist as it had been by John Locke, the official apologist of the Revolution, in his *Two Treatises on Government* (1689-90).

Thomson is the illustration *par excellence* of Locke's political philosophy in verse and of British egotism. There are numerous poems of his, to be sure, in which his "feeling heart" bemoans the sufferings of unfortunate Englishmen and condemns the brutality legally practised upon them. He was, in fact, the

foremost poet of his time in exposing the inhumanity of the law. Yet it was Thomson who wrote that dull and interminable poem called *Liberty* (1735-6), the most flattering of all the verse-pamphlets in praise of the Whig dogma. Tracing the progress of human freedom from the earliest times, nation by nation, he comes to that glorious event of 1688. By this the fondest dreams of liberty have at last been realized. Here and now, he says in substance, Englishmen enjoy in perfection the blessing of which noble spirits of all ages have dreamed, but of which no people has had more than a small and fugitive share in practice. From the peroration of *Liberty's* eloquent address to Britain, at the close of Book IV, it is clear that the cup of national blessings was full to overflowing:

And now behold! exalted as the cope
That swells immense o'er many-peopled earth,
And like it free, my fabric stands complete,
The palace of the laws. To the four heavens
Four gates impartial thrown, unceasing crowds,
With kings themselves the hearty peasant mixed,
Pour urgent in. And though to different ranks
Responsive place belongs, yet equal spreads
The sheltering roof o'er all; while plenty flows,
And glad contentment echoes round the whole.
Ye floods, descend! Ye winds, confirming, blow!
Nor outward tempest, nor corrosive time,
Nought but the felon undermining hand
Of dark Corruption, can its frame dissolve,
And lay the toil of ages in the dust.

Such were the beneficent effects brought to pass by the Whig Settlement as viewed nearly a half-century later by a Whig poet.⁶

⁶ Parts IV and V are devoted to Britain. See also *The Castle of Indolence*, Canto II, stz. xxiv. Compare with Thomson's tributes: Lord Lyttelton's *To the Reverend Dr. Ayscough at Oxford. Written from Paris* (1728) and *To Mr. Glover on his Poem of Leonidas* (1737); Robert Nugent's *Epistle to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Cornbury and Ode to Mankind* (1739); H. Walpole's *Epistle from Florence to Thomas Ashton* (1740); Henry Fielding's *Liberty. To George Lyttelton, Esq.* (1743); Mark Akenside's *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, Bk. II (1744); Gloster Ridley's *Jovi Eleutherio, or, An Offering to Liberty* (1745); Sir James Marriott's *Verses on the Peace* (1748); Joseph Warton's *Verses Written at Montaubon* (1750); Joseph Giles's *Ode to the New Year* (1756); and Thomas Newcomb's *Vindicta Britannica* (1758). Compare also *Spectator* 287.

The poor man's lot with milk and honey flows.
 England is the
 Great nurse of fruits, of flocks, of commerce, she!
 Great nurse of men!⁷

In the course of a generation, however, abstract theory had become the smallest part of poetical business. Through the general expansion of the literary program poetry was made more directly serviceable; it became a medium for propagating all the details of Whig practice in the conduct of national affairs. The growth of poetical responsibility becomes evident especially in the latter part of George I's reign, when verse came to be used more than ever before for practical and prosaic purposes in general. In the Whig program the chief source of inspiration for poetical propagandists was the glory of maritime commerce. At the time of Walpole's complete ascendancy, while the nation was growing opulent under the system established by William III, practically all the versifiers—influenced by the inherent poetry of the subject, and partly no doubt by patronage or the hope of it—were unremitting in their effort to express the national pride in a commerce extending throughout the world.

Most of these poems were intended as a tribute to the Whig statesmen, many of them to Walpole himself. For example, Young's *Instalment* (1726), addressed to him, contains a defense of the two favorite ministerial designs—the preservation of peace and the extension of British trade:

If peace still smiles, by this shall commerce steer
 A finish'd course, in triumph round the sphere;
 And, gathering tribute from each distant shore,
 In Britain's lap the world's abundance pour.⁸

The Universal Passion, Satire VII (1728) contains a similar tribute to the Prime Minister, to whom it is dedicated, and sets forth the happy condition of England as the result of his guidance:

⁷ Part V, 6, 81-2.

⁸ Young's loyalty is partly explained by these verses:

My breast, O Walpole, glows with grateful fire,
 The streams of royal bounty, turn'd by thee,
 Refresh the dry domains of poesy.

While I survey the blessings of our isle,
 Her arts triumphant in the royal smile,
 Her public wounds bound up, her credit high,
 Her commerce spreading sails in every sky,
 The pleasing scene recalls my theme again
 And shows the madness of ambitious men,
 Who, fond of bloodshed, draw the murd'ring sword,
 And burn to give mankind a single lord.

The same purpose is responsible for the crude verses of Young's *Imperium Pelagi* (1730), a piece of fustian amply meriting Fielding's ridicule of it in *Tom Thumb*. One stanza is noteworthy as expressing the growing effort of the Whigs to remove the social stigma traditionally attached to the mercantile life:

Is "merchant" an inglorious name?
 No; fit for Pindar such a theme;
 Too great for me; I pant beneath the weight.
 If loud as Ocean's were my voice,
 If words and thoughts to court my choice
 Out-number'd sands, I could not reach its height.⁹

His *Reflections on the Public Situation of the Kingdom* (1745) was intended to arouse the sleeping valor of the British by such appeals as the following:

Hail to the brave! be Britain Britain still:
 Britain! high favour'd of indulgent Heaven!
 Nature's anointed empress of the deep!
 The nurse of merchants, who can purchase crowns!
 Supreme in commerce! that exuberant source
 Of wealth, the nerve of war; of wealth, the blood,
 The circling current in a nation's veins,
 To set high bloom on the fair face of peace!

⁹ Compare *Spectator* 69 (1711) by Addison; *Free-Thinker* Vol. II, No. 152, Sept. 14, 1719; Steele's *Conscious Lovers* (1722), Act IV, sc. 2, Act V, sc. 1; Lillo's *George Barnwell* (1731), Act I, sc. 1, Act III, sc. 1 and *Fatal Curiosity* (1737), Act III, sc. 1; Lord Lyttelton's *Letters from a Persian* (1735) No. XLVIII. Voltaire remarks with surprise in *Lettres Philosophiques*, Lettre X, that younger sons of noble English families do not disdain to engage in commercial pursuits. César de Saussure makes the same observation in his *Lettres*, No. VIII, May 29, 1727. Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois* praises the national enthusiasm for trade (Bk. V, ch. vi; Bk. XX, ch. vii, xii), but deplors the participation of the nobility (Bk. XX, ch. xxv).

Most of the Whig poets, though less firm in their allegiance to Walpole, produced verse of this kind. The two most frequent contributors were Young and Thomson.¹⁰ It is a painful commentary on the instability of Fortune that, with a sole exception, none of this enthusiastic literature of the sea has really survived, and the prolonged life of even Thomson's *Rule Britannia* is due to accident rather than independent merit. In the opinion of contemporaries (one not likely to be shared by a reader of today) mercantile enthusiasm reached the high-water mark of poetical expression in Richard Glover's *London, or, The Progress of Commerce* (1739). This long allegorical poem, a mosaic of hard words and classical allusion, narrates the birth of this Child of Neptune on an island off the Libyan coast and pursues her in the various migrations she makes until, like Thomson's *Liberty* of four years earlier, the Goddess of Commerce selects Albion as her permanent residence. After Glover's monumental performance only meager gleanings were left for Cornelius Arnold's *Commerce* (1751) and the second book of Dodsley's *Publick Virtue* (1754).

Though mainly responsible for nurturing commercial expansion, the Whigs had not meanwhile been left by their rivals in uncontested possession of the honor. Just as Tories insisted on seeing their own patriotic ideals reflected in Addison's *Cato*, whereas the Whig author of *Cato* (1713) had intended apparently to read them a severe lesson by contrast, they put in a claim also to a patriotic share in the development of Britannia's commercial prosperity. The charge was made against the Tory statesmen in authority during the last four years of Queen Anne's reign that they had thrown away the advantages acquired by numerous victories on the Continent and betrayed the commercial interest by accepting the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Much of the obloquy attached to Prior, once an ardent Whig, but later the diplomat and finally the pleni-

¹⁰ Thomson dedicated his poem on Sir Isaac Newton to Walpole, who is described as "like Heaven, dispensing happiness to the discontented and ungrateful"; but he later withdrew the dedication and opposed the Prime Minister (see *Britannia*). In addition to passages cited here in various connections, note Young's *Ocean: An Ode* (1728), *The Sea-Piece* (1733) and Thomson's *Summer*, 1005-12, *Autumn*, 118-33, *Liberty*, Part IV, 423-50, 569-73. See Hans Marcus, "Die Entstehung von 'Rule Britannia'," etc., *Anglia Beiblatt* xxxv (1924), 306 ff.

potentiary of the other party.¹¹ The Tories, on the other hand, had all along defended their desire for peace by contending, not illogically in fact, that continuance of the war would only rebound to the further profit of England's Dutch ally and eventually destroy British trade. This argument is employed by Defoe in his prose tract, *Reasons why this Nation Ought to Put a Speedy End to this Expensive War* (1711), a venal performance written to order for Harley and probably falsifying the author's actual sentiments. It is prominent in Arbuthnot's *Law is a Bottomless Pit* (1712). Tory poets also came to the vindication of their party. When Bolingbroke returned from Paris in 1712, he was acclaimed by William King in *Britannia's Palladium* as if the negotiations he had instituted for peace were the sole hope of a languishing commerce. Gay paid Bolingbroke a similar tribute in the Prologue to *The Shepherds' Week* (1713);¹² Pope welcomed the treaty in *Windsor Forest* (1713), before it was formally ratified, because sacred Peace would raise "Thames's glory to the stars"; and the same point is scored by Parnell in his poem on the Peace (1713).¹³ But evidently Harley, Bolingbroke, and

¹¹ That Prior's business in France was not a close secret is evident from the broadside *An Excellent New Song, called Mat's Peace, or the Downfal of Trade. To the Good Old Tune of Green-Sleeves* (1711) (Br. Mus. Broadside 1876 f. 1 (59)).

¹² For other references to trade, see *Fables*, "The Man, the Cat, and the Fly," and *Epistle I. To a Lady. Occasioned by the Arrival of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales*.

¹³ Compare Nicholas Tucker's *A New Poem*, etc. (1713) and M. Smith's *On the Peace: A Poem*. Dr. Johnson makes the following comment upon the surprising fact that Addison's friend Tickell composed a eulogistic poem *On the Prospect of Peace*: "How far Tickell, whom Swift afterwards mentioned as Whiggismus, had then connected himself with any party, I know not; this poem certainly did not flatter the practices, or promote the opinions, of the man by whom he was afterwards befriended. Mr. Addison, however he hated the men then in power, suffered his friendship to prevail over his public spirit, and gave in the *Spectator* such praises of Tickell's poem, that when . . . I laid hold on it . . . I thought it unequal to the honours which it had received. . . ." (*Life of Tickell*, Chalmers, *English Poets*, XI, 97-8). Tickell's Whig sympathies are expressed in *The Royal Progress*, praising George I, and *An Epistle from a Lady in England to a Gentleman at Avignon*, defending the Hanoverian succession. This latter, says Johnson, "stands high among party-poems; it expresses contempt without coarseness, and superiority without insolence." (*Ibid.* 99) It relates, however, only to the Whig Act of Settlement (1701), and Johnson himself was not a Jacobite. Young's *Lansdowne* is as difficult to explain as Tickell's poem.

their panegyrists were reduced to the defensive. On the whole, the honor remained where it belonged historically; Whig statesmen were regarded as the creators and true sponsors of trade, and the poetry of trade came almost entirely from Whig singers. Whatever tenuous hold the Tories may have had upon the confidence of the moneyed class was completely shattered by the disclosure of the Jacobite treason in 1714. Thereafter the Whig claim went unchallenged, and most of the vigor left in Toryism was frittered away in Jacobite intrigue.

The national glory of maritime supremacy produced some of the most enthusiastic verse of the period; but, after all, it was not this phase of commercialism that gave the Whig cause its chief vigor in the literature of sentiment. That came rather from what the age was pleased to consider the "benevolent" aspect of the Whig program. Panegyrists saw, or professed to see, in the commercial policy the humanitarian design of ameliorating the condition of the lower classes. Since the time of Elizabeth the Poor Law had been in operation, but the results had been at best discouraging. Since the latter part of the seventeenth century there had been also a very energetic crusade to stimulate private charity. Retarded somewhat during the early years of Hanoverian rule, this movement assumed unusual activity towards the close of George I's reign, when "benevolence," "good-nature," and "charity" became the most fashionable words in the poetical vocabulary. At this juncture, to present Whiggism as a national philanthropy, supplementary to the relief of the Poor Laws and private alms and superior to either as a humanitarian expedient, was to insure it an immediate popularity with the sentimental "benevolists."

Some idea of what was expected of a beneficent commercialism may be had from the following extracts. Young saw in it employment for the poor in the manning of ships:

Ten thousand active hands—that hung
In shameful sloth, with nerves unstrung,
The nation's languid load—defy the storms,
The sheets unfurl, and anchors weigh,
The long-moor'd vessel wing to sea;
Worlds, worlds salute, and peopled ocean swarms.¹⁴

¹⁴ *Imperium Pelagi*.

Richard Savage's *Of Public Works* (1737) includes for praise various manifestations of public spirit, but reserves special emphasis for commerce, to which many of the undertakings he commends are merely subsidiary. Savage glorifies it chiefly for opening up an outlet for the surplus population of England, an accomplishment then recently exemplified by Oglethorpe's colonial plans:

But now be all the generous goddess seen,
 When most diffus'd she shines, and most benign!
 Ye sons of misery, attract her view!
 Ye sallow, hollow-eyed, and meagre crew!
 Such high perfection have our arts attain'd,
 That now few sons of toil our arts demand?
 Then to the public, to itself we fear,
 Ev'n willing industry grows useless here.
 Are we too populous at length confess'd,
 From confluent strangers refug'd and redress'd?
 Has war so long withdrawn his barbarous train,
 That peace o'erstocks us with the sons of men?
 So long has plague left pure the ambient air,
 That want must prey on those disease would spare?
 Hence beauteous wretches (beauty's foul disgrace!)
 Though born the pride, the shame of human race;
 Fair wretches hence, who nightly streets annoy,
 Live but themselves and others to destroy.

This Public Spirit sees, she sees and feels!
 Her breast the throb, her eye the tear reveals;
 (The patriot throb that beats, the tear that flows
 For others' welfare, and for others' woes)—
 "And what can I" (she said) "to cure their grief?
 Shall I or point out death, or point relief?
 Forth shall I lead them to some happier soil,
 To conquest lead them, and enrich with spoil?"

No, no—such wars do thine, Ambition, wage!
 Go sterilize the fertile with thy rage!
 Whole nations to depopulate is thine;
 To people, culture, and protect be mine!
 Then range the world, Discovery!" Straight he goes
 Over seas, o'er Libya's sands and Zembla's snows;

He settles where kind rays till now have smil'd
(Vain smile!) on some luxuriant houseless wild.¹⁵

The force of commerce as a mode of philanthropy was to be appreciated fully only by considering it in conjunction with allied industries. Foreign trade was merely the last detail in a comprehensive scheme extending in its remote effects to the well-being of the laboring population at large. Thomson emphasizes this close correlation of interests.

And should the big redundant flood of trade,
In which ten thousand thousand labours join
Their several currents, till the boundless tide
Rolls in a radiant deluge o'er the land;
Should this bright stream, the least inflected, point
Its course another way, o'er other lands
The various treasure would resistless pour,
Ne'er to be won again; its ancient tract
Left a vile channel, desolate, and dead,
With all around a miserable waste.

The worst effects of a defeated trade he includes in the following melancholy description of England:

Her unfrequented ports alone the sign
Of what she was; her merchants scatter'd wide;
Her hollow shops shut up; and in her streets,
Her fields, woods, markets, villages, and roads
The cheerful voice of labour heard no more.¹⁶

This large philanthropic aspect of commercialism and allied industrialism had already been argued by Defoe in essays showing that he was far ahead of his age in his comprehension of economic principle. In opposition to the indiscriminate charities that prevailed at the close of the seventeenth century, Defoe asserted that promiscuous alms-giving was aggravating the very

¹⁵ Savage's eulogy of colonization was a new note. He is praised in Johnson's *Life* for having expatiated "upon a kind of beneficence not yet celebrated by any eminent poet, though it now appears more susceptible of embellishments, more adapted to exalt the ideas, and affect the passions, than many of those which have hitherto been thought worthy of the ornaments of verse." (Chalmers, XI, 277.) Savage pays other tributes to commerce in *The Wanderer*, Canto I, *An Epistle to Sir Robert Walpole*, and *The Volunteer Laureat*, No. III.

¹⁶ *Britannia*, 218-27; 243-7. Compare *Autumn*, 910-28.

evil it sought to remedy. He urged, instead, the adoption of a national policy whereby the poor would be made permanently self-supporting. The development of manufacture and trade would, he believed, solve the whole problem of English pauperism.¹⁷ The poets who lauded the Whig measures under Walpole were in a position somewhat different from that of Defoe when he began arguing the cause of trade. By their time the policy itself had become an accomplished fact. It had also produced changes in the nation which made the continued success of that policy indispensable. When once the social and economic effects of the commercial system had begun to manifest themselves in the altered condition of the English laborer, it became evident that Whiggism, while rapidly enriching the middle class and securing titles for merchant princes, had actually shouldered most of the responsibility for the poor.

For reasons so numerous that they can be barely intimated here, a change of vast historical importance was beginning to take place in the distribution and economic status of the laboring population, as a result primarily of new conditions attributable to the increasing demands for labor in the woolen and silk mills and to the gradual introduction of the capitalistic system of manufacture.¹⁸ Conducted at first largely by Protestant refugees from the Netherlands, whose presence was at times bitterly resented by English artisans, these growing industries now absorbed more and more of the labor of the nation. The result was a gradual shift of the working classes from the rural districts to the towns and the rise of such crowded industrial centers as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds. Formerly the dependent classes had been distributed rather evenly throughout the country; they were now beginning to be congested in the towns. The disturbance of the old equilibrium, through what Mr. H. G. Wells has described as "the expropriation of the English peasantry and the birth of the factory

¹⁷ *Review*, Vol. I, 83-4, 100-1; Vol. II, 10, 18; Vol. III, 9, 13-16, 92; Vol. IV, 3-16, 18-21, 23. See also *Giving Alms No Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation* (1704). Addison has received much praise merely for repeating some of these arguments in *Spectator* 232.

¹⁸ See W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, 1912, Part I, ch. xv, especially pp. 501 ff., and L. W. Moffit, *England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution*, 1925.

system," ushered in the gravest problems of modern English society. It is true that the change was only beginning and that the most serious difficulties were still remote, but the dislocation had begun. Although labor was usually in demand and wages were, on the whole, better than they had been formerly, the footing of the industrious poor was actually more precarious.¹⁹ Formerly the burden of poverty had been distributed more or less evenly over the entire country; now it was localized in a few districts. Under the earlier conditions a year of famine had not produced the worst results, for the sufferings were alleviated by the country squires, the landlords, and the parish overseers, without bringing too great pressure to bear at a single point. The population at large had had little occasion for anxiety as long as most of the dependents were attached to the soil that afforded food, fuel, and clothing, and when most of the artisan's work was performed in his own cottage. With the increase of corporate enterprise, it became evident that a sudden decline in commerce, a lowering of wages, an improvement of machinery which would make it possible for one man to perform the work of a score, any of these accidents threatened a national catastrophe. Above all, any obstruction to ocean-going commerce meant the death-blow to British prosperity, and the effects would descend first upon the artisan. The Whigs, in a sense the creators of the situation, made a virtue of their necessity by defending all the measures protective of commerce and manufacture as policies absolutely essential to the preservation of the poor.

These conditions explain why sentimental poets of the Georgian period concentrated their energies mainly upon a defense of laws enacted for the protection of the woolen industry. Although some individual Whigs were among the believers in free trade, their views did not receive the sanction of the Whig party. Most of the Tories believed in a slight protection only, and it was from a few advanced thinkers of this party that the philosophy of modern free trade emanated. Before the time of Adam Smith it was a cardinal doctrine of the Whigs that native industries should be shielded from foreign competition,

¹⁹ See W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 1892, II, 209-11.

especially from the manufactures of France. For the protection of the English woollen interest there had been special statutes of Whig origin since 1678.²⁰ Another Act was passed in 1700,²¹ and the doctrine is embodied in the Methuen Treaty of 1703. But the Whig protective principle was never thoroughly applied until 1721. The preamble of the Act passed in this year declares it "most evident that the wearing and using of printed, painted, stained, and dyed calicoes in apparel, household stuff, furniture, and otherwise, does manifestly tend to the great detriment of the woollen and silk manufactures, and to the excessive increase of the poor, and if not prevented may be the utter ruin and destruction of the said manufacturers and of many thousands whose livelihoods do entirely depend thereupon."²² This law, repeated and explained by an Act of 1748, imposed a fine of five pounds for wearing or using printed or dyed calico and twenty pounds for selling it except for the purpose of exportation.²³ French calicoes were so highly fashionable that violations were numerous. Paris had long been accepted as dictator of fashions in dress, and even while the two countries were at war the English beaux and belles

²⁰ 29 and 30 Car. II, c. 1. A Bill of 1689, which was finally defeated, contained among other curious proposals that all persons be compelled to wear woollen garments of native manufacture from Oct. 15 to Apr. 15. For a review of protective legislation by the Whigs after 1678 and the modifications made by Tory ministries, see C. B. Roylance Kent, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-68; W. J. Ashley, *Surveys Historic and Economic*, 1900, pp. 268-303; W. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* A singular provision of the law required all corpses to be buried in woollen shrouds. Evidently it was not strictly enforced; John Dunton remarks in his *Mourning-Ring*, 1692, p. 288, that the late Act of Parliament is *sometimes* observed. It seems to have been applied more rigorously in the eighteenth century. The estate of John Byrom was fined five pounds for non-compliance (*D.N.B.*). Pope's reference to the case of Mrs. Oldfield, in *Moral Epistles*, Ep. I (1733), is well known. The Englishman's worship of wool is discussed at length in Henri Misson's *Mémoires et Observations*, 1698, pp. 129-44. For other references, see John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, 1911, pp. 36-38. The rise of Free Trade among Tories is discussed by Kent, pp. 469-70 and Ashley, *loc. cit.* The fact that Walpole was somewhat less rigorous than most of his party (J. M. Robertson, *Free Trade*, 1919, p. 16; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, ch. II) was a Whig grievance.

²¹ 11 and 12 Wm. III. c. 10.

²² 7 Geo. I. c. 7.

²³ A detailed account of "The Cambric Act" is given in the *British Magazine* March, 1749.

were ready enough to sacrifice patriotism in order to be in the French mode. The Act of 1721 was really forced upon Parliament by numerous riots among unemployed and hungry weavers who not infrequently inflicted condign punishment upon women dressed in calico.²⁴ Support of the law and of the weavers by the sentimental poet was directed against the indifference of the rich upper classes to the well-being of the poor. It thus became a staple item in the program of literary sensibility and benevolence.

The one poem which adheres strictly to the text of these protectionist measures is an epistle from John Lockman to the author of the "Cambric Bill" (1746).²⁵ The immediate connection with the conditions outlined above appears from the following extracts, more conspicuous for their Whig enthusiasm than for any poetic worth.

To thee, reflexion, practice. have displayed,
How *manufacturers* spread a foreign trade;

²⁴ See *Mist's Weekly Journal* Aug. 15, 1719, May 7, 1720. The issue for March 11, 1721 reports the celebration occasioned by the passage of the bill. Accounts of riots are given in *Read's Weekly Journal* March 19, April 9, and June 11, 1720 and in *Mercurius Politicus* May, 1720, p. 32. *Read's* for Nov. 7, 1719 prints "The Weavers' Complaint against the Callico Madames, as sung at the Playhouse in Lincoln's Inn Fields." The controversy engaged numerous pamphleteers. Steele contributed *The Spinster, in defence of the Woollen Manufacturers*, Dec. 19, 1719 and *The Female Manufacturers Complaint* Jan. 1719-20. Defoe, already the author of various tracts for the encouragement of the woollen industry, wrote for this special occasion *A Brief State of the Question Between the Printed and Painted Callicoes and the Woollen and the Silk Manufacture* (1719) and *The Just Complaint of the Poor Weavers Truly Represented* (1719). John Asgill replied with *A Brief Answer to a Brief State of the Question*, etc. (1719), to the second edition of which (1720) was added an Appendix upon Steele's *Spinster*. For further details, see the *Spinster*, Dublin, 1790, G. A. Aitken's *Life of Sir Richard Steele*, 1889, II, 206-8, and M. Dorothy George's *London Life in the XVIIIth Century*, 1925, pp. 180 ff. Mandeville had little sympathy for the distressed weavers; in the *Essay on Charity and Charity Schools*, ed. 1725, p. 358, he characteristically holds them responsible for their own miseries. It was easier to secure patronage of the silk industry than of the woollen. César de Saussure wrote from England May 29, 1727, "Very few women wear woollen gowns. Even servant-maids wear silks on Sundays and holidays, when they are almost as well dressed as their mistresses" (*Letters* tr. and ed. by Mme. Van Muyden, 1902, No. VIII).

²⁵ *To the long-conceal'd First Promoter of the Cambrick and Tea-Bills: an Epistle . . .* London, 1746. The philanthropist addressed is Stephen G. Jan- sen. Lockman comes in for deserved ridicule in Smollett's *Advice: a Satire*.

How these, improv'd, give wealth with bounteous hand;
 Or slighted, crowd with beggars half a land:
 Pronounce a people, mid the nations, great;
 Or mark them, shiv'ring o'er their ruin'd state.
 When Trades are, curiously, examin'd round,
 Twixt all, or most, a strict connexion's found.²⁶
 Let *Manufactures* (one branch) decline,
 One hundred *Trades*, thence turned adrift, wou'd pine:
 An hundred others, that on these depend,
 Must gradually, to sure destruction tend;
 For, turn'd the salutary streams of cash,
 No buyers appear, and wares become mere trash.
Trades thus indulge, reciprocal, their aid;
 Shoot forth th' enliv'ning ray, or guardian shade:
 Or, one extinct, great numbers thence decay;
 And seem, as by infection, swept away.

Thus all the parts of Nature's mighty frame,
 An universal, innate Power proclaim;
 Dispend this wond'rous Power,
 the whole wou'd fly,
 And the vast System in dread ruins lie.

Impulses (O! how tender) in thee rise,
 As on a village, thou throw'st round thine eyes;
 Where Industry late cheer'd the blissful scene,
 And rosy Health danc'd, blithe, with Peace serene;
 Then sadly sunk, to poverty betray'd,
 By our worst Foe's outwitting us in Trade?
 What generous wrath, hence, fires thy patriot breast,
 To see the fop from Gallia's fabriques drest!
 View him, enwrap, his flimzy form admire;
 And, with his comment on it, others tire.
 Sure the fantastic creature scarce can know,
 That, from such pride, a flood of evils flow;
 That whilst he stalks, with vanity elate,
 Thousands mourn, unemploy'd, their cruel fate;
 Encumber parishes, in sickness lie;
 Frequent thro' grief, or by ill-treatment, die.
 O! blast the mode, its glimmering swift suppress,
 Which, on a Nation's ruin, builds success.²⁷

²⁶ The author's note is that "above 130 handicrafts are employed in the manufacture of our wool."

²⁷ Here the author adds: "France, besides plundering us of our wool, pours in upon us . . . Wines, Brandies, Cambricks, Point Laces . . . Teas. This

The poet then comes to the selfish part played by English women of fashion:

In dangerous times, a jarring state to save,
 Their richest gems Rome's spotless matron's gave:
 Shall then our *British* fair, mid fierce alarms,
 And heedless, tho' the poor around them sigh,
 The *Gaul*, with vanity's curst gold, supply?
 Ah! rather plunge such treasures in the deep,
 Lest we, thro' them, should loss of freedom weep.
 Ye nymphs, when in *French* ornaments ye glare,
 Know, for yourselves, ye distant chains prepare;
 Then hurl, like Paul, the viper swift away;
 For, tho' deem'd innocent, its bite will slay.

After gloating, with moral inconsistency, over the ruin which the exclusion of French wares from England will cause in France, the author explains the happy consequences to the English laborers:

And see (enchancing contrast!) where your swains,
 Who late stray'd, sorrowing, o'er the naked plains;
 With deep-fall'n cheeks, sad image of their fears,
 Made dreadful, by their famish'd infants tears;
 Now whistling o'er their toil, whence comforts rise,
 Which, conscious of their bliss, they duly prize;
 Wou'd not their lot, for scenes exalted, change,
 O'erjoy'd, their native fields in peace to range.

The remainder of the epistle is a violent anathema upon the heinous crime of smuggling.

Undoubtedly this political tract would sound quite as well in prose. Lockman's extreme literalness was avoided by Shenstone, in the four poems of his directly or indirectly associated with the same set of laws. Declining Lord Temple's invitation to visit foreign countries, Shenstone gives as his reason:

While others, lost to friendship, lost to love,
 Waste their best minutes on a foreign strand,
 Be mine, with British nymph or swain to rove,
 And court the genius of my native land.

drains us of our specie, supports the manufacture of our greatest enemy, and starves our own."

Deluded youth! that quits these verdant plains,
 To catch the follies of an alien soil!
 To win the vice his genuine soul disdains,
 Return exultant, and import the spoil!

Th' exotic folly knows its native clime;
 An awkward stranger, if we waft it o'er;
 Why then these toils, this costly waste of time,
 To spread soft poison on our happy shore?
 I covet not the pride of foreign looms;
 In search of foreign modes I scorn to rove;
 Nor, for the worthless bird of brighter plumes,
 Would change the meanest warbler of my grove.

This extract is from *Elegy XIV*; the same opinion is expressed in *Elegy X* and *Elegy XXI*, which was written at a time (1746) when there was rumor of a sumptuary law. More specific charges are contained in *Elegy XVIII*, "The song of Colin, a discerning shepherd, lamenting the state of the woollen manufactory." Possessed of every virtue but "quick-eyed Prudence," heedless Albion, says Shenstone, allows the craft of Gallia to purloin her "ponderous fleece" and foolishly supplies the sheep which now raise plaintive cries in Spain and provide fleece for a haughty foe. Thus all the English shepherd's labors go for naught.

But Albion's youth her native fleece despise;
 Unmoved they hear the pining shepherd's moan;
 In silky folds each nervous limb disguise,
 Allured by every treasure but their own.

Shenstone, too, was touched most deeply by female insensibility.

Oft have I hurried down the rocky steep,
 Anxious to see the wintry tempest drive;
 Preserve, said I, preserve your fleece, my sheep!
 Ere long will Phillis, will my love, arrive.

Ere long she came; ah! woe is me! she came,
 Robed in the Gallic loom's extraneous twine;
 For gifts like these they give their spotless fame,
 Resign their bloom, their innocence resign.

Will no bright maid, by worth, by titles known,
 Give the rich growth of British hills to Fame?
 And let her charms, and her example, own
 That Virtue's dress and Beauty's are the same?

Will no famed chief support this generous maid?
 Once more the patriot's arduous path resume?
 And, comely from his native plains array'd,
 Speak future glory to the British loom?

The same protective principle is urged loudly in Thomson's *Britannia*, the Epilogue to his *Sophonisba*, Young's *Night Thoughts*,²⁸ Richard Jago's *To a Lady Working a Pair of Ruffles*, and Joseph Reed's *A British Philippic*.

All these various aspects of poetical patriotism were finally assembled in John Dyer's *Fleece* (1757). This poem, divided into four books and comprising 2704 lines of blank verse, is fortunately the most elaborate industrial poem, not only of the eighteenth century, but of all English literature. The literary method of *The Fleece* places it in a long genealogical line of poems including John Phillips' *Cyder* (1708), Somerville's *Chace* (1733), and Grainger's *Sugar Cane* (1764), all influenced by Vergil's *Georgics* and composed on the assumption that any subject can be made poetic if only it is treated in verse.²⁹ *Sugar Cane*, written in direct imitation of Dyer and applying this principle with unflinching thoroughness, should have served to discredit the theory once for all when it descended to the veterinary treatment of plantation mules and the cure of worms in negro slaves. Dyer's application of the doctrine stops short of such absurdity only by a degree. *The Fleece* is a verse pamphlet of the various departments of the woollen industry in its

²⁸ Bk. II, 238-55.

²⁹ *The Fleece* was praised highly by Akenside (who made some contributions to it), Wordsworth, and "Christopher North" (John Wilson); but time has vindicated Dr. Johnson's contemptuous remark that a man cannot "write poetically of serges and druggets" (*Life*, ed. Hill, II, 453). Of Grainger's poem he exclaimed, "What could he make of a sugar-cane? One might as well write the 'Parsley-bed, a Poem'; or 'The Cabbage-garden, a Poem'. . . . You know there is already 'The Hop-Garden, a Poem'; and, I think, one could say a great deal about cabbage." (*Ibid*, 454.) Much of Dyer's poem is a mere versification of ideas presented in such typical works as Joshua Gee's *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered* (1729); *The Golden Fleece* (1736); "John London's" *Some Considerations on the Importance of the Woollen Manufacture* (1740); William Webster's *Consequences of Trade . . . of The woollen trade in particular* (1740); *A short Essay upon Trade in general, more particularly on the Woollen Manufactures* (1741); *A treatise on trade; or, the antiquity and honour of commerce* (1750); John Smith's *Chronicon Rusticum-Commerciale; or, Memoirs of Wool*, 2 vols. (1747; rev. 1757).

relation to other forms of philanthropy, and there is not a detail of the whole subject too petty or prosaic for the poet's attention. The practical object is set forth in the dedicatory address:

The care of sheep, the labours of the loom,
And arts of trade, I sing. Ye rural nymphs,
Ye swains, and princely merchants, aid the verse.
And ye, high-trusted guardians of our isle,
Whom public voice approves, or lot of birth
To the great charge assigns: ye good, of all
Degrees, all sects, be present to my song.
So may distress, and wretchedness, and want
The wide felicities of labour learn:
So may the proud attempts of restless Gaul
From our strong borders, like a broken wave,
In empty foam retire.

In order to establish the importance of wool as a national asset, Dyer reviews the history of successful peoples from

Eldest times, when kings and hardy chiefs
In bleating sheep-folds met

down to his own day. Beginning with Phoenicia, Syria, and Judaea, he proves that all their greatness arose from the profits of wool. They were succeeded by Colchis, whose prosperity began with the arrival of Phryxus and the Thessalian ram, and departed when Jason and his companions of the Argonaut bore away the golden fleece. Dyer traces from this time onward the rise and decline of nations as Thomson does in *Liberty*, and in the same wearisome detail: Greece, Venice, various Asiatic empires, Spain, and the story closes with the beginning of the industry in "beauteous Albion." A considerable section is allotted to the natural advantages of English soil and climate for the production of superior grades of wool. In a patriotic outburst very different from the querulous and more intelligible attitude of Armstrong and Green, this poet praises England even for her "mists and vapours."

Those hovering fogs, that bathe our growing vales
In deep November (loathed by trifling Gaul,
Effeminate) are gifts the Pleiads shed,

Britannia's handmaids. As the beverage falls,
Her hills rejoice, her valleys laugh and sing.²⁰

Such natural advantages being given, the problem for the English Government to face is how to make them most serviceable to the nation as a whole and especially to the poor. The plan encouraged by Dyer is two-fold, in a general way like the proposals of Defoe: poverty is to be averted and national prosperity secured by setting the poor to work and by opening up a world-wide market for the produce of their labor.

In his direct reference to the poor Dyer is as sympathetic as any of the "benevolists" of his time. There are few arraignments of avarice more bitter than his address to selfish capitalists—"worms of pride"

Who claim all Nature's stores, woods, waters, meads,
All her profusion; whose vile hands would grasp
The peasant's scantling, the weak widow's mite,
And in the sepulchre of self entomb
Whate'er ye can, whate'er ye cannot use.²¹

But from charity in the ordinary sense he expects little permanent benefit; that is to come rather from impressing upon the lower classes the dignity and worth of labor. True charity will teach "idle want"

And vice the inclination to do good,
Good to themselves, and in themselves to all,
Through grateful toil.²²

To the laborer's outcry against improvements in machinery he opposes an argument in need of constant repetition:

Nor hence, ye nymphs, let anger cloud your brows;
The more is wrought, the more is still required;
Blithe o'er your toils, with wonted song, proceed:
Fear not surcharge; your hands will ever find
Ample employment. In the strife of trade,
These curious instruments of speed obtain
Various advantage, and the diligent
Supply with exercise as fountains sure,
Which ever-gliding feed the flowery lawn.²³

²⁰ Bk. I, 146-51.

²¹ Bk. II, 476-80.

²² Bk. II, 20-22.

²³ Bk. II, 86-94.

He is equally practical in his severity against intemperance, which, notoriously common as it was among the needy, was seldom referred to by the sentimental "benevolists" or even the active philanthropists. It is from such practical considerations that Dyer gives his support to the work-houses provided by the Poor Law. Only in this respect is he notably different from Defoe. Defoe saw in cheap charity labor a menace to national economy; Dyer and his contemporaries were still impervious to the argument that by underselling the market work-houses took bread from the mouths of the industrious poor. His attempt to defend the "charitable rigour" of compulsory labor without offending the sensibilities of the idle is amusing. He would "compel them to happiness" and detain their "step-bruis'd feet" within the abodes prepared for them by a wise government.

Even now the sons of trade,
Where'er the cultivated hamlets smile,
Erect the mansion: here soft fleeces shine;
The card awaits you, and the comb, and wheel:
Here shroud you from the thunder of the storm;
No rain shall wet your pillow: here abounds
Pure beverage; here your viands are prepared;
To heal each sickness the physician waits,
And priest entreats to give your Maker praise.*

In developing the complementary part of his economic program, that is, supplying the raw material, manufacturing, and marketing it, Dyer is conscientiously prolix. When he has finished his secular "*Cura Pastoralis*," nothing more need be said on methods of breeding sheep, protecting them from inclement weather, shearing them, saving the lambs at weaning time, castrating them, treating the halt and rot. We become wearisomely familiar with the "groves pomacious" and the spots of "rich saponaceous loam" which determine the varying textures of wool. The treatise on manufacture is less prosaic. It is relieved somewhat by the incidental story of the Dutch refugees who introduced the art into England and by a warm defense of them against the occasional protests of the native artisans. In the descriptions of machinery the style is energized

* Bk. II, 250-58.

at times by the clanking and whirl of the loom in a way suggestive of Walt Whitman. But never is the reader allowed to forget the moral aspect of the subject. Woolen manufacture is a godsend to the poor because it enables even the women and children to earn a living. It is but another form of charity, a form made possible by Bishop Blaise, the saintly inventor of wool-combing.

Thus, in elder time,
The reverend Blasius wore his leisure hours,
And slumbers, broken oft: till, filled at length
With inspiration, after various thought,
And trials manifold, his well-known voice
Gathered the poor, and o'er Vulcanian stoves,
With tepid lees of oil, and spiky comb,
Showed how the fleece might stretch to greater length,
And cast a glossier whiteness. Wheels went round;
Matrons and maids with songs relieved their toils,
And every loom receivd the softer yarn.
What poor, what widow, Blasius, did not bless
Thy teaching hand?³⁵

If we consider long consecutive paragraphs, by far the best parts of *The Fleece* are those describing the functions of commerce. The recital is attended with parenthetic abuse of French smuggling, comments on methods of improving domestic waterways, and the advantage of opening up foreign trade by various devices, such as the construction of the Panama Canal. But the interest of the reader is gained principally by the writer's enthusiasm for the poetry of shipping. This comes out in the fourth book, one affording some apology for the tediousness of the others. Here, too, there is prolix detail; but in the comprehensiveness of the outlook there is an imaginative lure which recalls faintly the romantic voyages of the time when Elizabethan buccaneers were opening up strange lands. With "woolly treasures amply stored," British prows touch ports at the ends of the earth; the prosaic details of commerce are thus invested with the glamor of remote scenery, novel manners, and awful distance. Like other good Whigs, Dyer attempts to

³⁵ Bk. II, 522-36. Ralph Thoresby notes in his remarks upon the customs of Leicester that "the feast of St. Blase, a Bishop, is celebrated yearly about Candelmass by those who deal in wool, he being said to be the first who invented the combing thereof." *Diary*, Oct. 28, 1712, Hunter's ed., II, 166.

remove the social stigma fixed upon the business of trade. Younger sons of the nobility were engaged in it, but its gentility was still questioned in 1757. In confronting the prejudice, he bases his final argument on the moral view that commerce is the greatest civilizing and humanizing agent known to man. Its immediate influences are seen in "busy Leeds, upwafting to the clouds the incense of thanksgiving" and the "increasing walls of busy Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham"—all supporting thousands of industrious laborers. The remote effects of English legislation bribed to oppose commercial extension are felt even by Tartar and Chinese.

III

In this bright picture of Britannia's merchant marine as a benevolent agency binding

The round of nations in a golden chain

unfortunately there was one dark blot. The one detail out of moral keeping was the slave-traffic. The capture and sale of human beings into servitude could not be harmonized with the philanthropic spirit read into Whig policies. At the same time, the vigor of British commerce was dependent largely upon this one branch.³⁶ The conscience of the public was so blinded to the moral issue by the widespread participation in dividends that it was very difficult to bring independent judgment or sentiment to bear upon the subject. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun was so far from being shocked by the enslavement of negroes that in 1698 he seriously proposed, in the interest of national economy, an extension of the system to incorrigible beggars.³⁷ Individuals might, and some did, voluntarily sell themselves as slaves in the colonies. The benevolent Berkeley owned negroes in Rhode Island. Oglethorpe was Deputy Governor of the Royal African Company, which was under contract to deliver to the Spanish colonies 4,800 slaves annually for a period of thirty years by the terms of the Assiento Treaty (1713).³⁸

³⁶ Much statistical information for the early period is provided by Charles D'Avenant's *Account of the rise and progress of our trade to Africa, preceding the year 1697*, Works, 1771, V, 83 ff. See also Lecky, *supra*, II, 242 ff.

³⁷ *The Second Discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland; written in the year 1698*. Compare Francis Hutcheson's *A System of Moral Philosophy*, 1755, II, 201 ff.

³⁸ J. R. Spears, *The American Slave Trade*, 1901, p. 95.

Besides owning slaves in South Carolina, as Oglethorpe did, George Whitefield urged the adoption of the system in Georgia.³⁹ The new philosophy was no more compassionate than the old religion. Thinkers who agreed with Hobbes in almost nothing else accepted without question his justification of slavery. Cumberland found a place for it in his exposition of the Laws of Nature.⁴⁰ Readers of Locke's *Two Treatises on Government* might have expected a new attitude, for the opening sentence reads "Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an 'Englishman' much less a 'gentleman,' should plead for it." It is soon discovered, however, that this is a mere flourish of the Whig philosopher's, and that he is thinking only of liberty-loving Englishmen. Before he concludes he finds in Nature full warrant for subjecting some "to the absolute dominion and arbitrary power of their masters."⁴¹ This view seems to have continued unopposed in philosophy until the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴²

An apparent exception to the moral callousness of the seventeenth century is to be found in the sermons of Morgan Godwin; but his principal concern, after all, was the Christianizing of the negroes and Indians.⁴³ Mrs. Behn's novel *Oroonoko* (1688)

³⁹ Letter of Dec. 6, 1748, *Works*, II, 208. Cited, with other references, by E. M. North, *Early Methodist Philanthropy*, 1914, pp. 94-5.

⁴⁰ *De Legibus Naturae* (1672), tr. by J. Maxwell (1727), ch. ix, §11, cites approvingly Hobbes's *De Cive*, ch. ii, §9; ch. viii, §§3, 9.

⁴¹ Bk. II, ch. i, §85.

⁴² James Foster pronounced against slavery in his *Discourses on all the principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue* (1749-52), II, 156. A similar position is taken by Francis Hutcheson in *A System of Moral Philosophy* (1755), I, 299-302 and by George Wallace in *A System of the Principles of the Law of Scotland* (1760), I, 88-98. Extracts from these writers were included in an Appendix to the American abolitionist Anthony Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea*, etc. (1762).

⁴³ *The Negro's and Indian's Advocate, suing for their Admission into the Church; or A persuasive to the instructing and baptizing the Negroes and Indians in our Plantations. Shewing that as the complying therewith can be no prejudice to any man's just interest; so the wilful neglecting and opposing of it, is no less than a manifest Apostasie from the Christian faith*, etc. (T.C. I, 366, Nov., 1679); *Trade prefer'd before Religion and Christ made to give place to Mammon. Reprehended in a Sermon relating to the Plantations. First preached at West-*

contains a powerful sentimental plea for slaves. It has been remarked by critics, however, that Astraea's sympathy was engaged mainly by the royal rank of her black hero and his innamorata. We may suspect that the novelist's sole design was to tell a good story. Neither her novel nor Southerne's dramatic version of it (1696) had any other evident effect on folk of sensibility than to provide them an ideal excuse for weeping copiously and happily over miseries they had no desire to alleviate.⁴ It should be remembered to the credit of Daniel Defoe's morality and audacity also that he delivered an emphatic diatribe against slavery in his prose tract, *Reformation of Manners* (1702). Probably through the influence of his example, John Dunton spoke out boldly to the same purpose in *The Athenian Oracle* (1704). While conducting the *Athenian Mercury* (1691-6) Dunton had reconciled himself to the existence of slavery by a curious, but not infrequent, form of casuistry. Without slavery, he asserted, the negroes of Africa could never be converted to Christianity. Besides, captivity was a physical blessing in disguise; for if the negroes were left at home "they must either be *killed or eaten*, or both, by their

minster Abbey, etc. (T.C. II, 135, June, 1685). Godwin is praised for his humanity by Anthony Benezet, *op. cit.*, ed. 1771, p. 74. Baxter's counsel, in *The Christian Directory*, Part II, ch. xiv, was widely influential in England and America; it is a plea for Christian behavior towards slaves.

⁴ Note the flippancy of the Epilogue written for Southerne's *Oroonoko* by Congreve. The most celebrated performance of this play was given in 1749 during the visit of a young African prince and his companion who had been redeemed from slavery by the government. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1749 (XIX, 89-90) gives an elaborate account of the occasion, concluding: "They appear sometimes at the theatres, and particularly on the 1st inst. were at *Covent Garden* to see the tragedy of *Oroonoko*. They were received with a loud clap of applause, which they acknowledged with a very genteel bow, and took their seats in a box. The seeing persons of their own colour on the stage, apparently in the same distress from which they had been so lately delivered, the tender interview between *Imoinda* and *Oroonoko*, who was betrayed by the treachery of a captain [as they had been], his account of his sufferings, and the repeated abuse of his placability and confidence, strongly affected them with that generous grief which pure nature always feels, and which art had not yet taught them to suppress; the young prince was so far overcome that he was obliged to retire at the end of the fourth act. His companion remained, but wept the whole time; a circumstance which affected the audience yet more than the play, and doubled the tears which were shed for *Oroonoko* and *Imoinda*."

barbarous conquering enemy."⁴⁶ When, however, he was bringing out his "Notes and Queries" in collected form as *The Athenian Oracle*, he added an essay violently attacking the whole system.⁴⁶ Another early opponent was Bernard de Mandeville. If we are surprised to find *The Planter's Charity* (1704) emanating from the disciple of Hobbes and La Rochefoucauld, the satirist of Shaftesbury's and Steele's sentimentalism, and the opponent of most charities then in existence, it is probably because we have been misled into doing the character of the cynical Dutch physician an injustice.⁴⁷ Mandeville was not a sentimentalist, but he was not without sympathy, and he had Swift's contempt for pious hypocrites. The moral thesis of his poem appears in the opening lines:

You that Oppress the Captive *African*,
Abuse the BLACK, and Barbarously treat Man
Like Beast, in spite of his great Attribute,
Which only can distinguish him from Brute,
Reason, the lawful Claim to Human-kind;
As if you thought God's Image was confined.
To *European* White! Why should your Slave,
Feel your Unrighteousness beyond the Grave?
Lay on the Burden, till you break his Back,
And let him labour till his Sinews crack,
Draw out the Marrow from the aking Bone,
Feed on his Flesh, but let his Soul alone.

⁴⁶ Vol. VIII, No. 30 (1691).

⁴⁶ *The Athenian Oracle*, 1704, I, 529-32. Rptd. at Boston, Massachusetts in 1705 with Samuel Sewall's *The Selling of Joseph* and also in John Hepburn's *American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule* (1714). See Mary S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America*, 1901, pp. 18, 33.

⁴⁷ Professor F. B. Kaye lists this poem, the preface to which is signed "B.M.," among Mandeville's "Doubtful Works" but adduces good evidence for attributing it to him ("The Writings of Bernard Mandeville," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for 1921, XX, 446-7; *The Fable of the Bees*, 1924, I, xxxi). A view similar to Mandeville's had been expressed in Anthony Hill's *Afer Baptizatus: or the Negro turn'd Christian, being a Discourse showing, I. The Necessity of Instructing and Baptizing Slaves in English Plantations. II. The Folly of that Vulgar Opinion, that Slaves do cease to be Slaves when once Baptized* (1702). That this "vulgar opinion" persisted is evident from Sarah Fielding's *David Simple* (1744), ed. 1904, p. 147. John Wesley notes an exception in his *Journal* for August 2, 1736; but compare what is said in entries for July 3, 1736, April 23, 1737, and July 27, 1755.

Evidently it was not the mere fact of slavery that provoked Mandeville to write, although he does incidentally expose the brutality of it; what aroused his indignation most was the cool inhumanity of so-called Christians who refused to permit a slave to become Christianized and by this refusal, according to their own belief at least, condemned his soul to eternal misery.

But says the hardened PLANTER, the Black Knave
Knows that a *Christian* cannot be a Slave;
He wants his Freedom; must I be undone,
And lose that *Labour* which I live upon?
They are my Portion by my Father's Will,
I found 'em Slaves, and so I'll keep 'em still:
God can be serv'd, sure, at a cheaper rate,
Than with the loss of Right and Estate.

Mandeville confines himself to proving that a slave does not actually become free by professing Christianity; but the total effect of the poem is a strong protest against the whole miserable business of slavery.

These early opponents belong historically in a special category. Any influence that might otherwise have grown out of their attacks was neutralized by the invigoration of the slave-trade through new commercial developments culminating in the Assiento Treaty (1713).⁴⁸ Sympathy could not combat the powerful argument of the purse. Compassion was limited to such suggestions as those made, for example, in the *Hermit XIII* (1711) and the *Spectator* CCXV (1711), that the slaves be treated humanely. Defoe himself had apparently come to accept this compromise when he wrote the ninth and tenth chapters of *Colonel Jacque* (1722).⁴⁹ The early panegyrists of Whig commerce had nothing to say on this one topic, but it must have been a source of moral embarrassment. With his usual dog-

⁴⁸ The provisions were explained to the public in *The Assiento; or, Contract for Allowing to the Subjects of Great Britain the Liberty of Importing Negroes into the Spanish America*, etc. (1713) and *The Assiento Contract Considered . . . In several Letters to a Member of Parliament* (1714).

⁴⁹ Meanwhile Defoe had become absorbed in the commercial advantages of the trade. Proposals for better organization are made in his *Review*, V, 40 (February, 1709); VII (1710), 34, 38, 40, 42, 46, etc. Various pamphlets of his on the same subject are listed by W. P. Trent, *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. IX, Bibl. for ch. I.

matism, Young brushed the question aside and defended the traffic in slaves by a *tu quoque* charge against the immorality of the negroes themselves!

Whence Tartar Grand, or Mogul Great?
Trade gilt their titles, power'd their State;
While Afric's black, lascivious, slothful breed,
To clasp their ruins, fly from toil;
That meanest product of their soil,
Their people sell; one half on t'other feed.⁵⁰

Some of the Whig poets, however, had the moral stamina to oppose the system under circumstances that reflect great credit on their sincerity. Thomson reprobrates

that cruel trade
Which spoils unhappy Guinea of her sons.⁵¹

Pope, not being of the Whig fraternity, could have spoken with less occasion for embarrassment. In both *Windsor Forest* and the *Essay on Man*, however, he seems to be moved chiefly by Spain's enslavement of the American Indians.⁵² Richard Savage, while following in his poem *Of Publick Works* (1737) the course of British vessels throughout the world, is suddenly confronted by the tortures inflicted upon African negroes:

Why must I Afric's sable children see
Vended for slaves, though form'd by Nature free,
The nameless tortures cruel minds invent,
Those to subject, whom Nature equal meant?
If these you dare (albeit unjust success
Empowers you now unpunish'd to oppress)
Revolving empire you and your's may doom
(Rome all subdued, yet Vandal's vanquish'd Rome)
Yes, empire may revolve, give them the day,
And yoke may yoke, and blood may blood repay.

The crime is treated briefly, but with evident sincerity, by Joseph Warton, in the *Ode to Liberty* (1746). William Dodd's two poems (1749) upon the African prince who had been rescued

⁵⁰ *Imperium Pelagi*, Strain V.

⁵¹ *Summer*, 1019-20.

⁵² *Windsor Forest*, 408-12; *Essay on Man*, Ep. I, 107-8. The first of these passages was inscribed in the frontispiece of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1756.

from slavery by the intervention of the English government contain passages of a similar nature; but since the two epistles form an attractive romantic tale, it is natural to suspect that the author was moved quite as much by the romance and the excitement due to the presence of the liberated negro prince in London as by the horror of the system.⁵³ The most impassioned poem occasioned at this time by the slave-trade is Shenstone's *Elegy XX*, most of which was afterwards republished by Granville Sharp in the Appendix to his *Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God* (1776).

Dyer consoled his conscience by pleading that this "gainful commerce" be conducted with "just humanity of heart."⁵⁴ His disciple Grainger was evidently ill at ease in *Sugar Cane*. Book IV is full of practical recommendations concerning the purchase of slaves and the best means of wringing full profit from the money invested in them. But the poet is evidently distressed by the cruelty involved. Planters are urged to "let humanity prevail." For a moment indeed he regrets that his Muse lacks the power of monarchs—

'Twould be the fond ambition of her soul
To quell tyrannic sway; knock off the chains
Of heart-debasing slavery; give to man,
Of every colour and of every clime,
Freedom which stamps him image of his God.
Then laws, Oppression's scourge, fair Virtue's prop,
Offspring of Wisdom! should impartial reign,
To knit the whole in well-accorded strife.
Servants, not slaves; of choice, and not compell'd;
The Blacks should cultivate the cane-land isles.⁵⁵

⁵³ Dodd's poem, *The African prince, now in England, to Zara at her father's court*, was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* July 1749, p. 323, and the companion-piece, *Zara, at the Court of Annamaboe, to the African prince, now in England*, August, p. 372. In the same year was published *The Royal African, or memoirs of the young Prince of Annamboe, his condition while a slave in Barbadoes, his reception in England, etc.*

⁵⁴ *The Fleece*, Bk. IV, 189-209. *Barbadoes, a poem*, by Mr. Weeks (1754), expressing the same sentiment, is highly applauded for its humanity in the *Monthly Review*, XI, 325 (1754). Dyer is eulogized for the same reason, XVI, 337 (1757).

⁵⁵ *Sugar-Cane*, Bk. IV, 234-43.

Churchill's *Gotham* (1764) opens with a scathing denunciation of slavery; but his sympathy, like Pope's, is expressed mainly for the native savages of America. It was only a year later that Michael Wodhul published his Rousseauistic poem entitled *The Equality of Mankind* (1765). By this time the anti-slavery movement was beginning to crystallize into definite form, and Sharp was ready to assume leadership in the crusade. In common with several other reforms brought to pass in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the movement against slavery owed much to the pioneer work of the poets. While the main credit has gone to a few active reformers, it is to be remembered that public sensibility had already been partly educated by a few poets who had the boldness to protest while as yet most were unready to admit that they had any scruples.⁶⁶

IV

The most palpable evidence of the political influence acquired by the poets is the part they played in determining England's foreign policies under George II. Walpole favoured peace with the Continent as a necessary condition for commercial expansion. The infringement of British rights on the high seas by Spain and France, however, led many Whigs to clamor for war. They urged that, under the circumstances, the Prime Minister's peace policy would destroy the very interest he sought to establish. This difference of opinion was the principal cause of

⁶⁶ Evidence of a growing interest may be seen in periodical literature; but it is slight, and hardly begins before the reign of George II. See *Grub-Street Journal* Sept. 17, 1730. The *Prompter* No. 18, January 10, 1735, published what purported to be "The Speech of Moses Bon Saam, a Feee Negro, to the revolted Slaves in one of the most considerable Colonies of the *West Indies*," an indignant protest against the treatment of slaves. This was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1735 (V, 21); a defense of the colonists was made in the number for February (p. 91). Interest was again aroused momentarily by the request of the Georgia colonists at Savannah in 1739 for an alteration of their charter which would permit the introduction of slaves. (*Ibid.*, January, 1741, XI, 30.) See also issues for July, 1740, X, 341; March, 1741, XI, 145; April, 1741, p. 186; September, 1746, XVI, 479. Moral apathy was stirred occasionally by the exposure of extreme inhumanity, such as the report published in the *Gentleman's*, March, 1759 (XXIX, 101). Seldom, however, do the remonstrants seriously question the moral right to trade in slaves. Sir Hans Sloane's *A Voyage*, etc., 2 vols. (1707-25), though not written against slavery, provided later opponents excellent arguments in the description of punishments inflicted upon negroes.

that disaffection in the Whig ranks which developed an Opposition strong enough eventually to drive Walpole from office (1742). The poets were almost unanimously with the Opposition. Their preference was determined partly no doubt by their disapproval of Walpole's corrupt practices, partly by a sincere conviction that war was necessary, and partly by their sentimental attachment to Lord Lyttelton and the other Patriots who formed a coterie about the Prince of Wales.⁵⁷ As early as 1718 hotheaded Whigs were urging an immediate attack upon Spain in the interest of British trade.⁵⁸ Thomson's *Britannia* affords sufficient evidence that by 1729 popular feeling was lashing itself into a fury great enough to have intimidated any but a very resolute Prime Minister. Seldon has the British Lion roared more loudly or amusingly than he does through the 299 lines of this poem, written by a poet who once had extolled the wisdom of the Whig leader he is now denouncing for pusillanimous inactivity in the face of Spanish insults. Sitting dejectedly upon the "sea-beat shore," her bosom bare to the gale, her tresses unkempt, her azure robe torn, Britannia is so disgusted with her degenerate sons of England that at times her "copious grief" is a mere flood of question.

What would not, Peace! the patriot bear for thee?
 What painful patience? What incessant care?
 What mixed anxiety? What sleepless toil?
 Even from the rash protected what reproach?
 For he thy value knows; thy friendship he
 To human nature: but the better thou,
 The richer of delight, sometimes the more
 Inevitable war; when ruffian force
 Awakes the fury of an injured state.

.
 Is there the man into the lion's den
 Who dares intrude, to snatch his young away?

⁵⁷ The encouragement of trade and patriotism was carried to an amusing extent by the Prince and the Princess of Wales. In order to prevent a decline in the support of the laws for protecting home industries after the war had been concluded, they issued an order that no one should appear at their court wearing any of the forbidden imports. As a further stimulation to Whig fervor, they had their children give a public performance of Addison's *Cato* from time to time. (Robert Phillimore, *Memoirs*, etc., of Lord Lyttelton, 1845, II, 425.)

⁵⁸ *Free-Thinker*, Vol. II, No. XXX, Oct. 17, 1718.

And is a Briton seized? and seized beneath
 The slumbering terrors of a British fleet?
 Then ardent rise! Oh, great in vengeance rise!
 O'erturn the proud, teach rapine to restore:
 And as you ride sublimely round the world,
 Make every vessel stoop, make every state
 At once their welfare and their duty know.⁶⁹

Still, although War was "greatly roused," Walpole kept him mourning his "fettered hands" for nearly a decade longer. The tension was exceedingly high in 1735. The crisis came in 1738. The events culminating in the War of Jenkins' Ear afforded the benevolent poets two popular arguments for fighting. The immediate provocation was the alleged brutality of the Spanish, who were said by Jenkins to have cut off his ear and sent it by him as a token of the Spaniard's contempt for England. Righteous enthusiasm was engaged by the humane idea of punishing this act of signal inhumanity and of others that soon followed in the natural course of events. In addition—and this was the chief motive—the Opposition urged that it was England's sacred duty to thwart the efforts of her rivals to repress English trade, for success on the part of the enemy meant the starvation of English laborers.

Since the war with Spain, extending later to France, was urged as a humanitarian measure, it had powerful advocates among the poets of benevolence. In the list of these it is not strange to find Tory poets as well as Whigs. In Parliament the Opposition assembled various classes who discovered a bond of common interest in their hatred of the Prime Minister; the coalition included Whigs, moderate Tories, and even Jacobites. Bolingbroke, though no longer officially connected with public affairs, was for a time after his return from exile in France the guiding genius of the Opposition. With the lapse of time and the general disintegration of the Tory party after 1714 ancient party issues had been so nearly obliterated that commercial

⁶⁹ *Britannia*, 147–55, 182–90. An interesting curiosity of the same year is an anonymous tract entitled *The English Colejo; or, The Cruelties, Depredations, and Illicit Trade Charg'd upon the English in a Spanish Libel lately Published, Compared with the Murders, Robberies, Barbarities, and Clandestine Trade proved upon the Spaniards. By a Sufferer* (1729). Richard Barfield's *An Epistle to . . . Chesterfield* (1730) is a poem similar in tone to Thomson's *Britannia*.

prosperity had come to be almost the universal and unchallenged concern of the nation. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote, with Whigish exaggeration, that in 1727 there was "not one Tory left in England."⁶⁰ According to Lyttelton "Whig" had come to mean in 1735 one who was *in* power, "Tory" one who was *out*.⁶¹ The essential question was, not whether trade should be given all possible encouragement, but what were the wisest measures for the purpose. It is true that many of the country squires clung to the prejudices of the landed interest, but as a class they demanded slight notice except for their suspected attachment to the Pretender. Any other protest against the supremacy of commercialism was non-political. It came from observers, some of them Whigs too, who shrewdly detected in it a source of national selfishness and vulgarity.⁶² These apostles of culture deplored the growing Philistinism of the nation, but they were too few to create much impression in time of peace, and in time of threatened war they forgot their own aesthetic misgivings. Quite naturally, then, popular excitement was aggravated on the eve of war in 1738 by both the regular Whig panegyrists and their Tory allies. The free-trader Pope and the Tory Samuel Johnson were as eagerly committed as the most zealous Whig.

One of the principal instruments employed against Walpole was the broadside.⁶³ The more dignified poems which did most

⁶⁰ Letter to the Countess of Marr, July, 1727.

⁶¹ *Persian Letters*, No. LVII.

⁶² Even Akenside, one of the warmest advocates of Whig political principles, admits in Ode IX of Book I (1744) that the preoccupation with trade had fostered a selfish fierceness in the national character. See, however, his *Hymn to the Naiads* (1746) and Ode I of Book II. John Brown's *Estimate* (1757) contains a severe denunciation of English commercialism. It provoked a heated reply from J. B., M.D., entitled *A Vindication of Commerce and the Arts; proving that they are the Source of the Greatness, Power, Riches, and Populousness of a State* (1758). Thomas Gray expressed great contempt for the *Estimate*, but applauded Brown's dissertation against trade (*Letters* ed. D. C. Tovey, No. CXXXIX, I, 329). Goldsmith retained the old Tory attitude. The *Bee* No. V, Nov. 3, 1759, observes that trade becomes a harmful influence whenever it supplies a nation with luxuries. In *The Deserted Village* he also holds commercial greed of the English responsible for the impoverishment and expatriation of the Irish peasants.

⁶³ The most important have been collected by Milton Percival, Ph.D., in *Political Ballads Illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, Oxford

to inflame the war spirit beyond control and eventually drive him to declare war, against his own judgment, were: Mark Akenside's *A British Philippic: Occasioned by the Insults of the Spaniards and the Present Preparations for War*, the anonymous *Voice of Liberty, or A Poem, in Miltonic Verse, Occasioned by the Insults of the Spaniards*, Pope's *One Thousand and Thirty-eight*, and Johnson's *London*, all of 1738.⁶⁴ The most influential piece of the kind, Glover's ballad of *Admiral Hosier's Ghost* (1740), was a product of the war itself. Each of these poems uses one or both of the humanitarian arguments to which I have referred, and most of them, to say nothing of much mere balderdash published at the time, echo the jingoism of Thomson's *Britannia*. Concerning the actual effect of such literature on the course of events, we have the testimony of Burke. Reviewing the situation towards the close of the century, when the uselessness of the war had vindicated Walpole's judgment in opposing it, Burke declared: "There has not been in this century, any foreign peace or war, in its origin, the fruit of popular desire; except the war that was made with Spain in 1739. Sir Robert Walpole was forced into the war by the people, who were influenced to this measure by the most leading politicians, by the first orators, and the greatest poets of the time."⁶⁵ He emphasized especially the influence of Pope, Johnson, and Glover.

The indications are that by 1760 the political function of verse was beginning to wane. For particular uses it continued

Historical and Literary Studies, 1916. For attacks on Bolingbroke also, see XXIII, XLV.

⁶⁴ With these may be compared the indictments against Spain and France as summarized in *A Review of all that hath pass'd between the Courts of Gt. Britain and Spain, relating to Our Trade and Navigation from the Year 1721, to the Present Convention*, etc. (1739) and Samuel Webber's *A Short Account of our Woollen Manufactures, from the Peace of Ryswick to this Time. Shewing, their former flourishing, and their present Ruinous Condition; and that they always flourished when France could not get our Wool, but declined in proportion to the Quantities of Wool Exported to them*, etc. (1739). Edward Philips made dramatic capital of the general excitement by bringing out his *Britons, Strike Home; or, The Sailors Rehearsal, A Farce* (1739) at the Theatre-Royal. Thomas Newcomb's *On Richelieu's Barbarities, On the French Prisoners in England, and On the French Cruelty to English Prisoners* are poems typical of many that appeared during the war.

⁶⁵ *First Letter on a Regicide Peace, Works*, 1803, VIII, 145.

in popularity, notably as a medium for inciting opposition to slavery; but the evening was setting in for verse-journalism of the most pedestrian kind. Except for satirical and highly sentimental purposes, the business of the political versifier gradually diminished. The growth of the romantic ideal and the consequent discouragement of didactic poetry in general was one cause. Another was the growing realization that if Whig doctrines were to be propagated in *belles lettres* the work could be performed more fully and convincingly by the sentimental novelist, as Henry Brooke fully demonstrated in *The Fool of Quality* (1766-70). That the verse-pamphleteers had inflicted a great hardship upon pure letters probably no reader of their lines will be disposed to question. If any apology can be made for them, it lies in the fact that the Whig panegyrists were the first group of English writers to reveal the possibilities of sentimental literature as a force for exerting the popular will in the control of national policy.

C. A. MOORE

XXII.

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN BYRON AND SOCRATES

WHENEVER critics have noted an influence of the Platonic dialogues upon Byron, they have assumed that it is practically limited to the passing echo of Shelley's and Wordsworth's Platonism in the third canto of *Childe Harold*. In this paper I hope to show that, on the contrary, Byron had independent convictions about the Platonic-Socratic philosophy, which underlay most of his mature writing and which were inconsistent with his reflection of Shelley's metaphysics in *Childe Harold*.

Byron should, I suppose, be set down as a disciple of Socrates rather than of Plato.¹ His acceptance of the Platonic philosophy was limited to the early dialogues in which Plato had not moved from the position of Socrates.² And Byron's interest centered around the personality of Socrates, of whom he wrote higher praise than he set down for any other man. It was not easy for Byron to praise. Yet to him Socrates was not merely "Athena's wisest son,"³ but "earth's perfection of all mental beauty and personification of all virtue."⁴ Plato is mentioned in Byron's writing oftener than any other philosopher,⁵ but Socrates comes next, his name appearing fourteen times.⁶ Only two of the

¹ I am here making the usual assumption that the historic Socrates is revealed in the dialogues of Plato wherever they are not inconsistent with the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon.

² Shelley suggests that in their Platonic arguments Byron took the position of Socrates. In *Julian and Maddalo* Shelley says Byron made him *know himself*. "Know thyself" was, of course, the key of Socrates' teaching.

³ See *Childe Harold*, II, 7.

⁴ *Deformed Transformed*, I, 1.

⁵ See the letters to Francis Hodgson, September 3, 1811, to Thomas Moore, March 1, 1822; to Augusta Leigh, Oct. 12, 1823; *Detached Thoughts*, 104; *Answer to Some Observations by Thomas Campbell*; Don Juan V, 1; VII, 4; IX, 74; IX, 73; IX, 76; X, 54; XI, 43; XV, 86; XVI, 43; II, 212; II, 211. Also see *Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington*, p. 371; and T. G. Guiccioli, *My Recollections of Lord Byron*, I, 108.

⁶ See *Childe Harold*, II, 7; *Detached Thoughts*, 104; Letter to Hon. Douglas Kinnard; Journal, Jan. 25, 1821; *Deformed Transformed*, I, 1; *Don Juan*, Preface to Canto VI; VII, 5; XIII, 10; XV, 18; XV, 85; XV, 86; XVII, 9. See also Thomas Medwin, *Conversations of Lord Byron*, I, 67.

Platonic-Socratic dialogues (the *Laches*⁷ and the *Symposium*⁸) have been recorded as books which Byron read, but he touched upon distinctive myths from the *Phaedrus*⁹ the *Phaedo*,¹⁰ the *Republic*,¹¹ and the *Timaeus*,¹² and quoted two statements

⁷ See Blessington, *Conversations with Lord Byron*, p. 371.

⁸ See Guiccolli, *My Recollections of Lord Byron*, I, 245.

⁹ In *Phaedrus* §250 see the figure describing the behavior of the winged and unwinged steeds, representing our will and our physical wants, and see *Manfred* I, 2,

We

Half dust, half deity, alike unfit
To sink or soar, with our mixed essence make
A conflict of its [nature's] elements and breathe
The breath of degradation and of pride,
Contending with low wants and lofty will.

Also in *Phaedrus* §246 note the disappointment of the immortal soul that was obliged to be born into this life: "It lost its feathers and sank—the philosopher alone has wings." In the *Prophecy of Dante* Byron says of poets:

These birds of Paradise but long to flee
Back to their native mansion: soon they find
Earth's mist with their pure pinions not agree.

Also see in *Phaedrus* §250 the figure of the soul "imprisoned in the body as in an oyster shell," and see *Don Juan* X, 23, where Byron says our bodies "shut our souls up in us like a shell-fish." See also *Phaedrus* §245, "The soul is immortal, for that is immortal which is ever in motion," and Byron's *Detached Thoughts* §96, "Of the immortality of the soul it appears to me there can be little doubt if we attend a moment to the action of mind. It is in perpetual activity."

¹⁰ In *Phaedo* §66 Socrates describes the soul as married to the body and yearning for divorce. In *Detached Thoughts* 97 Byron says of the soul, "I should believe that it was married to the body if they did not sympathize so much with each other. If one rose when the other fell, it would be a sign that they longed for the natural state of divorce."

¹¹ In *Republic* VII, §§515–520, note the attack of the dwellers in the cave (the body) upon the philosopher who would show them how to escape. In *Childe Harold* Byron describes us as

unborn slaves

Who wage war for their chains."

See also *Republic* VII, 541, and Byron's comment on his leadership of the Greeks, "Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!" (Letter to Augusta Leigh, Oct. 12, 1823.) See also in *Republic* VIII, §545, Plato's arbitrary statement of the order in which forms of government follow each other. Byron follows this order faithfully in *Childe Harold* IV, 108.

¹² See *Timaeus*, §37, and *Cain* II, 1

"The phantasm of the world, to which thy world
Is but the wreck."

from the *Apology*.¹³ These seven dialogues are enough to have given Byron all he appears to have grasped of Socrates' philosophy; it is, however, likely that he read a number of other Dialogues. Shelley did so, at least, and at the time of Shelley's keenest enthusiasm over Plato,¹⁴ nightlong discussions of philosophy between Shelley and Byron were not uncommon.¹⁵ The fact that recognition of Shelley's own Platonism has been late and inadequate¹⁶ perhaps accounts for the failure of critics to recognize that certain Platonic ideas in Byron's writing may have come from direct reading out of Shelley's books (if not his own), rather than from Plutarch, Cicero and Rousseau, indirect sources which have been cited.¹⁷ Shelley's enthusiasm for Plato must have had a very real influence upon Byron; it can hardly be a coincidence that Byron's philosophical life, as indicated in his poetry, may almost be said to have begun with his meeting Shelley. But it seems likely that Byron is indebted to Shelley chiefly for arousing his interest and so introducing him to the Dialogues.

It is in keeping with Byron's perversity that philosophical arguments with Shelley should have moved him to champion Socrates' point of view. For Shelley was much better read in philosophy, ancient and modern, than Byron, and Byron could not easily admit another man's superiority even in the matter of erudition. Accordingly, when caught in misinterpretation or floored in argument, Byron flaunted his contempt for the elaborate systems of modern philosophy, "refutation-tight as far as words go,"¹⁸ characterizing the whole subject as "an

¹³ See *Apology*, §21, and

"Well didst thou speak, Athena's wisest son,
All that we know is, Nothing can be known."

Also see *Apology* §42, and Byron's diary, Jan. 25, 1821,

"Which is best, life or death, the gods only know, as Socrates said to his judges."

¹⁴ In 1818 and 1821.

¹⁵ See Mary Shelley, Preface to *Frankenstein*, pp. VII-XI, and Shelley, *Prose Works*, IV, 211 (Forman ed); also *Julian and Maddalo*.

¹⁶ In *Platonism in Shelley*, 1912, Lillian Winstanley admits that she has merely skimmed the cream of the subject.

¹⁷ See the notes to *Childe Harold*, Canto III, edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge.

¹⁸ See *Julian and Maddalo*. Also see *Manfred*, III, 1; *Childe Harold*, IV, 130; *Don Juan*, XI, 5; XV, 89.

exchange of ignorance for that which is another kind of ignorance."¹⁹ Thus he slipped into the character of the Socratic sceptic:

Socrates said our only knowledge was
 'To know that nothing can be known,' a pleasant
 Science enough, that levels to an ass
 Each man of wisdom, future, past or present.²⁰

So phrased, Socrates' position is a convenient one for Byron, in his perverse moods, to take. And it is worth noting that the phrasing in this statement is not the error of a moment. Elsewhere Byron wrote,

Well didst thou speak, Athena's wisest son,
 "All that we know is, Nothing can be known!"²¹

Thus at the very outset the debilitating effect of pouring the Socratic wine into Byron's spirit shows itself. It would have been inconsistent with the whole personality of Socrates if he had made the dogmatic statement, "Nothing *can* be known." Rather, he started upon the thousand and first quest of knowledge with the same sincerity and zest as upon the first, only at the end of the most exhaustive beating of bushes settling back with the quizzical comment, "Well, well, so we still know nothing!" But it was inevitable that in seizing upon the Socratic position through inertia and vanity, Byron should have missed the kernel of the matter, which was Socrates' indefatigable curiosity and intellectual humility. The little change from *is* to *can be* was due also in part, perhaps, to Byron's being poisoned against his knowledge, by the air of modern subjective idealism. "All that we know is the *idea* before our mind,"—that apparently innocent remark by Locke has shut us up to breathe our own breath for three hundred years. It was practically inevitable a century ago that Byron should have read into Socrates' scepticism an acceptance of the solipsistic predicament which haunts modern philosophy. If Socrates had accepted it, he would naturally have come to the conclusion which Byron reads into him; "Nothing can be known, except myself." Byron feels that he has Socrates with him when he makes glorious fun of Hegel for attempting to escape solipsism by

¹⁹ *Manfred*, II, 4.

²⁰ *Don Juan*, VII, 5.

²¹ *Childe Harold*, II, 7.

assuming that the entire outside world is only an idea in his own mind:

What a sublime discovery 'twas to make the
Universe universal egotism.
That all's ideal—all ourselves: I'll stake the
World (be it what you will) that that's no schism.
Oh Doubt!—If thou be'st doubt, for which some take thee,
But which I doubt extremely—*thou sole prism*
Of the truth's rays, spoil not my draught of spirit!
Heaven's brandy, though our brains can hardly bear it.²²

The underscored words are, of course, a reiteration of Byron's Socratic claim, that his one glimpse of truth is the discovery that he knows nothing.²³

Upon his Socratic confession of ignorance, there follows logically Byron's religious position, at once the despair of the orthodox and of the atheist. "I do believe, Mary," shrieked Shelley, "I do believe, Mary, that Albe is little better than a Christian!" Almost the tone of the Socratic irony is in Byron's account of his belief in Catholicism: "It is by far the most elegant worship, hardly excepting the Greek mythology. . . . Besides, it leaves no possibility of doubt, for those who swallow their deity, really and truly, in transubstantiation, can hardly find anything else otherwise than easy of digestion."²⁴ Almost the tone of Socratic irony is here, but it is characteristic that instead of Socrates' ironic tolerance of the religious myth in which he grew up, Byron's tolerance was for that (to him) exotic religion whose defense would be most annoying to his good British neighbors of the church of England.

Why was Byron obliged to give up the atheist's position as untenable? Because with sensitiveness almost equal to Santayana's he followed Socrates in perceiving the bottomlessness of true scepticism and the limitless degree to which we must live by faith.

He who doubts all things nothing can deny,²⁵

²² *Don Juan*, XI, 2.

²³ See *Apology* §21.

²⁴ Letter to Thomas Moore, March 8, 1822. See also the letter to Thomas Moore, March 4, 1822.

²⁵ *Don Juan*, XV, 88.

he acknowledged, and reflected,

For me, I know naught; nothing I deny,
Admit, reject, condemn, and what know *you*,
Except perhaps that you were born to die?
And both may after all turn out untrue.²⁶

Probably Byron, no less than Socrates, was willing to dispose of the problem of religion lightly because the problem which fascinated him lay elsewhere. And that problem, both men were assured, will never be so far solved as to leave time for lamenting a realm farther removed from human knowledge. Socrates had compared himself complacently with the scholar who was taken up with external phenomena: "Gorgons and winged steeds flow in space, and numberless other inconceivable and impossible monstrosities and marvels of nature. And if he is sceptical of them and would fain reduce them all to the rules of probability, this sort of crude philosophy will take up all his time. Now I have certainly no time for this; shall I tell you why? I must first *know myself*, as the Delphian inscription says. . . . Am I indeed a wonder more complicated and swollen with passion than the serpent Typho, or a creature of a gentler and simpler sort, to which nature has given a diviner and lower destiny?"²⁷

It is easy for the cynical to see why Byron, with his Narcissus nature and his publicity complex, should have been delighted with this excuse for self-scrutiny. There was little doubt in Byron's mind, before entering upon an investigation, that he was indeed "more complicated and swollen with passion than the serpent Typho." But though at times his morbid introspection contrasts sadly with Socrates' impersonal curiosity about himself, it would be unfair to deny that Byron was also possessed of a sincerely philosophical desire to know himself in the Socratic sense, not merely as an eccentric individual, but as a human being. With a Socratic gesture of dismissal Byron cried of outer things,

Away with these! True wisdom's world will be
Within its own creation.²⁸

²⁶ *Don Juan*, XIV, 3.

²⁷ *Phaedrus* §229.

²⁸ *Childe Harold* III, 46.

And when Byron's Cain despairs of the external world, he is advised,

Form an inner world
In your own bosom—where the outward fails;
So shall you nearer be the spiritual
Nature, and war triumphant with your own.²⁹

But Byron was not sufficiently imbued with the Socratic irony to take his own advice wholly to heart. It would, of course, be too much to ask, even of a genius of Byron's distinction, that he duplicate Socrates' achievement of living in complete consistency with an ethical code demanding independence of other people's standards. And we must admit that Byron made a sporadic attempt actually to practice the Socratic ethics. The irony which the Countess of Blessington complained of in connection with Byron's Greek expedition—his laughing prevision of the rascality of those he was going to serve³⁰—that was a Socratic achievement. But unfortunately Byron's persistency joined to clear vision in this instance seems to have been without parallel in his experience. Too often his exposure of human frailty was a merely verbal irony, uncoupled from courageous behavior in the face of disillusioning knowledge.

Socrates' irony, moreover, was directed most of all toward himself. Byron subscribed to its first principle, that one must free himself from his past convictions: "Opinions are made to be changed, or how is the truth to be got at?"³¹ he commented, to the annoyance of elaborate system-builders like Goethe. Its second principle also he recognized, for he paraphrased Socrates' "lie in the soul"³² as the attempt "to justify my deeds unto myself, the last infirmity of evil."³³ Moreover, he had a glimpse of the core of the Socratic irony, enthusiasm for the beauty of truth, which, shining through a man, shows him his own grotesqueness.³⁴ Indeed unflinching truthfulness about himself was the outstanding virtue which Byron flaunted from

²⁹ *Cain*, II, 2.

³⁰ See Blessington, *Conversations with Lord Byron*, p. 137.

³¹ Letter to John Murray, May 9, 1817. See Blessington, *Conversation with Lord Byron*, p. 45.

³² See *Republic*, II, §382.

³³ *Manfred*, I, 2.

³⁴ See *Don Juan*, XI, 37.

the early days when he most enjoyed advertising his immorality. Still, in spite of this impeccable Socratic platform, was not Byron's claim of seeing himself clearly an empty one? Beside Socrates, Byron becomes just one more sophist, with his boasts of spinning lies for the public, his postures, and his self-conscious attempts to represent himself as now worse, now better than he is.

But this very failure of Byron to grasp the full significance of the Socratic irony when it was turned inward only lent the greater allure to the first principle Socrates had uncovered in judging his own nature.

"Evil is involuntary,"³⁵ is, of course, the foundation of Socratic ethics. Against Christian orthodoxy Byron asserted his unequivocal agreement with Socrates. "Man is born with an innate though secret tendency to the love of good,"³⁶ he declared. Upon this point his Cain and Lucifer, even, are in agreement. Cain protests, "I thirst for good"! And Lucifer replies, "And who and what doth not? Who covets evil for its own bitter sake? None—nothing. 'Tis the leaven of all life and lifelessness."³⁷

Here a sympathetic bias of nature helped Byron far along the way to understanding Socrates. For Byron was perhaps more curious about the problem of good and evil than any other poet of his century. Even in his youth he seems to have behaved unworthily not simply for pleasure, as most people do, but because he hoped that he was on the trail of something indubitably wicked. And this early inversion of ordinary moral interest was of service to Byron in one way; it freed him from the blindness of traditional morality.³⁸ Moreover Byron, like Socrates, had an intuitive apprehension of the nature of goodness. Both men claimed to know it negatively, as a limit, a touchstone which shows that each worldly pretension to goodness falls short. Byron's mere assertions that he is aware of this ideal standard, emphatic as they are, would not in themselves be

³⁵ See Plato, *Meno*, §77, *Sophist*, §228, *Apology*, §26.

³⁶ *Detached Thoughts*, §96.

³⁷ *Cain*, II, 2. See also Blessington, *Conversations with Lord Byron*, p. 248.

³⁸ Of Byron's recoil from the authoritarian conception of right and wrong, his statement in *Cain* is significant. "Evil and good are things in their own essence, and not made good and evil by the giver." *Cain*, II, 2.

convincing.³⁹ But they are backed up by *Don Juan*. Is that, as Goethe averred, the most immoral poem ever written? Perhaps, from the point of view of a monist. But it lacks little of being a triumph of Socratic irony. So unerring a sense of human folly and vice can only be the achievement of one who, like Socrates, has no rigid formula to express the Good and the True, but who recognizes with uncanny clearness what they cannot be.

The clearest denotation, by Socrates, of this Good which he was seeking was preserved by Xenophon. The Good (or happiness, a synonym for it in Socrates' opinion) is "what is to set a man free and enable him to be sufficient unto himself under all circumstances."⁴⁰ Freedom. Independence. The spirit of his period, not merely his own disposition, made Byron eager to follow the Socratic quest here.

Byron followed Socrates in first carefully testing the claims of pleasure to the title of the Good.⁴¹ Doubtless he tested them too exhaustively, but his belated conclusion is the same as Socrates'. Not only physical pleasures but those of ambition are frequently incompatible with this inner freedom which constitutes true happiness, Socrates had declared.⁴² This lesson Byron said he had learned thoroughly,⁴³ and the still harder

³⁹ See E. C. Mayne, *Byron*, II, 26, "It is my respect for morals that makes me so indignant against its vile substitute, cant. With this I wage war, and this the good-natured world chooses to consider as a sign of my wickedness." See also *Don Juan*, preface to Canto VI, where Byron pointed out that the world put him in the same class with greater moralists than he: "Socrates and Jesus Christ were put to death publicly as blasphemers, and so may be many who dare to oppose the most notorious abuses of the name of God and the mind of man." See also *Don Juan*, VII, 3; the letter to John Murray, February 1, 1819; and Shelley, letter to Byron, October 21, 1821.

⁴⁰ Xenophon, *Memorabilia* IV, 7, 1.

⁴¹ For the change in Byron's view of pleasure after he made the acquaintance of Socrates see his poetry in *The Hours of Idleness*, where pleasure is given highest place, as the reward of virtue and the sanction of religion. (See *I would I were a Careless Child*, *On the Death of a Young Lady*, *To Caroline*, *To the Sighing Strephon*) and *Childe Harold* II, 81 (written in 1810), and compare it with his later somewhat rueful contention, "The more intellectual the pleasure, the better for the pleasure and for us too." *Journal*, Jan. 15, 1821. Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, IV, 5, 6, 8; Plato, *Philebus*, §52; *Phaedrus*, §258 E; *Republic* IX, §586.

⁴² *Gorgias*, §526.

⁴³ See *Childe Harold* III, 43; *Don Juan* I, 218.

lesson, that even pain is not always incompatible with true happiness, he recited frequently after his exile.⁴⁴

To be sure one suspects that the Socratic disciple was here reciting by rote. Socrates had characterized the Good, or happiness, as a harmony of our whole natures.⁴⁵ A harmony of our whole natures, Socrates had seen, is certain to reflect itself in the partial and cramping present as pain. Since this is an imperfect world, suffering in a good cause is inseparable from moments when we are in harmony with the highest demands of our natures.⁴⁶ Byron never reached the point of displaying eagerness for pain. But, ceaselessly tormented by the discordant desires in his heart, he did eagerly agree that harmony was the object of his quest.⁴⁷ Against the inharmony of our natures Byron railed in the most impassioned of his moral reflections:

Our life is a false nature—'tis not in
The harmony of things,—this hard decree,
This ineradicable taint of sin,
This boundless upas, this all-blasting tree
Whose root is earth—whose leaves and branches be
The skies which rain their plagues on men like dew,
Disease, death, bondage—all the woes we see,
And worse, the woes we see not, which throb through
The immedicable soul with heart-aches ever new.⁴⁸

In his quest for harmony Byron, along with Shelley, followed Plato's teaching that society is merely the individual written large and that the needs of the individual may be more easily recognized in society. He agreed that the state of greatest disharmony, whether in the individual soul or in society, is a tyranny. But since he was sure that evil is involuntary, Byron was bound to represent the tyrant as an object, not of hatred, but of pity, because his destruction of harmony both in his own nature and in his kingdom makes him the most miserable of men.⁴⁹ Therefore, since disharmony is a disease and deformity

⁴⁴ See Byron, *Epistle to Augusta* V; *Prometheus* III; *Childe Harold* IV, 21; IV, 5; *The Dream*. Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, §477; *Republic*, §§348-354.

⁴⁵ See Plato, *Philebus* 31; *Laws*, II, §653.

⁴⁶ See *Republic*, §§348-354 and *Apology*.

⁴⁷ See *Manfred* I, 2: "Oh that I were . . . a breathing harmony."

⁴⁸ *Childe Harold*, IV, 126.

⁴⁹ See Plato, *Republic*, IX, §576.

of the soul,⁶⁰ Byron represented the possessor of a tyrannical disposition as "bloated"⁶¹ and "blind,"⁶² or "with sickly eye."⁶³ Since the lower element in his soul is crushing the higher, he is a sensualist.⁶⁴ Sardanapolus inquires,

Thinkest thou there is no tyranny but that
Of blood and chains? The despotism of vice,
The weakness and the wickedness of luxury,
The negligence, the apathy, the evils
Of sensual sloth produce ten thousand tyrants.⁶⁵

The tyrannical principle was to Byron as to Socrates "the worst of treasons";⁶⁶ the tyrant was his own prey⁶⁷ and the slave of his own slaves,⁶⁸ living, in fact, in hell.⁶⁹

If the state of tyranny was set down as most discordant, the opposite state of democracy came off hardly better. Socrates had described a society in which too much individuality prevents concord: "Truly the she-dogs, as the proverb says, are as good as their she-mistresses, and the horses and asses come to have a way or marching along with all the rights and dignities of free men; and they will run at anybody whom they meet in the street if he does not get out of the way; and all things are just ready to burst with liberty."⁷⁰ In the same key Byron declares that he "hates even democratic royalty."⁷¹ "The sense that he was greater than his kind,"⁷² could, as Shelley pointed out, lead Byron only to aristocratic sympathies. His contempt for that "mighty strong beast," the populace, with its inconstant and unreasonable passions,⁷³ is as strong as Plato's. Not content with Socrates' indifference to "the many," Byron would heap anathema on them:

Persecuted sages teach the schools
Their folly in forgetting there are fools.

⁶⁰ See Plato, *Philebus*, §31; *Sophist*, §228.

⁶¹ *Marino Faliero*, II, 2.

⁶² *Ode to Napoleon*.

⁶³ *Condolatory Address*.

⁶⁴ *Don Juan*, V, 25.

⁶⁵ *Sardanapolus*, I, 2.

⁶⁶ *The Two Foscari*, III, 1.

⁶⁷ *The Island*, II, 8.

⁵⁸ *Childe Harold*, IV, 89.

⁵⁹ *Elegy on Newstead Abbey*.

⁶⁰ Plato, *Republic*, 563.

⁶¹ *Don Juan*, IX, 25.

⁶² Shelley, *Julian and Maddalo*.

⁶³ See Plato, *Republic* VI, §493.

Was it not so, great Locke and greater Bacon,
Great Socrates?⁶⁴

Consequently the Platonic rule of philosophy appeared to Byron the state of harmony, both in politics and in psychology. In the social upheaval of his time he recognized "the clash of philosophy and tyranny,"⁶⁵ and of course gave his sympathy to the latter. And when he took his turn as "philosopher king" in Greece, he commented on the relation of his task to the Platonic philosophy.⁶⁶ Byron realized that within his own soul the harmonious state must be what Plato calls the philosophical one, the subduing of the whole nature to the noblest principle in the soul:

A truth, which through our being then doth melt
And purifies from self: it is a tone,
The soul and source of music, which makes known
Eternal harmony, and sheds a charm
Like to the fabled Cytherea's zone,
Binding all things with beauty.⁶⁷

At least, he realized it verbally. But the principle of philosophy did not actually melt through Byron's being, "binding all things with beauty." Antipodal to the almost absolute simplicity of Socrates' purpose is the complexity of Byron's, making him ever ready to shrug off whatever is engaging his attentions at the moment with the excuse, "This isn't the real I."

Perhaps this inconsistency between his intellectual assent and his practice is partly due to the fatalism that he finds in (or reads into) the Platonic Socrates. After harmony has been attained, Byron has little hope for its permanence, either in the individual or in society. Like Shelley, he follows Plato in believing that there have been many cataclysms in the history of the world, and that the opposites, chaos and harmony, are generated out of each other.⁶⁸ Moreover, a principle of corruption working in human affairs destroys all hope of progress:

⁶⁴ *Don Juan*, XV, 17-18.

⁶⁵ See the letter to Thomas Moore, Aug. 6, 1822.

⁶⁶ See the letter to Augusta Leigh, Oct. 12, 1823. Cf. *Republic* VII, 540.

⁶⁷ *Childe Harold*, III, 90.

⁶⁸ See *Cain*, II, 2; *Don Juan* IX, 37. Cf. with Plato, *Timaeus*, §22 and *Statesman*, §269.

There is the moral of all human tales;
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
 First Freedom, and then Glory—when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last,
 And history, with all her volumes vast
 Hath but one page.⁶⁹

If all men desire the good, why does evil persist after the good has been discovered? Here lies the element in Socratic ethics that struck Byron most forcibly. Just before his death Socrates had explained why in this life our desire for the good does not enable us to attain it:

While we are in the body, and while the soul is mingled with this mass of evil, our desire will not be satisfied, and our desire is of the truth. For the body is a source of endless trouble to us, by reason of the mere acquirement of food; and is also liable to diseases which overtake and impede us in the search after truth: and by filling us so full of loves and lusts and fears and fancies and idols and every sort of folly, prevents our ever having, as people say, so much as a thought. For whence come wars and fightings and factions? Whence but from the body and the lusts of the body? For wars are occasioned by the love of money, and money has to be acquired for the sake of and in the service of the body.—Moreover—the body introduces a turmoil and confusion and fear into the course of speculation and hinders us from seeing the truth.⁷⁰

The dualism of mind and body first struck Byron doubtfully in 1814, as a possible cause of evil. But not till after his meeting with Shelley did he accept unreservedly the Platonic instead of the Hebraic explanation of his moral frailty. Thereafter, such was his delight at finding a scape-goat that if he could ever have sat down to read his collected works, he might have blushed at repeated reproaches which he heaped upon "the clay." There is scarcely one of his poems, from that time onward, in which "the clay" escapes anathema.⁷¹ "Some say that the body is the grave of the soul, which may be thought to be buried in our present life,"⁷² Socrates had remarked, and Byron again and again

⁶⁹ *Childe Harold*, IV, 108. Cf. *Republic*, VIII, 545 ff.

⁷⁰ *Phaedo*, §66.

⁷¹ See *Epistle to Augusta*; *Childe Harold*, III, 14; III, 73; IV, 5; IV, 135; *When Coldness Wraps this Suffering Clay*; *Manfred*, I, 2; II, 4; *Cain*, II, 1; *Sardanapalus*, IV, 1; *The Prophecy of Dante*; *The Island*, II, 16.

⁷² *Cratylus*, §400.

borrowed the figure of death to describe our state.⁷³ In another borrowed figure he, as Manfred, considers himself a type of humanity, driving the ill-assorted Platonic steeds of noble desire and base physical appetites.⁷⁴ Byron makes Cain feel most poignantly the horror of marriage between the soul and body, as Socrates had named our life:

But if that high thought were
Linked to a servile mass of matter—and
Knowing such things, aspiring to such things
And science still beyond them, were chained down
To the most gross and petty paltry wants,
All foul and fulsome,—and the very best
Of thine enjoyments a sweet degradation,
A most enervating and filthy cheat
To lure thee on to the renewal of
Fresh souls and bodies.⁷⁵

Likewise Byron resorts to Socrates' "oyster-shell" figure⁷⁶ and the "cave" figure,⁷⁷ to express his helpless rage against his body.

In conceiving of the dualism of mind and body as eternal, Byron may have gone farther than the historic Socrates; but he was in complete agreement with the Socrates of Plato, who had said that in creating the world God himself had to deal with matter and made men "as far as possible the fairest and best, out of things which were not fair and good."⁷⁸ Byron gives the same idea modern phrasing: "Matter is eternal,—and why not *Mind*? Why should not the Mind act with and upon the Universe?"⁷⁹ As critics have pointed out, Descartes, Spinoza and Rousseau probably influenced Byron's thought at this point.⁸⁰ Still, the Cartesian and Spinozistic theory of the parallelism of mind and matter lacks the Socratic ethical dualism to

⁷³ See *The Deformed Transformed*, II, 3; *Childe Harold*, IV, 135; *Manfred*, II, 4.

⁷⁴ *Manfred*, I, 2. Cf. *Phaedrus*, 253.

⁷⁵ *Cain*, II, 1.

⁷⁶ See *Don Juan*, X, 23; *Epistle to Augusta*; *Childe Harold*, IV, 5; IV, 127. Cf. *Phaedrus*, §250.

⁷⁷ See *Childe Harold*, IV, 94. Cf. *Republic*, VII, 515-520.

⁷⁸ *Timaeus*, §53. Cf. *Statesman*, §273.

⁷⁹ *Detached Thoughts*, §97.

⁸⁰ See Manfred, Eimer, "Byron und der Kosmos," *Anglistische Forschungen* XXXIV; O. Schmidt, *Rousseau und Byron*.

which Byron was continually referring. "Matter is evil," he agreed with Socrates, and then, reinforced by modern philosophy, he added,

Ignorance of evil doth not save
From evil: it must still roll on the same,
A part of all things.⁸¹

Along with its harmfulness, the meaninglessness of the physical life shutting in the soul struck Byron much as it did Socrates and the sophists.⁸² Our experiences, he felt, are too ephemeral to deserve the name of reality:

All present life is but an interjection,
An "Oh!" or "Ah!" of joy or misery.⁸³

Only our intuitions have enough permanence to guarantee their reality:

Don Juan . . . was real, or ideal,
For both are much the same, since what men think
Exists when the once thinkers are less real
Than what they thought, for mind can never sink,
And 'gainst the body makes a strong appeal,
And yet 'tis very puzzling on the brink
Of what is called eternity, to stare
And know no more of what is here, than there.⁸⁴

Byron was allured by the possibility of the soul's achieving independence of the body after death. "Either knowledge is not to be attained at all," Socrates had said, "or, if at all, after death. For then, and not till then, the soul will be in herself alone and without the body."⁸⁵ Elsewhere he had made out a case for immortality: "The soul is immortal, for that is immortal which is ever in motion; but that which moves or is moved by another, in ceasing to move ceases also to live."⁸⁶ Along the same line Byron reflected, "Of the immortality of the soul it appears to me there can be little doubt, if we attend for

⁸¹ *Cain*, II, 2.

⁸² Plato, *Republic* IX, §585; *Phaedo*, §79; *Republic*, VI, §§485-490.

⁸³ *Don Juan*, XV, 1. Cf. XV, 99; *Manfred*, II, 2; *Childe Harold*, III, 11; IV, 32; *Don Juan*, XIV, 3; *To Caroline*; *Childe Harold*, IV, 123.

⁸⁴ *Don Juan*, X, 20.

⁸⁵ Plato, *Phaedo*, §66.

⁸⁶ *Phaedrus*, §245.

a moment to the action of mind. It is in perpetual activity."⁸⁷ Such vitality as his own must be imperishable, he felt:

There is that within me which shall tire
Torture and time, and breathe when I expire.
Something unearthly.⁸⁸

But assurance of immortality belongs to Plato's later pictures of Socrates, and as Byron's views gained maturity and consistency, Byron limited himself, like the indubitably historic Socrates, to speculations pro and con.⁸⁹ "It *may* be death leads to the highest knowledge,"⁹⁰ "is a typical utterance, leaving the question admittedly beyond the bourne of our ideas."

Byron and Shelley shared an unmodern interest in Socrates' conjecture of the independent pre-existence of the soul. Byron realized that if we could prove that our inner standard of truth, goodness, and beauty is a heritage of the soul from the supersensual world, we should not need to doubt any longer the correspondence of our ideas to a reality beyond them.⁹¹

But this too, like the problem of immortality, lies in the realm of blind faith. All that we actually know about the possibility of the soul's escaping from the body, Socrates had said, is that the soul has inspired moments in which it achieves independence here and now. Socrates had mentioned sleep as an instance of such escape. Byron agreed: "(The soul) acts so very independent of body—in dreams, for instance; incoherently and madly, I grant you, but still it is mind, and much more mind than while we are awake."⁹² The more significant escape of the soul is, however, through intuition. Socrates had explained, "But when retiring into herself she (the soul) reflects, then she passes into the realm of purity and eternity and immortality and unchangeableness, which are her kindred. Then she ceases from her erring ways, and being in communion with the unchanging is unchanging. And this state of the soul is called wisdom."⁹³ Byron felt such moments of ecstatic insight,

⁸⁷ *Detached Thoughts*, §96.

⁸⁸ *Childe Harold*, IV, 137.

⁸⁹ See *Cain*, II, 1; *When Coldness Wraps this Suffering Clay; If That High World; Sardanapalus*, IV, 1; *Childe Harold*, II, 8; II, 39.

⁹⁰ *Cain*, II, 2.

⁹¹ Cf. *Phaedrus*, §246 ff. with *Lara XVIII*; *Two Foscari* III, 1; *Prometheus*; *Prophecy of Dante*.

⁹² *Detached Thoughts*, §96.

⁹³ *Phaedo* 579.

And thus I am absorbed, and this is life;
 I remount at last
 With a fresh pinion,

 Spurning the clay-cold bonds which round
 our being cling.⁹⁴

And Byron was fond of dwelling upon the immortality of such moments, in which we catch sight of the unchanging principles of life. The Byronic hero possesses this intuition; therefore

all things wear in him
 An aspect of eternity.⁹⁵

It is noteworthy that at this point enter those traces of Wordsworth's and Shelley's philosophy which were mentioned at the beginning of this paper. For Byron grievously misunderstood Socrates' theory of intuition, temporarily at least. To Socrates intuition was a dynamic thing, with power to change the activity of a lifetime, whereas Byron felt it as merely a passive "aesthetic" experience. Since to Byron escape from the body meant pre-eminently escape from the bodies of others,⁹⁶ his moments of intuition were usually spent in solitary places, and this made a transition to Wordsworthian "Platonism" very easy. Mr. Moorman has suggested that Byron's nature-worship, unlike Wordsworth's, is essentially negative, a shutting out of the body, rather than an apprehension of a pantheism including the bodies of all men.⁹⁷ However that may be, whenever Byron became too intimate with nature, he parted company with Socrates. Byron's trust in the regenerative powers of high mountains is inconsistent with Socrates' ridicule of people who imagined that by tipping back their chins they could look into the world of ideas.⁹⁸ Abandoning Socrates' profession of ignorance, Byron even soared into Platonic idealism concerning nature, speaking of

The phantasm of the world; to which thy world
 Is but the wreck,⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *Childe Harold*, III, 73.

⁹⁵ *Marino Faliero*, II, 1. Cf. *Cain*, I, 1; *Childe Harold*, III, 70.

⁹⁶ See *Childe Harold*, IV, 33; *Manfred* III, 4. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, §66.

⁹⁷ See F. W. Moorman, "Byron," *Cambridge Hist. of Engl. Lit.*

⁹⁸ See Plato, *Republic*, VII, §529.

⁹⁹ *Cain* II, 1. Cf. *Timaeus*.

and of the spirits of natural forces which

have no forms beyond the elements
Of which they are the mind and principle.¹⁰⁰

All this, though it is the echo of the Platonic Socrates as exhibited in the later dialogues, is inconsistent not only with the scepticism of the Xenophonic Socrates, but with Byron's own ridicule of the apparently inexhaustible Platonic ideas.¹⁰¹

But Byron himself soon realized that in the third canto of *Childe Harold*, where most of this sort of thing appears, he had overstepped the bounds of epistemology into metaphysics, that aversion of Socrates, and he drew back almost immediately, with the promise for Canto IV; "There are no metaphysics in it; at least I think not."¹⁰² And of his bold excursion out to the things "whose strong reality outshines our fairyland,"¹⁰³ he mused in the new canto,

I saw or dreamed of such,—but let them go;
They came like Truth—and disappeared like dreams,
And wheresoe'er they were—are now but so;
I could replace them if I would; still teems
My mind with many a form which aptly seems
Such as I sought for, and at moments found;
Let these too go—for waking Reason deems
Such over-weening phantasies unsound.¹⁰⁴

Thereafter, though intuitions regarding the cosmos returned to him, he never expressed them except in a question.¹⁰⁵

But though in intention he went back to the Socratic position, the inertia which, ironically enough, had led him to espouse Socrates' teaching in the beginning, kept him from being true to it. For Byron never really got away from the idea that intuition of truth is a passive thing, leaving our natures even more dual than before.¹⁰⁶ To Socrates, on the other hand, action fitted intuition as the hand fits the glove, for his contention, "Knowledge is Virtue," meant that we are not really aware of a

¹⁰⁰ *Manfred*, I, 1.

¹⁰¹ *Don Juan*, XI, 43.

¹⁰² Letter to John Murray, Aug. 7, 1817.

¹⁰³ *Childe Harold*, IV, 6.

¹⁰⁴ *Childe Harold*, IV, 7.

¹⁰⁵ See *The Island*, II, 16.

¹⁰⁶ See Blessington, *Conversations With Lord Byron*, p. 118.

thing till we know it in its concrete consequences in our own lives.

Hence Byron's faltering when he comes to the question: Of what practical value are these moments of intuition? The ideas of Truth, Justice, Harmony, which the soul perceives when by herself, can they have any effect upon the clay which imprisons and deforms us? Being a poet, at the times of his deepest inspiration Byron longed to subscribe to the Platonic doctrine that beauty forms a connection between ideals and the world of sense, and moulds matter into an approximation of the form of reality.¹⁰⁷ Byron would fain think that the artist can impress his intuitions upon the eye and ear of his audience.¹⁰⁸ But his Socratic sympathies forced him to characterize art as "false creation,"¹⁰⁹ dangerously compounded of matter, since it imitates matter as well as expresses itself in it.¹¹⁰

Socrates' way of passage from the physical to the spiritual world was a different one. It was, of course, through *eros*, the vital impulse of physical love, redeemed from its object, giving us the self-control to rule our bodies and to lift ourselves from them to the vision of the Good. Socrates, like Byron, had represented himself as one of naturally strong erotic impulses. Byron smiled at the notion:

Socrates, that model of all duty,
Owned to a penchant, though discreet, for beauty.¹¹¹

Yet Byron sympathized with Socrates' longing for sublimation. In his cynical characterizations of his own love affairs, even while under their spell, Byron betrayed a conviction that a noble passion was being prostituted. Once he cried,

O love! no habitant of earth thou art—
An unseen Seraph, we believe in thee,—
A faith whose martyrs are the broken heart,—
But never yet hath seen, nor e'er shall see

¹⁰⁷ See Plato, *Phaedrus*, §250; *Republic* VI, 500.

¹⁰⁸ See *Childe Harold*, III, 6; *Childe Harold*, IV, 162; *Journal Memoranda*, Jan. 28, 1821.

¹⁰⁹ See *Childe Harold*, IV, 122.

¹¹⁰ See Letters to John Murray, Apr. 2, 1817; Apr. 6, 1817; Apr. 14, 1817; To John Hanson, Apr. 2, 1807; *Childe Harold*, II, 1. Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, §463; *Republic*, X, §§596 ff.

¹¹¹ *Don Juan*, XV, 85.

The naked eye, thy form, as it should be;
 The mind hath made thee, as it peopled heaven,
 Even with its own desiring phantasy.¹¹³

In his convictions about love Byron did not follow Shelley to the position of the later Platonic Socrates. Plato had built upon the Socratic conception of *eros*, and instead of weaning it directly from its object had conceived of a gradual sublimation of passion.¹¹³ Byron was not ignorant of the theory. In *Cain* he stated the underlying assumption,

The symbols
 Of the invisible are the loveliest
 Of what is visible.¹¹⁴

But at the first step of the way through physical love to spiritual insight, Byron was unable to keep the fine gravity with which Shelley made his Platonic ascent. Byron mused of a contemplated amour:

'Tis the perception of the beautiful,
 A fine extension of the faculties,
 Platonic, universal, wonderful,
 Drawn from the stars, and filtered through the skies,
 Without which life would be extremely dull;
 In short, it is the use of our own eyes,
 With one or two small senses added, just
 To hint that flesh is formed of fiery dust.¹¹⁵

At the second step, promiscuous admiration of beauty, Byron definitely put his tongue in his cheek:

That which
 Men call inconstancy is nothing more
 Than admiration due where nature's rich
 Profusion with young beauty covers o'er
 Some favored object, and as in the niche
 A lovely statue we almost adore,
 This sort of adoration of the real
 Is but a heightening of the "beau ideal."¹¹⁶

¹¹³ *Childe Harold*, IV, 121.

¹¹³ See Plato, *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*.

¹¹⁴ *Cain*, I, 1.

¹¹⁵ *Don Juan*, II, 212.

¹¹⁶ *Don Juan*, II, 211.

And when Plato went on to say that from such promiscuous love of earthly beauties to absorption in disembodied beauty is an easy step, Byron's experience made him shrug off the philosophy with the comment, 'It doesn't work.'¹¹⁷

Therefore Byron, like Socrates, saw no middle ground between sensual passion and love of the Good. To Socrates it had appeared obvious that there was no need of any. Since knowledge is virtue, as soon as we are aware of the superiority of ideas our love will naturally transfer itself from the body to the Good; then, since *eros* has power upon the body, it will enable us to remould the body into conformity with the Good, within the limits prescribed by fate.¹¹⁸ Byron agreed, but with a difference. Fate, which to Socrates' mind had built a hedge about us, but had left us free to look at the sky,¹¹⁹ to Byron's mind had chained our necks toward the earth and left us only maddened and confused by the glimpses of a worthy object of our love that have come to us through some reflection. Thus Byron came to the conclusion that the only dignified attitude is one of entire resignation:

'Tis vain to struggle—let me perish young,
Live as I lived, and love as I have loved.¹²⁰

One would be more impressed with the sincerity of Byron's fatalism, had it been consistently adhered to in his conduct. But the black fatalism that led him to toss helplessly from one gust of passion to another did not lead him to accept obesity with resignation and to wallow helplessly in gustatory excess. It is the fashion now to belittle Byron's spectacular heroism in Greece, but no critic has denied his daily heroism in rising from the dinner table hungry. In this act alone, perhaps, did Byron indisputably make valid claim to being "a man of action", as Socrates understood the term. Unfortunately his signal success in controlling heredity and daily temptation here did not convince Byron that his will was also free to struggle toward ideal ends.

¹¹⁷ See Guiccolli, *My Recollections of Lord Byron*, I, 108.

¹¹⁸ See Plato, *Phaedrus*, §249; *Republic*, §§485, 490; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I, 1, 16.

¹¹⁹ See *Timaeus*, 39, 41, 53; *Statesman*, §272; *Republic*, X, 617; *Laws*, §709.

¹²⁰ *Stanzas to the Po.* Cf. *Epistle to Augusta*, *Detached Thoughts*, §83; *Cain*, III, 1; *The Two Foscari*, II, 1; *Deformed Transformed*, I, 2.

As a consequence of Byron's dreary resignation, Socrates nowhere pleased him more than in Plato's *Apology*, where he compared life unfavorably with non-existence, and pointed out that the deep sleep resembling death is our nearest approximation to beatitude in this life.¹²¹ Byron often borrowed the comparison,¹²² and praised Socrates for his judgment:

Well didst thou speak, Athena's wisest son,
 Peace waits us on the shores of Acheron.

Nowhere did Byron feel his affinity with Socrates more strongly than in the melancholy temperament which he considered inseparable from this conviction. He complacently noted, "Aristotle says that in general great geniuses are of a melancholy turn, and instances Socrates, Plato and Hercules (or Heracleitus) as examples."¹²⁴ But wherever Byron's emotions are concerned, he who reads may know Byron better than he knew himself. Socrates' melancholy came from distaste for sensuality, and it led him so inevitably to self-control that to him free-will and fate were almost indistinguishable, whereas Byron's melancholy came from an irrational craving for sensuality, and it led him so irresistibly to license that fate seemed to him to blot out the possibility of free-will. Aside from his vastly inferior genius, in this one respect Byron differed most from Socrates. But the difference was enough. It accounts for the fertility of Socrates' philosophy and for the sterility of Byron's reflections. Admiring the Socratic ethics unreservedly as he did, Byron could find in it only grounds for incurable melancholy, and in the last year of his life he dismissed his interest in it with bitter laughter,

Alas, must noblest views, like an old song
 Be for mere fancy's sport a theme creative,
 A jest, a riddle, Fame through thin and thick sought,
 And Socrates himself but wisdom's Quixote?¹²⁵

ELIZABETH ATKINS

¹²¹ See *Apology*, §40.

¹²² See *Lara*; *The Dream*; *Detached Thoughts*, §95; *Don Juan*, XIV, 4; *Euthanasia*.

¹²³ See *Childe Harold*, II, 7.

¹²⁴ *Detached Thoughts*, §104.

¹²⁵ *Don Juan*, XIII, 10.

XXIII.

THE VIEWS OF THE GREAT CRITICS ON THE HISTORICAL NOVEL

THE significance of the historical novel may be summarily suggested by calling the roll of its greatest masters: Scott and Manzoni; Hugo and Dumas; Thackeray, Kingsley, and Reade; Tolstoi, Coster, and Sienkiewicz. Add those who are rivals of the leading masters: Gogol and Jokai, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer and Jens Peder Jacobsen, Hawthorne and Pater, Blackmore and Stevenson; Merimée, Flaubert, and Anatole France. Here, without mentioning many who, like Dickens and George Eliot, were at their best in other forms of fiction, we have a genre rich in masterpieces,—certainly the only great genre in which the nineteenth century so excelled its predecessors as to cast their experiments of a similar kind into oblivion. The public loves it; great authors devote themselves to it. What do the critics make of it? What is its nature, its function, its value? Is this method, apparently so successful, of narrating an action imagined as occurring in an historic past, really a literary art or is it a temporary aberration? Such questions rang out in the nineteenth century as challenges to critical genius. How did the critics respond?

The answer may be painfully sought in thousands of discussions of historical novels from 1814 onwards, and in hundreds of passages of aesthetic treatises¹. The search will yield you a bibliography of several thousand items, selected because they seem to have at least some bearing on the subject; but it will, alas, not give you the knowledge and comprehension that you seek. The historical novelists themselves, in their prefaces and self-vindications, are, as I hope to show elsewhere, not very helpful. Their best service to criticism was like that of the sculptor in Washington recently, who, when asked to make a speech at the unveiling of a statue, pointed to it and, in the

¹ Of the criticism of the historical novel, there is as yet no history; nor is there any, of the criticism of prose fiction. In these respects, as in nearly all others, scholarship in prose fiction lags far behind scholarship in other great fields of literature.

true temper of an artist, simply said: "There is *my* speech!" Some of the greatest critics of the age,—Joubert, Heine, Arnold,—seem on this subject to be dumb oracles. The attempt of Professor Saintsbury, an admirer of the genre, to state its "canons," is unhappily superficial.³ Indeed, it is in almost forgotten writers that I have come upon the soundest reflections on the problem,—in writers as obscure as Karl Solger, Karl Rosenkranz, and William Powell James, whom I shall not try to rescue from the "formless ruin of oblivion."⁴ They do not influence what is nowadays thought about the historical novel. That is determined by the views of great critics who are still influential; and my main purpose here is to explain why a genre so immensely popular, and so constantly sanctioned by the practice of great literary artists, should, as a genre, in its own century be by those critics so neglected or so scorned.

It was at the outset a misfortune for the genre that the men who could best have dealt with it philosophically and critically ceased their work too early to realize how enduring this art was to be. The man who could best have written the aesthetics of the historical novel was Hegel; the man who could best have analyzed its literary qualities was Coleridge. Hegel says nothing that explicitly bears on the subject. Coleridge loved Walter Scott, and enjoyed the Waverley novels; but, except for a few remarks in *Table Talk*,⁴ recorded nothing of importance concerning them.

Of critics still read, the first to devote much attention to historical novels was William Hazlitt. Politically he hated Scott,⁵ yet he praised his literary genius. He discerned the

³ George Saintsbury, *Essays in English Literature: 1780-1860*. Second Series, 1895, p. 326.

⁴ K. W. F. Solger, *Vorlesungen über Aesthetik* (1829).—Karl Rosenkranz, *Aesthetik des Häßlichen* (1853).—W. P. James, "The Historical Novel," *Macmillan's Magazine* (November, 1887), reprinted in his *Romantic Professions and Other Papers* (1894).

⁴ *Works*, ed. Shedd, VI, 256, 292, 325, 472, 495.

⁵ This hatred, which frequently (not, as Mr. Saintsbury thinks, always) hampered Hazlitt's critical judgment of Scott's novels, may be felt in all its virulence in the two suppressed paragraphs of the review of "Peveril of the Peak," which have been restored in the *Collected Works*, 1902-04, xi, 538. See also ix, 451; and vi, 422, 518; besides the well-known attack in *The Spirit of the Age*, iv, 241.

special literary merit of more than one Waverley novel. He feasted on the first-fruits of the genre, and none better described their individual flavors; but he did not meditate upon the nature of the young tree that bore them.⁶ He is eminent among those who write valuable appreciative essays on parts of the subject, —like Tieck and Wolfgang Menzel on Scott, like Parigot and Andrew Lang on Dumas. Their talent is to perceive the particular, not to grasp the unity which gives particulars their enduring significance; they throw no broad light on the basis of the new art.

Stendhal is the extreme opposite,—a man inspired with theory but unaware how well an existing particular would support it. "Away," he cries, "with our French polish and convention; away with the unities; give us the natural, the impassioned, the national!" In his *Racine et Shakespeare*, he praises as models therefore the frank old memoirs. He praises even Scott, whom privately he despises, because he thinks Scott's popularity (Nodier⁷ had recently exalted him) proves the public to be ready for that art for which Stendhal himself is clamoring. But, just as one expects him to draw the logical conclusion that the art which will revive France is the historical romance, he swerves away in this wild *non sequitur*: "Notre histoire, ou plutôt nos mémoires historiques, car nous n'avons pas d'histoire, sont remplis de ces mots naïfs et charmants, et la tragédie romantique seule peut nous les rendre!"⁸ Unconsciously the prejudice in favor of the traditionally great genres had affected one who believed himself in all things quite emancipated.

⁶ The pertinent passages, chronologically arranged, are: 1819: *On the English Novelists*, viii, 106, 178-9.—Jan. 1822: *The Pirate*, xi, 531.—Feb. 1823: *Peveril of the Peak*, xi, 537.—1823: *Characteristics*, No. 290, v, 397.—1824, 25: *Sir Walter Scott*, iv, 241.—1826: *The Plain Speaker*, Nos. 17, 20, 27, 29; vii, 180, 229, 314n, 336.—1826-27: *Conversations of James Northcote*, Nos. 9, 12, 14; vi, 385-6 and editors' notes, 399-400, 408-409.—Oct. 1829: *American Literature*, x, 312-314.—Nov. 1829: *Why the Heroes of Romance are Insipid*, xii, 59.

⁷ In *La Quotidienne*, 17 August and 29 October, 1823.—Helen Maxwell King, *Les Doctrines Littéraires de la Quotidienne*, *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, vol. i, 1920.

⁸ *Racine et Shakespeare, deuxième partie; réponse: le romantique au classique* (1825). Ed. Calmann-Levy, pp. 159-160.—It should be noted that Stendhal was writing before the dates when Merimée and Hugo raised the French historical novel to a high literary status.

Sainte-Beuve was more fortunately placed. During his career, the genre ceased to be represented by only one or two writers of genius (Scott and Manzoni); between 1825 and 1870, nearly all their great successors appeared, so that to Sainte-Beuve it was no longer a problem of understanding an apparently personal success or foreign kind of novel. From the beginning his attitude implies the entire legitimacy of the genre. He protests when the *Quarterly Review* attacks *Notre Dame de Paris*.⁹ Unlike many French academic minds, he is not obfuscated as to Dumas, of whom he speaks with deep respect.¹⁰ Though of course an admirer of Balzac, he perceives that Scott has a certain nobility lacking in the creator of the *comédie humaine*.¹¹ The principle which underlies his many essays on novelists, and which Dr. E. G. Sutcliffe¹² has defined as a sensible effort to conciliate realistic observation with idealism, was not hostile to good historical novels. His well-known strictures upon *Salammbô*, as a mistaken attempt to recall a too distant and too strange past, did not imply a condemnation of the genre itself; but merely pointed out that this genre, like every other, was limited in the functions which it could effectively perform. "Let us not confine it too narrowly," is his magnanimous attitude throughout. Sainte-Beuve's most valuable utterances for our purposes are certain passages in his *Chateaubriand*, where he defends *Les Martyrs* against the pedantic attacks of Hoffman; and even more, in his essay on Abbé Barthélemy, where his explanations why the learned abbé's forgotten historical novel was based on false principles, clearly shows that Sainte-Beuve could without much difficulty have explicitly stated its sound principles.¹³ Yet, like Hazlitt, this paragon of reviewers was

⁹ *Des Jugemens sur notre littérature contemporaine à l'étranger*, June 15, 1836; P. L. ii, 305.

¹⁰ Balzac, 2 September, 1850; C. L. II, 462.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.

¹² *Sainte-Beuve on Fiction*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, xx, 41-51, January, 1921.

¹³ The course of Sainte-Beuve's views on the subject may be traced as follows: 18 Dec. 1824: *Denis*, P. L. I, 11.—15 Jan. 1825: *D'Artincourt*, P. L. i, 17.—8 July, 1826: *De Vigny*, P. C. ii, 537. 16 Apr. 1828: *Cooper*, P. L. i, 288. 27. Sept. 1832: *Scott*, P. L. ii, 108. Oct. 1835: *De Vigny*, P. C. ii, 52. 15 June, 1836: *Des Jugemens à l'étranger*, P. L. ii, 305. 15 Sept. 1838: *Fortoul*, P. L. ii, 322.—15 Apr. 1839: *Dumas*, P. L. ii, 390. 15 Sept. 1840: *Sue*, P. C. iii, 87.

preoccupied with the personal and the immediate. He acknowledges the reality of genres; but his interest is in kinds of authors, not in kinds of literature. In all of which he is irreproachable so far as he goes; but the point of importance is that he does not go deep enough for the future interests of the genre. When by the next generation it was challenged, you could not find in Sainte-Beuve, or anyone else with prestige, an explicit statement of its real nature, a defense of its being. It had come into the second half of the nineteenth century without its Aristotle.

It lay exposed, like any nation, person, institution, or type, that does not know its deepest self, to this devastating question: What rational right have you to exist? To that it would be in vain for the Hazlitts and Sainte-Beuves and other connoisseurs merely to declare that they found *Old Mortality* or *Ivanhoe* delightful. The real problem was this: granted that you get aesthetic delight from their plot, or their characters, or what not, is that pleasure owing to the genre, to the method, to their being laid in the historic past? If not, the historical novel would have mere being, without any reason for its being. Like millions of other phenomena, it might be an experiment, more or less protracted but sooner or later doomed to pass away, to make room for those true arts which *have a raison d'être*.

Hitherto, created in an age which presupposed an idealistic aesthetics, the historical novel had flourished in peace. But now arose that school of thought which philosophers call Empiricism or Naturalism, the school of Mill and Haeckel and Spencer. It had a naïve confidence in the reality of phenomena. It assumed, like the man in the street, that you really "know" the phenomena apparently perceptible to the senses, and that you "know" them in a way that you do not know the constructions made by the mind or the images created by the imagination. It also assumed that this "knowing" of appearances is direct, i. e. without any presupposition of principles, and therefore without any mediation by the mind. Nowadays "the

1 Apr. 1846: *Vilet*, Port Litt. iii, 412. 2 Sept. 1850: *Balsac*, C. L. ii, 445. 15 Sept. 1851: *Marmontel*, C. L. iv, 515. 6 & 13 Dec. 1852: *Barthélemy*, C. L. vii, 186. 7 Feb. 1853: *Merimée*, C. L. vii, 371. 28 July, 1855: *Du Camp*, C. L. xii, 3. 1861: *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*: i, 161, 206, 251; ii, 3, 5, 21, 23 and note, 55, 59. 22 Dec. 1862: *Salammbô*, N. L. iv, 31, 435.

flimsy philosophy of J. S. Mill"¹⁴ is despised by both the philosophic schools, the Idealists and the Realists; but during the second half of the nineteenth century it swayed the intellectual world. Upon the reputation of the historical novel, Empiricism had a powerful and dire effect. It presupposed that the Past was an objectively existing reality which scientific historians could copy, that faith and imagination are not rational uses of the mind, and that the positively valuable knowledge is gained by direct observation. Art and literature as means of communicating such observation are useful to society, and the best art is a copy of that objective reality in which we must struggle to survive. If the knowledge most worth gaining was that gained through the senses, obviously it was the author who dealt with his own time, with what he had personally experienced, who served a useful purpose; the others dealt in chimeras, and were at best mere entertainers. It is the gradual permeation of such ideas from philosophy into literary criticism that seems to me to account for the disfavor into which the historical novel soon fell among the intellectual.

If the link seems missing, I suggest Sir Leslie Stephen, a vigorous advocate of agnostic empiricism, whom Sir Edmund Gosse recently termed "the most distinguished English critic" living at the end of the nineteenth century,¹⁵ and whose literary essays George Meredith called "the profoundest and the most sober criticism we have had in our time."¹⁶ Lord Balfour, in a passage which, coming from so urbane a source, startled the British intellectual world, has denounced Stephen's philosophical works as full of "grave crimes against the spirit of truth," and as applying "very different standards of intellectual probity" to rather unintellectual poor clergymen than to members of his own agnostic party.¹⁷ However that may be, it will hardly be denied that the cool empiricism of Stephen aided him in expounding with remarkable clearness many systems of thought and in supervising the accurate record of biographical data.

¹⁴ A. J. Balfour, *Theism and Humanism* (1915), p. 138.

¹⁵ Review of Stephen's *Some Early Impressions*, in *The Sunday Times* (London), 15 June, 1924.

¹⁶ *The Author*, 1 April, 1904. Maitland, *Life of Leslie Stephen*, p. 493.

¹⁷ A. J. Balfour, *Theism and Humanism* (The Gifford Lectures, delivered in 1914), lecture v. Stephen's philosophic depth may be plumbed by noting that he tried to read Hegel but gave it up. See Maitland, *Life*, p. 172.

Indeed he was born to be the editor of a Dictionary of National Biography of which the suggested motto was "No flowers,—by request."¹⁸ His coolness, a merit in that field, was a weakness in others. He grew prone to suppose that what was disagreeable must be true, and that what was charming (even to himself) must be suspect. His positivism froze the natively genial current of his soul. Most of the authors he writes upon are prose authors, too many of them prosaic ones; the poet whose poetical quality he really warms to is, it seems to me, Pope;¹⁹ and from his essay on the author of *The Ancient Mariner* one gets the impression,—conveyed with an air of breaking the bad news gently but firmly,—that the fundamentally important fact about Coleridge was opium.²⁰

These qualities clearly appear in Stephen's attitude toward historical novels,—in his essays on Scott, Kingsley, and Stevenson, and in his chapter on *Romola*. He has obviously enjoyed *Hypatia*, and says so, but instantly adds: "I have no doubt

¹⁸ Not by Stephen himself, but by Canon Ainger. See *Some Early Impressions*, p. 163.

¹⁹ The much praised essay on Wordsworth is on Wordsworth's ethical system, and, characteristically, "endeavors to state it in plain prose." *Hours in a Library*, 1892, ii, 277.

²⁰ Did Stephen really understand Coleridge's philosophy and aesthetics? I doubt it when I find him saying, in his essay on Godwin, that Coleridge's "poetry is most successful where it is most independent of his philosophy" (iii, 65).

There is no thorough study of Leslie Stephen as a critic and philosopher. The best approach to one is Herbert Paul's essay, published anonymously in the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1904, cxcix, 468–475, and reprinted in Stephen's *Essays in Freethinking and Plainspeaking*, 1905. I do not wholly agree with its admiring estimate of Stephen, but it really faces the philosophic issues that his work raises.—Mr. Stanley T. Williams' *Leslie Stephen: Twenty Years Later*, in the *London Mercury*, 1923, viii, 621–634, seems well read in Stephen, and is pleasantly written, but sidles away from the truly critical problems.—*The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen*, 1906 (appropriately enough written not by a literary man or a philosopher, but by a great jurist), by Frederic William Maitland, keeps to matters of fact and evidence, and avowedly makes no attempt to appraise the literary and critical value of Stephen's work. As so often, a poet has been the best characterizer of the personality of the man: Thomas Hardy, in *The Schreckhorn*, originally published in Maitland, p. 278. Stephen was the first to climb to the top of that Alp,—

Drawn on by vague imaginings maybe
Of semblance to his personality
In its quaint glooms, keen lights, and rugged trim.

that *Hypatia* is fundamentally and hopelessly inaccurate." In every case, he chills his own ardor by the criterion of his philosophic system, and feels forced to ask: are these stories quite true to the facts? Stevenson, he intimates, is a charming boy, to be condescendingly patted on the back; but of course his romances are not faithful to the past. So with Scott: Stephen's critical verdict, which has been most damaging to the genre throughout the English-speaking world, is this: "*Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth* and *Quentin Durward* and the rest are of course audacious anachronisms for the genuine historian."²¹ He offers no evidence for these assertions (in an empiricist a rather scandalous omission), but that is not here the main point. The significant thing is that a mind trained in his school feels that the first and the last thing to ask in judging an historical novel is whether it is in exact accord with the so-called facts of history. The empiricist philosopher may in some ways be a very superior person; but his sense for art is comparable with that of the vulgar attorney in the famous case of Whistler vs. Ruskin, who, to prove Whistler no artist, held up to the wondering gaze of a cockney jury one of Whistler's studies of the Thames, and indignantly demanded whether "any gentleman would know that for an *accurate representation* of Battersea Bridge?"

Of the same philosophic school as Sir Leslie Stephen is Herr Georg Brandes, but with a strong political bias and much more ardent will and feelings. Dr. Brandes was one of the first of those journalists who disguise themselves as professors. After thirty years of enthusiastic propaganda in the cause of liberty as he conceived it, and at a time when he believed his school victorious, he confessed in 1899, in the preface of the Danish edition of his collected works, that his studies had always been strongly influenced by political considerations, that his writings had been purposely polemics in the service of a particular political and cultural party (the chief of that party was Nietz-

²¹ The few but very influential passages appeared as follows: 1874: *Sir Walter Scott, Hours in a Library*, i, esp. p. 156.—Compare therewith, *Hawthorne*, p. 170.—1879: *Kingsley*, Do. iii, esp. pp. 56-58.—Jan. 1902: *Stevenson, Studies of a Biographer*, especially the last three paragraphs.—1902: *George Eliot*, the chapter on *Romola*.

sche),²² and that especially the volume in his *Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature* called *Naturalism in England* was "nothing but a hymn to liberty."²³ Now it chanced that at that time in Denmark, as elsewhere, the ancient national tradition had expressed itself most popularly in historical dramas and in historical novels; and thus the genre seemed something belonging to that political conservatism whose overthrow was the purpose of Dr. Brandes' life. To be sure, he had as a student written what he describes in his essay on Hauch (1873) as a "great, thick, and dogmatic thesis"²⁴ on the relations of History and Literature, and he had evidently read Hegel's discussion of the matter;²⁵ but he did not permit his awareness that the subject was highly problematic to interfere with his plea for the radical cause.²⁶

Dr. Brandes suppressed his thesis, and began his brilliant career of journalistic criticism. Wherever opportunity offered he attacked literature which depicted the Danish past gloriously; and his onslaught on Ingemann, commonly called the Danish

²² It was Brandes' lectures in 1888 that stemmed the Christian tide against Nietzsche, and initiated his vogue. Rudolf Eisler, *Philosophen-Lexikon* (1912), sub "Nietzsche."

²³ "En eneste Hymne til Friheden." *Samlede Skrifter*, 1899, i, p. v.

²⁴ "stor, tyk og doktriner Afhandling,"—*Skrifter*, i, 404.

²⁵ See his illuminating conversation with John Stuart Mill (who hadn't!), in *Skrifter*, ix, 540.

²⁶ Most of the discussions of Dr. Brandes' work, including most of those in Danish, suffer from sectarian or political partisanship. The elementary facts, stated with fairness, may be found in Salmonsens's (Danish) *Konversations-Leksikon*, 2nd ed., xv, 1915; or in Victor Basch's introduction to Brandes' *l'École romantique en France*, 1902. Even the admirers of Dr. Brandes seem to admit that the most thorough study of him is Alfred Ipsen's *Georg Brandes: en Bog om Ret og Uret*, Copenhagen, 1902-03, which is condemnatory, and scarcely known outside of Scandinavia.

American opinions concerning Dr. Brandes seem now abreast of the hasty and superficial opinions current in Europe thirty years ago. A wholly uncritical genuflection is Julius Moritzen's ill-written sketch, *Georg Brandes in Life and Letters* (Newark, N. J.), 1922, as fulsome and vapid as if a publisher's brochure about a popular author. Some who ought to know better utter about Dr. Brandes extravagances like these: "one of the great humanists of the age," with "vast and accurate learning" (Ludwig Lewisohn, *The Nation*, October 10, 1923, pp. 399-400). Perhaps that kind of extreme leads to the other, represented by Mr. Robert Littell (*The Bookman*, July, 1923, pp. 556-557) who complains that the "enormous knowledge" of Dr. Brandes makes him dull!

Walter Scott, was a sensational denial of the supposed merits of that popular patriotic author. Growing more and more confident, with the apparently waxing strength of scientific Naturalism all over Europe, he assigned in the first four volumes of his *Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature* (1872-75), to historical novels a place of insignificance. Wherever he met them, they were welcome to him only as corpses were welcome to Mark Twain's coroner,—as so many opportunities to exercise his keen professional skill in burying them. Out of more than three hundred pages given to English literature of the romantic period, he gave less than a dozen to the Waverley Novels; whereas to the verses of Thomas Moore, because of the Irish revolt, he gave thirty pages! He snatched from Sir Walter Scott's *Journal* a remark wherein that modest spirit calls himself in his youth only "half-educated," and used it as evidence of alleged lack of culture against one who was in his maturity probably as well-read a man as any in Europe.²⁷ He misinterpreted Balzac's admiration for Scott by suppressing half of what Balzac had praised him for; and thus, as it were, gave the cue to M. Brunetière to explain away that tribute wholly, by suppressing nine-tenths of it.²⁸ He insinuated that the only incentive for writing historical novels is "nostalgia for a past century." His confidence reached its height in 1875, when the fourth volume of *Main Currents* appeared, in which he declared it a bastard art and an antiquated one, and rose to his climax with the final words that Scott was now an author who was read by children, but "whom no grown-up person whatever reads,"²⁹ words quoted by Professor Saintsbury as the rashest generalization he had ever read, except Tolstoi's "All prostitutes and madmen smoke."

²⁷ *Naturalismen i England, Skrifter*, v, 381.—In the English translation, *Main Currents*, iv, 127.—Cf. Scott's Autobiography, in Lockhart.

²⁸ Balzac, *Préface de la Comédie Humaine*.—Brandes, *Skrifter*, vi, 45, 150.—Brunetière, *Honoré de Balzac*, ch. i.

²⁹ "I vore Dage . . . forældet . . . Man er over hele Europa tilbøjelig til den Opfattelse, at den historiske Roman med alle sine Fortrin er en Bastardart . . . I vore Dage ved Tidens stumme, men lærerige Kritik bleven Yndlingsdigteren for Dreng og Piger omkring Fjortenaarsalderen, en Digter, som alle Voksne har læst og ingen Voksen nogensinde læser." *Skrifter*, v, 379-80, 382. (Translation, *Main Currents*, iv, 125, 127.)

The course of literary events after 1875 placed Dr. Brandes repeatedly into predicaments which would have perturbed anyone less audacious and resourceful. What he himself, with respect to the alleged oblivion of Scott, called "Time's silent but instructive judgment" soon turned against him; repeatedly it forced upon his attention the truth that a successful historical novel might be written by an author who did not belong to a political or philosophic party odious to him. Already in 1876, a familiar of his own family, a young man who had translated Darwin, and who had given signs of a properly liberal spirit by occasional youthful witticisms against the Church, Jens Peder Jacobsen, produced *Marie Grubbe*,—a novel which was of the "dead" genre, and, worst of all, must be confessed the masterpiece of Danish prose! Dr. Brandes himself wrote a long essay to proclaim the fact, but he did not mention its inconvenience to his theory. And then he passed on to his study of Flaubert, and was confronted by the fact that another artist of the naturalistic school which he approved, was addicted to the "moribund" genre. Accordingly, in the last two volumes of *Main Currents*, he paid more attention to the genre which liberals like Hugo and realists like Merimée had cultivated,—but still grudgingly and inadequately. In 1897, in the course of his journalistic criticism, he was obliged to hail another historical novelist, Verner von Heidenstam, with his *Karolinerna*. The last act in this Comedy of Criticism, in which, as in the best comedies, the chief actor seemed quite unconscious of the absurdity of his situation, was played when Anatole France, Dr. Brandes' fellow-radical, rose into international fame; whereupon our eminent critic, in setting forth the glories of the author of *Thais*, had to pay more attention to his historical fictions than to any other kind! But Dr. Brandes' original attack on the genre stands unretracted in edition after edition; and though his star is setting, with that of the Nietzschean Kultur he advocated, it is still influential among certain literary and academic groups in Europe and America.³⁰

³⁰ The more important passages on historical fiction, or bearing in some way thereon, may be found in: 1873: *Carsten Hauch*.—1875: *Naturalismen i England*, esp. ch. x.—1876: *J. P. Jacobsen*.—1881: *Gustave Flaubert*.—1882: *Den romantiske Skole i Frankrig*, esp. on Scott's influence, on Hugo, on Balzac, and on Merimée.—1887: *Ingemann*.—1889: *Heidenstam*.—1905: *Anatole France*.

The case of Henry James shows that the intellectual atmosphere of the times affected even aesthetically sensitive spirits. His career as a critic of fiction began at least as early as 1865 (*The Limitations of Dickens*), and did not cease until his essay, *The New Novel*, in 1914. Unlike Stephen and Dr. Brandes and Brunetière, he had exquisitely good taste and the most intimate understanding of literature as an art. A skilful hand may extricate from the network of his style many a golden phrase. Literature demands, he knows, "the power to guess the unseen from the seen." Art is "to render the look of things, the look that conveys their meaning." The motto of his beautiful criticism may be found in his words, "Be generous and delicate"; and consistently he practised what he therein advises. He disliked Zola's theory, and he said so, but he added, "Zola reasons less powerfully than he represents,"—a distinction which a zealot like Brunetière would not make. An especially noteworthy sentence, all the more so if one remembers that his personal favorite was Turgeneff, is the following. "Remember," he writes, "that talents so dissimilar as those of Alexandre Dumas and Jane Austen, Charles Dickens and Gustave Flaubert, have worked in this field with equal glory."³¹ When I read in him whose fastidiousness none will question, such a judgment, Emersonian in seeming superficially incongruous but being fundamentally wise, I confess it exalts me with the great hope that American criticism will some day be the noblest of all, as scrupulous as Henry James', but also as hospitable as his to all varieties of literary beauty, grown in whatever national soil. Yet that sentence, with Dumas leading the list, is one of a very few in which James even distantly recognizes the greatness of the historical novel. He was not in the least prejudiced, but he was preoccupied,—preoccupied with literature based on the study of contemporaneous life; and his critical essays in their general tendency were not helpful to historical romance. His constant admonition to "represent life" evidently meant to represent the life of one's own day. And hence Stevenson addressed him his *Humble Remonstrance*; for even Henry James seemed often to assume that the real could be found only by direct observation of immediate actuality.³²

³¹ Last paragraph of *The Art of Fiction*. In *Partial Portraits*, 1888, p. 408.

³² The chief passages on historical novels are in the following: Apr. 1873: *Gautier* (in *French Portraits*).—Feb. 1876: *Bernard and Flaubert* (in the same).—

Ferdinand Brunetière, who during three decades was the most vigorous critic in France, and of whom Faguet (not a blind admirer) said as late as 1913, "Depuis la mort de Renan et de Taine il a été le seul directeur de la pensée française," was he who struck the last great blow against the historical novel.³³ It came from a somewhat unexpected quarter; for Brunetière was a declared enemy of that naturalistic philosophy which Leslie Stephen and Dr. Brandes served in their different ways. But his *Roman naturaliste* attacked naturalism, not because it was realistic, but because it seemed to him mere observation without ideas. And to Brunetière the all-important matters were ethical ideas, their truth, and their social consequences. He believed himself to be a classicist; but, influenced by Taine, he strove to unite with what he considered the principles of Boileau certain modern conceptions,—the theory of evolution, and the notion that the value of literature lies in its being a social instrument. In the cause of this modernized "classicism," he read strenuously—though within rather narrow limits,³⁴—and argued with masterful clearness and intensity.

"No one in his generation," says Professor Babbitt, "so emphasized the relationship between literature and thought."³⁵

1879: *Hawthorne*, chap. v.—1884: *The Art of Fiction* (in *Partial Portraits*).—1885: *George Eliot* (in the same).—1893: *Flaubert* (in *Essays in London*.—1912: *The Novel in "The Ring and the Book"* (in *Notes on Novelists*). This indicates how Henry James would have written an historical novel,—but only implicitly.

³³ The best introduction to a critical study of Brunetière is Professor Babbitt's essay in *The Masters of Modern French Criticism*, 1912, chap. v. The most thorough-going analysis of Brunetière's views, and of their philosophical implications, is in Ernst Robert Curtius' monograph, *Ferdinand Brunetière: Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Kritik*, Strassburg, 1915.—Add to the bibliography in Curtius and in Lanson (*Manuel bibliographique*, 1921): Georges Renard, *Les Princes de la jeune critique*, 1890, a noteworthy early attack, containing (p. 103) a sentence which anticipates many of the later adverse judgments: "Savant donc plus que philosophe, M. Brunetière est peut-être aussi plus savant qu'artiste."

³⁴ This was a "classicist" who had little interest in Latin literature, and none in Greek.—He had opinions on medieval literature, and on German literature; but no proper knowledge of either.—English literature he knew chiefly through Taine, i.e., through a glass, darkly.—His sketch of the history of French fiction (*l'Évolution des genres*, pp. 26–28) is a presumptuous mental construction betraying deep ignorance of the objective facts.

³⁵ *Masters of Modern French Criticism*, 1912, p. 337.

True; yet one may add that none so dangerously misunderstood the nature of that relationship. It lay, he assumed, in the filial dependence of Art upon Thought, when in truth it is a cousinship of equals. To him, thought meant ratiocination,—the understanding drawing from experience sound generalizations—"commonplaces"³⁶—of moral and therefore of social value; to that the other literary activities were subsequent and secondary, the "clothing" of such truths. In other words, this so-called classicist loved and understood in classicism the logical and objective features, but slighted the spiritual and the imaginative. Boileau's "Aimez donc la raison," he harped upon; what Boileau says of nature and heart and spirit, he neglected.³⁷ The result was deplorable: forgetting that when the mind produces literature its sovereign function is imagination, he missed becoming a literary critic, and remained a moralist. He reduced criticism to two questions: first, what are the moral ideas in this work? and second, can they be proved true to the experience of mankind? It is a method easy to grasp, and it seems edifying. Therefore it appealed to the serious-minded and intellectually inexperienced (it is indeed efficacious in the stages immediately preceding genuine culture); and our earnest, combative, and lucid moralist therewith awakened in many minds the life of virtue, and the life of ethical thought,—but not an understanding of the life of beauty. Mentally stimulating as his polemical arguments about books frequently are, the authentic touch of genuine literary criticism is almost never his. He is not inspired with the wise apprehension that marks the true critic,—the apprehension, namely, that the glory of an art like Literature lies not in its being the servant of other human activities, however noble, but in its being the peer of Religion and Philosophy and Ethics and History and Science, in its giving to humanity a certain kind of vision of the veritable nature of the Universe which none of the others can give,—in short, in its being an independent pathway to ultimate reality.³⁸

³⁶ See his *Théorie du lieu commun*, in *Histoire et littérature*, i, 31.

³⁷ Émile Faguet, *la Révolution littéraire de 1660*, in *Propos littéraires*, 1904, ii, 1-27.

³⁸ The last phrase is, of course, Lord Haldane's. On the metaphysical basis of the aesthetic principle, see his *Pathway to Reality*, 1903-04, ii, 182 ff.

This fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of literature explains many weaknesses in Brunetière's work, and particularly his hostility to the historical novel. To him the evolution of prose fiction was merely a preparation for Balzac, whom he interpreted as a realist inculcating moral ideas, the truth of which could be verified by looking at the world of appearances. Just why a novelist devoted only to such an aim should have written that brilliant specimen of historical fiction, the *Contes Drolatiques*, Brunetière did not make clear. In his book on Balzac he passes lightly over the fact that the great novelist attempted the genre not infrequently; and he quite suppresses the truth that Balzac admired several important qualities in Scott besides the realism,—including "the poetry" and the combining of "the marvellous and the true." Brunetière's criterion for historical romance is disclosed in his statement that its only merit could be "la littéralité de son imitation du passé."³⁹ His contempt for it he expressed in scintillating epigrams, often quoted by admirers, thus, for instance, the historical novel is "ni du roman, ni de l'histoire; ou plutôt qui sera d'histoire si vous y cherchez le roman, mais qui redeviendra du roman si vous y cherchez de l'histoire."⁴⁰ It is the kind of epigram so dear to *la mentalité simpliste*: its maker fancies he has pointed out self-contradiction when he has uttered a paradox,—that is, a statement apparently contradictory, but sometimes quite true. Many fundamental realities of life,—such as religion, or love,—can perhaps best be summed up in a paradox; and to describe an art in a paradox is not to disprove its value, though the paradoxer may think so. The first of bad critics was Zoilus. About him our classical colleagues can tell us little more than that he assailed Homer for historical inaccuracies; but I have little doubt that some day they will discover a fragment of Zoilus reading approximately like this: "The more I look in the *Iliad* for history, the more I find poetry; the more I look in it for poetry, the more I find history."⁴¹ And no doubt

³⁹ Balzac, ch. 1, section 3, last paragraph.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Selden T. Whitcomb, *The Study of a Novel*, 1905, p. 304.

⁴¹ In its purity the classical tradition is not hostile to the union of history and literature; are not Homer, Virgil, Milton, and Racine sufficient precedents for "classicists?" As for the other branch of the great tradition, I tried to show, in my address to the Shakespeare Association of London, October, 1923, that every important argument brought against the legitimacy of the historical novel would tend to invalidate the art of Shakespeare in *Antony and Cleopatra*.

when in the Garden of Eden the Master Poet, creating the first *mélange des genres*, made Man, the Adversary hissed from the bushes, "Tis a false genre, and will not live: the more you look in that creature for dust, the more you discover Spirit; the more you look in him for Spirit, the more you find dust!" I hope this will not seem frivolous; I am in deadly earnest, and it is not my fault that one cannot closely imitate the reasoning of Brunetière on the historical novel without issuing in absurdities.⁴²

I have sketched, I hope, an explanation why the historical novel fell into disrepute in the world of criticism,—namely the wide permeation of the presuppositions of naturalistic philosophy. The attacks on it proceeded from philosophies and aesthetics that really were hostile to all imaginative literature, but that found this genre especially ill protected. It might have been defended in two distinct ways. The defense might have rested upon the obvious facts of the case. Regarded from the most crudely empirical point of view, this sweeping condemnation of the genre simply will not do. A critical theory that leads to the condemnation of *Henry Esmond*, and *War and Peace*, and *The Cloister and the Hearth*, and *Marius the Epicurean*, as artistically "impure," ought to stand self-condemned; even as the predictions of the death of the genre are rendered derisory (for of predictions the criterion is solely empirical, is it not?) when, after they have been made at least once a decade for a hundred years, we find the genre considered throughout the world a fit instrument of expression by literary artists as distinguished as Merejkovsky, and Jirasek, and Ricarda Huch, and Thomas Mann, and Mr. George Moore, and Mrs. Wharton, and Mr.

⁴² The more important of the pertinent passages in Brunetière are the following: 1 June, 1877: *l'Érudition dans le roman* (in *le Roman naturaliste*). 15 Sept. 1881: *les Origines du roman naturaliste* (in the same).—15 July, 1881: On the "inherent vice" of the historical novel, *Théorie du lieu commun* (in *Histoire et littérature*, i, 50).—1 July, 1890: A definition of the novel, *Mme. de Staël*, (in *Études critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française*, iv, 382).—1 June, 1891: *Le Roman de l'avenir* (in *Essais sur la littérature contemporaine*, p. 181, ff.).—1 Nov. 1892: Ranking the kinds of fiction in order of merit, *Un roman de M. Paul Bourget* (in *Nouveaux Essais*, pp. 213–214).—1898: Another characteristic definition of fiction, *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature française*, pp. 442–443.—1906: *Honoré de Balzac*, throughout, but especially chap. i, the beginning of chap. iv, and the last eight paragraphs of chap. viii.

Hergesheimer. This kind of defense would be easy, popular, modern,—and many other speciously attractive things. But it could hardly be satisfactory to anyone who knows what mischief the purely empirical method has done in literary thinking. Often, indeed, the history of criticism is a record of the triumph of authors over critics, but not always nor inevitably; and the fact that authors of historical novels seem to have triumphed repeatedly since 1814, does not in itself conclusively prove that their method may not be wrong. The only sound basis for criticism is, not empirical fact alone, but the discovery and assertion of the philosophical principles of which those facts are merely the contingent manifestations.

The strength of the hostile critics lay not in the facts, which seemed largely against them, but in their having some sort of philosophy wherewith to belittle the facts. Hence arose the anomaly of a genre flourishing in the world of literary experience, and despised in the world of literary thought. It could in that world have been, I think, defended,—not by reiterating casual appreciations of individual novels, but only by supporting the genre with a philosophy and aesthetics favorable to imaginative art. What may be called the Great Tradition in Criticism was, like the Great Tradition in Literature, not unfavorable to a genre of this character; and in some of the ancient philosophers and critics valuable fragments of thought might have been found, and, with a little original thinking, might have been united into a sound theory of the nature of the historical novel and a defense of its value. Much aid might have been gained from Aristotle on the distinction between History and Poetry; from some of the critics of the Renaissance,—Cinthio, Castelvetro, and especially Tasso;⁴³ and from Mlle. de Scudéry's treatise on heroic romance. But the impregnable justification of the genre would have been made by bringing to bear on it the literary reflections of Coleridge and the aesthetics of Hegel.

Recall the literary and intellectual situation between 1814 and 1820, and these three great personalities, dissevered from

⁴³ Readily applicable to the historical novel are many of the ideas on the Epic in the criticism of the Renaissance,—ideas whose history has been recently set forth anew by Dr. R. C. Williams. See his *The Theory of the Epic* (Johns Hopkins), 1917; *The Purpose of . . . the Epic*, in *Romanic Review*, 1921, xii, 1; and *Two Studies in Epic Theory*, in *Modern Philology*, November, 1924.

one another in space: Sir Walter in his study at Abbotsford, creating *The Heart of Midlothian* and *Rob Roy*, genuinely inspired, but to himself inexplicably, and quite too unphilosophical to set forth the relation of his special function to the general function of art;—four hundred miles southward, Coleridge, lolling in his armchair beside Highgate green, beholding in visions the inwardness of Poetry, mumbling cryptic words like “esemplastic,” intoning to any who would hearken variations on his favorite theme—that literature meant “to lend the charms of the imagination to the real, and to lend the force of reality to the imaginary”;—and far across the North Sea, in his Berlin classroom, the immortal Hegel, a shy bourgeois figure with a noble countenance, his gaze fixed on vacancy, lecturing to hundreds of awestruck disciples on Aesthetics, drawing up for literature its Declaration of Independence by asserting the functions which it alone in the universe can perform, showing in his theory of the epic, with abundant illustrations from all literatures, why imaginative literature uses history as its matter, superseding in his Objective Idealism the half-truths of each of the narrow literary schools, by avoiding the subjectivity of art-for-art’s-sake on the one hand, and the pseudo-objectivity of art for the sake of phenomenal appearances on the other, to exalt art for the sake of its concrete visions of the true character of the Universe. He said nothing about the new art, the historical novel; but he said nearly everything that was necessary to give philosophical foundation to the critical intuitions of Coleridge and to sanction the artistic practices of Sir Walter Scott. To harmonize those three manifestations of the same time-spirit would be, it seems to me, to perform a task of constructive philosophic criticism which even the eminent critics of the nineteenth century left undone, and which perhaps the critics of our day, if they will but consent to learn of one another, may perform.

ERNEST BERNBAUM

XXIV.
SAINTE-BEUVE AND POPE

IT WAS late in life that Sainte-Beuve wrote to a correspondent:

Je suis resté, malgré tout, de l'école d'Horace, du chantre de la forêt de Windsor, et même en n'y mettant plus de tout de passion, je reste obstiné par ce côté de mon esprit et dans ce for intérieur de mon sentiment.¹

This declaration is often cited as a sort of summary and synthesis of his critical theory and experience, witnessing his fixed and final preference for the Classical manner, a preference which he promptly and constantly declared after his conclusive break with the Romantics in 1838. The interest of the scholar is immediately aroused by two things in the passage: the fact that he calls the group or roll of writers whom he indicates a "school"; and more especially by the names he singles out as representing the "school" to which he declares his allegiance—Horace and Pope.

There can be no question of Sainte-Beuve's indebtedness to Horace. He was, of course, deeply grounded in Latin literature and criticism in general, and his approval of Horace in particular is frequently expressed. There was indeed a native kinship between them. But there is a misleading implication in the easy, and as it were, casual linking of Pope with the Latin critic—as if he felt equally indebted to both. More than one student of Sainte-Beuve has been deceived by this association, and has taken it for more than it is worth. The scholar who writes, "He frequently refers to Pope,"² or "the frequency with which he refers to Pope,"³ really overstates the case. As a matter of fact, setting aside the essay devoted to Pope,⁴ in the

¹ *Nouvelle Correspondance*, p. 235: dated March 29, 1867.

² Irving Babbitt, *Masters of Modern French Criticism* (Boston, 1912), p. 168.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 169. See also L. MacClintock, *Sainte-Beuve's Critical Theory and Practice after 1849*. (Chicago, 1920), p. 69.

⁴ *Nouveaux Lundis*, VIII, 104-132.

sixty-odd volumes of Sainte-Beuve's works the name of the Englishman occurs only some thirty-five times; he is quoted but once, and then at no great length;⁵ definite passages are paraphrased seven times;⁶ and none of these quotations, direct or indirect, is used in any vital or important connection, being, indeed, in every case incidental or illustrative. These facts would seem to warn us against the term "frequency" as applied to the French critic's use of Pope's name, and to challenge us to ask what is really the nature and amount of Sainte-Beuve's knowledge of Pope.

Sainte-Beuve's reading in English literature began early,⁷ yet in Michaut's detailed study of his youth the name of Pope does not occur among the English authors read by the omnivorous young man⁸ nor does Léon Séché in his account of the contents of Sainte-Beuve's library include any English books, though he does note the presence of Fontanes' translation of the *Essay on Man*.⁹ It may well be that it was through this book that Sainte-Beuve's acquaintance with Pope began, for he was at work on an article on Fontanes in 1838 and would assuredly have had use for the translation.¹⁰ And it is in this article, published in 1844, that his first mention of Pope occurs.¹¹ Not, however, until the volume of 1848 on Chateaubriand is the name mentioned with what may, by allowance, be termed frequency; and by far the greater number of his references to

⁵ *N. L.*, II, 15.

⁶ *Portraits de Femmes*, p. 99; *Causeries du Lundi*, III, 47; *C. L.* VII, 327; *C. L.*, IX, 497; *N. L.*, I, 437; *N. L.*, VI, 408; *N. L.*, X, 448.

⁷ The tradition that Sainte-Beuve knew English well, repeated by most of his critics, has been lately called into question by G. Roth, "Ce que Sainte-Beuve a su d'anglais," *Revue Germanique*, 1920-21, pp. 378-381. He concludes: "En dépit des facilités que son ascendance et son lieu de résidence première auraient pu lui procurer, Sainte-Beuve n'apprit l'anglais qu'assez tard et par des moyens probablement livresques; il ne l'a jamais parlé et il ne l'a su que médiocrement." His admiration for Felicia Hemans (*C. L.*, XI, 118; *C. L.*, XVI, 10) and his bracketing of Kirke White with Keats (*Correspondance*, II, 44) lend weight to Roth's assertion.

⁸ G. Michaut, *Sainte-Beuve avant les lundis*, (Fribourg, 1903), p. 106.

⁹ Léon Séché, *Etudes d'histoire romantique: Sainte Beuve*, (Paris, 1904) vol. I. Chapter on "La Bibliothèque de Sainte-Beuve."

¹⁰ *Correspondance*, I, 68.

¹¹ *Portraits littéraires*, II, 218: see also Chateaubriand, I, 84-85; *N. L.*, VIII, 128.

Pope is to be found in the *Nouveaux Lundis*. It is interesting, though it would be hard to prove it significant, that the beginning of Sainte-Beuve's acquaintance with the English Classicist coincides with his definite revolt from Romanticism, and is usually associated with his acknowledgment of his Classical adherence.

The essay on Pope naturally contains the main body of Sainte-Beuve's opinion of him. This essay is a section of the review of Taine's *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* in volume eight of the *Nouveaux Lundis* and one gathers at once that he felt the English writer was not justly treated by Taine, nor indeed, by the majority of contemporary critics. "Le moment," he writes, "n'est pas bon pour Pope, et il commence à devenir mauvais pour Horace,"¹² and these two represent the Classical school which "on est disposé, si l'on n'y prend garde, à traiter un peu trop sous jambe: une sorte de dédain et de mépris est bien près de les atteindre."¹³ Sainte-Beuve tries to redress the balance by discussing Pope sympathetically, for he feels that while we should appreciate "le grand, le fort, le difficile" among the great human forces,¹⁴ we should by no means forget or ignore "ces autres forces, plus contenues, qui, dans leur expression, moins semblable à une explosion, se revêtent d'élégance et de douceur."¹⁵ So he writes appreciatively of Pope, the man, the critic, the philosopher and the stylist, finding him, maybe febrile, possibly sterile, but not ludicrous or contemptible as Taine had portrayed him. Follow then in the essay, studies of the works of Pope, and from these one may gather what Sainte-Beuve had read with the most interest and approval. First in importance is the *Essay on Criticism*, quoted five times at length and five times in a sentence;¹⁶ it is referred to elsewhere more frequently than any other work of Pope's,¹⁷ from it Sainte-

¹² *N. L.*, VIII, 113.

¹³ *N. L.*, VIII, 115.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127. Sainte-Beuve never quotes Pope in English.

¹⁷ Aiming a shaft at Pontmartin for his bitterness and unbalanced cruelty toward his victims, Sainte-Beuve writes, "Je n'ai jamais lu, sans en chercher l'application autour de moi, ce beau passage de *L'Essai sur la Critique* de Pope; 'but where the man . . .'" Gustave Planche personified this ideal. *N. L.*, II, 15.

Beuve quotes the defence of the function of the critic,¹⁸ the passage describing the spirit in which the critic should approach a work of art,¹⁹ and the lines which state the genuine Classical creed;²⁰ in this poem, too, he found a passage which met his profound approval—the portrait or “character” of the ideal critic—verses which he says should be hung above the table of every professional reviewer.²¹ Second in importance among Pope’s works comes the *Essay on Man*, and from this Sainte-Beuve singles out for extended discussion the passages on the ruling passion²² and, more briefly discussed, the outline of political theory.²³ In the *First Moral Essay*, “On the Knowledge and Characters of Men,” he found the longest and most consistent treatment of the doctrine of the ruling passion—a doctrine on the surface similar to that which Sainte-Beuve incorporated into his own critical-philosophical system—which indeed constituted so important an item in that system. The *First Moral Essay*, discussed at some length in the essay on Pope, is also mentioned in other connections.²⁴ The *Second Moral Essay*, “On the Characters of Women,” is once cited,²⁵ the preface to the translation of Homer once,²⁶ the letters of

¹⁸ *N. L.*, VIII, p. 120.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²² Compare the following: in writing of Benjamin Constant’s love of popularity, Sainte-Beuve concludes, “c’était là son rêve, sa passion dirigeante, et, selon la belle remarque de Pope, notre passion maîtresse (*our ruling passion*) persévère, se grave et s’enfonce au cœur en vieillissant.” *N. L.* I, 437 (Quoted from Pope, *Essay on Man*, lines 123 ff., and *Moral Essays*, I, *passim*.)

²³ Grimm’s ideas on politics are contained in Pope’s verses, “laissez les fous combattre pour les formes de gouvernement, celui . . . qui est le mieux administré, est le meilleur.” *C. L.*, VII, 327. (Reference to *Essay on Man*, II, lines 303 ff.)

²⁴ *N. L.*, VIII, 128. Sainte-Beuve’s ideas on the master passion are studied acutely in Babbitt, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

²⁵ Explaining the penchant of the angel heroine of De Vigny’s *Eloa* for Lucifer, he notes that Pope has said that every woman is “plus ou moins friponne dans le cœur et a un faible pour les mauvais sujets.” *N. L.*, VI, 408. (Reference to *Moral Essays*, II, lines 216 ff.)

²⁶ Mme. Dacier “ne souffrait pas que Pope . . . comparât *l’Iliade* à un vaste et fécond verger d’Ionie, ou, si l’on veut, à un jardin anglais.” Far from being left wild and crude, it was tamed and cultivated. *C. L.*, IX, 497. (See also *N. L.*, VIII, 116.)

Pope are referred to four times,²⁷ and Spence's *Anecdotes* thrice.²⁸

Notwithstanding, however, his evident acquaintance with Pope, his endorsement of many of the English poet's dicta, and his approval of his technique, it seems unlikely that Sainte-Beuve was in any considerable degree influenced by him—on the very surface of the matter there is something irreconcilable between Pope's fastidiousness, preciosity and formalism, and the Frenchman's liberality, tolerance and inclusiveness. There are, however, unescapable similarities in their critical doctrines and tastes that invite inspection.

The *Essay on Criticism*, Boileau's *Art poétique* and Horace's *Ars poetica* constitute the supreme expression and defense of the "common-sense" school of literary criticism and if we translate, as we may, "common-sense" as "la raison," we at once see the partial correspondence between the views of "the school" and those of Sainte-Beuve. Even during his Romantic period he had constantly made reservations and concessions in the direction of Classicism, and the name of Boileau was ever at his pen's point.²⁹ And when, after 1838, he came out unservedly as champion of the school of common-sense, he acknowledged as its typical spokesmen Boileau, Pope and Horace, and was only just and candid in declaring "je suis resté del'école d'Horace, du chantre de la forêt de Windsor."

The striking similarities of the doctrines of Pope and Sainte-Beuve on the *ruling passion* and the *master passion* might easily mislead a student, suggesting a kind of influence that really does not exist. As a matter of fact, however much they may resemble each other in their final form, the starting point, the germinating

²⁷ Three references to Pope's letters and one to a postscript he wrote to a letter of Bolingbroke. *Portraits de Femmes*, 99; *N. L.*, VIII, 131; *N. L.*, X, 448; *C. L.*, III, 47.

²⁸ The roll of critics of Pope that Sainte-Beuve had read is curious, containing as it does but one or two names of first importance. He mentions Mme. Dacier, Addison, Campbell, Bowles, Bentley, Dowden and Matthew Arnold; he was conversant with the ins and outs of the Byron-Campbell-Bowles controversy; he cites Spence's *Anecdotes* in *C. L.*, XI, 214; *N. L.*, VIII, 107, 111; but the names of Warton, DeQuincey and Johnson are missing from the list.

²⁹ Gustave Michaut, *Études sur Sainte-Beuve*, (Paris, 1905), p. 92.

center of the doctrines is absolutely different. One has but to read Pope's discussions in their context to see that in his case the idea developed from that historic pseudo-psychology of humours, known to antiquity, prevalent in Elizabethan thought and art, coming down through the analytic studies of the Seventeenth century, surviving into the Eighteenth, and modified and exemplified in Pope's conception of the *ruling passion*.³⁰ Sainte-Beuve's theory had an entirely different genesis, deriving as it does, from his scientific, deterministic convictions. Of course Sainte-Beuve was keen enough to perceive that his deterministic doctrine pushed to its logical extreme must inevitably prove subversive of the Humanistic point of view—but he hoped, by instinct, training and habit, to avoid extremes, logical or critical. Babbitt suggests that his interest in Pope may possibly be attributed to his ironic satisfaction at finding a Humanistic authority for a conception subversive of both Humanism and religion.³¹

On the whole we must conclude that it was an accident that Sainte-Beuve's first acquaintance with Pope's work coincided with his definite break with Romanticism, and that the increased number of his references to Pope after 1848 indicated that he found in the Englishman corroboration and authority for views that he had developed independently.

Another reason for Sainte-Beuve's interest in Pope, at any rate a sufficient explanation of the number of references to him, has been suggested above, and needs only to be recalled—the fact, as Sainte-Beuve himself says, that the name of Pope is a symbol to him. He writes: "ce nom, qui représente la poésie morale, la poésie correcte et ornée dans tout son fini . . . est pour moi un prétexte . . . pour maintenir un certain côté"—that is, precisely, the side of the Classicists, now for some time neglected in favor of the Romantics.³² The Englishman is thus for him by turn the symbol, by turn the type of the Humanistic appeal, the incarnation of an idea and a theory. "Ce nom représente" is Sainte-Beuve's important phrase,—represents

³⁰ Babbitt, *op. cit.*, 167-169.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³² *N. L.*, VIII, 112. Note that here, as elsewhere, he uses the term "l'école" to name the tendency, the practice, the appeal which runs through all ages, but has only once or twice crystallized into a formal *school*.

namely that group of writers that he has described in a famous passage as "les écrivains d'un ordre moyen, justes, sensés, élégants, toujours nets, d'une passion noble encore, et d'une force légèrement voilée . . ."; in short, writers "qui ont gouverné leur inspiration;"³³ or "tous ceux qui, dans l'art, ne sont pas pour la réalité pure."³⁴

Pope stands, too, beside Horace, Boileau, and La Harpe,³⁵ with Montaigne and LaFontaine sometimes added, for Classical criticism,³⁶ of equal dignity with Classical creation. In nine out of fifteen passages in which Pope is mentioned he is accompanied by Boileau;³⁷ in eight of the fifteen, Horace "leur maître à tous" is also named;³⁸ and four times Voltaire is numbered with the goodly company.³⁹ These four mighty ones, with Montaigne and La Fontaine, "les poètes de la vie civile," dwell together on the slopes of Sainte-Beuve's Parnassus, not far from Virgil.⁴⁰ They represent "les seconds âges"⁴¹ . . . les

³³ C. L., III, 43, 44.

³⁴ N. L., VIII, 122. Here are other passages to confirm this statement: "l'école studieuse et polie des Gray, des Pope, des Despréaux." *Portraits littéraires*, II, 3. The poetic image is, he says, "un peu courte, et un peu juste dans l'école moderne des Pope et des Boileau." *Chateaubriand*, I, 207. He laments the sacrifice of "les poètes que j'appellerai modérés. . . . Autrefois on ne plaidait pas pour Virgile, pour Horace, pour Boileau, Racine, Voltaire, Pope, le Tasse, admis et reconnus de tous." N. L., VIII, 115. Pope, Boileau and Fontanes stand together for Classical criticism. N. L., VIII, 116.

³⁵ La Harpe is twice mentioned in connection with Pope, each time in regard to the similarity in their personal appearance, La Harpe being "dans sa chétive personne presque aussi exiguë que Pope." N. L., X, 82. Also C. L., V, 127.

³⁶ *Chateaubriand*, I, 114, note; C. L., V, 129; C. L., VII, 310; N. L., VIII, 123; N. L., XII, 378. In placing Pope as critic Sainte-Beuve notes that the art has gained much ground since the Eighteenth century, so that Lamb, for instance, knew and appreciated Shakespeare far better than Pope, because while the former applied the historical, scientific, philosophical method, the latter, relying on the unaided judgment of taste, failed in full comprehension. N. L., IX, 84.

³⁷ *Portraits littéraires*, II, 3; *Chateaubriand*, I, 207; C. L., III, 44; C. L., V, 129; C. L., VI, 503; C. L., VII, 310; N. L., VIII, 115; N. L., VIII, 116; *ibid.*, 126.

³⁸ C. L., III, 44; C. L., V, 129; C. L., VI, 503; C. L., 310; N. L., VIII, 115; *ibid.*, 123; N. L., XII, 378; *Nouvelle Correspondance*, 235.

³⁹ *Chateaubriand*, I, 114, note; C. L., III, 52; N. L., VIII, 115; N. L., XII, 378.

⁴⁰ C. L., III, 52.

⁴¹ N. L., VIII, 120.

âges véritablement classiques, dans le sens modéré du mot, les seuls qui offrent au talent perfectionné le climat et l'abri."⁴²

The constant association of these names in the passages adduced and in others, goes to persuade one that "Pope, Boileau and Horace" is, as it were, a cliché, a mere convention, a stereotyped phrase, constituting a sort of critical counter which Sainte-Beuve used half automatically to stand for the Classical ideal, somewhat as in one's undergraduate days "Keats and Shelley," sometimes enriched by "and those fellows" stood for, and indeed adequately named for everybody but one's professor, the entire English Romantic school.

Sainte-Beuve seems never to have had misgivings as to his classification of Pope and his *confrères*, nor any doubt as to the justice of the rating he gives them. They were, to him, Classicists while they lived, and "le lendemain de leur mort. Aujourd'hui ils sont encore classiques, et ils méritent de l'être, mais ils ne le sont que du second ordre."⁴³ And this brings us to an apparent contradiction in Sainte-Beuve's attitude toward his chosen models—it is paradoxical, being apologetic in both senses of the word. He proclaims "Je suis resté de l'école d'Horace, du chantre de la forêt de Windsor," and still there is always something patronizing in his commendation of them, his friends, his colleagues, his masters. The Classicists mentioned are less than the great writers, are, indeed, second-rate;⁴⁴ they are "après les plus grands. . . . les plus agréables, peut-être, entre les écrivains et les poètes, et les plus faits pour donner du charme à la vie."⁴⁵ He complains that "les poètes modérés" are not popularly put in their rightful place a little *below* the great geniuses,⁴⁶ and he is constantly expressing his feeling that both readers and critics are preoccupied with the Romantics to the exclusion of the Classicists. Indeed it would be an interesting and illuminating task to disengage the threads of this psychological and critical tangle in Sainte-Beuve's mind—his deprecatory, often patronizing tone toward certain writers whom he constantly and stoutly declared to be his own favorites. On the one side it clearly has to do with the Romantic cult of genius as seen, for example in Hugo's volume on Shakespeare.⁴⁷ Now

⁴² C. L., III, 48.

⁴³ C. L., III, 47.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁶ N. L., VIII, 115.

⁴⁷ N. L., VIII, 123.

Sainte-Beuve could not fail to have been moved by this enthusiasm for supreme genius, a religion with the Romantics, so he was forced to recognize the superiority of Homer, Dante, Goethe. On the other side he inherited the classical bent toward classifying, "Order" (meaning rank), says Pope, "is Heaven's first law." To distinguish a first and a second in the rank of excellence was a primary task with a Classical critic, and so Sainte-Beuve, in spite of his professed and without any doubt sincere veneration for Pope, Boileau and Horace, retained from his Romantic days vestiges of the religion of Genius, just as in these Romantic days he had sensed fully the beauty and measure of the Classicists. Ernest Seillière⁴⁸ discovers in his admiration for the new Romantics, Flaubert and Baudelaire, a flaring-up of his youthful zeal, and a return, if momentary, of his early taste. Perhaps Seillière puts too much weight on what may be only an instance of Sainte-Beuve's critical open-mindedness. But it is well to be reminded that Sainte-Beuve may not have been so starkly classical as he often professed.⁴⁹

Whatever apparent contradiction we may find in the large sweep of Sainte-Beuve's critical experiments, we can never believe otherwise than that his admiration for Horace, Pope and Boileau was sincere and permanent. In the individual case of Pope, though we can find little or nothing in his work which derives directly from the Englishman, we can justly say that they had much in common—perhaps they belonged in many essential respects to the same family of minds.

The fact that he assigns the "Classical School" to a second rank may mean only that he regards its members as representatives of normal and typical humanity. Luckily for his office as critic, it was usually the normal and typical, those in whom he found the universally human traits, that particularly interested him. Now Pope and the writers whom he always

⁴⁸ Ernest Seillière, *Sainte-Beuve, agent, juge et complice de l'évolution romantique*, (Paris, 1921).

⁴⁹ Seillière does not seem to me to give sufficient weight to Sainte-Beuve's own feeling about his Classicism. A statement like the first quoted in this study cannot be lightly dismissed, when it is, as it seems to be, what the author really felt. His appreciation of Flaubert and Baudelaire was natural, as he was a critic of catholic tastes and could be trusted to enjoy and praise good work, wherever he found it.

grouped with Pope represent the normal, the common-sense attitude, and this explains both Sainte-Beuve's fondness for them and the touch of patronage always to be detected in his treatment of them. He recognizes that they are not burning beacons of inspiration, but he feels that they are blood-brothers of his own, apostles of reason and measure, to whom he may confidently turn, if not for enlightenment, at least for sympathy and corroboration as he goes on with his task toward that season in experience when "*tous les voyages étant faits, toutes les expériences achevées, on n'a pas de plus vives jouissances que d'étudier et d'approfondir les choses qu'on sait, de savourer ce qu'on sent, comme de voir et de revoir les gens qu'on aime . . . pures délices du coeur et du goût dans la maturité.*"⁶⁰

LANDER MACCLINTOCK

⁶⁰ C. L., III, 53.

XXV. FURTHER SOURCES OF VICTOR HUGO'S *QUATREVINGT-TREIZE*¹

THE SUBJECT of the present investigation is the relation between Victor Hugo's *Quatrevingt-treize* and the following earlier works: Sébastien Mercier's *Paris pendant la Révolution* (1789–1798) *ou le Nouveau Paris*,² and the *Mémoires du Comte Joseph de Puisaye*.³ It will be found that numerous details in *Quatrevingt-treize* are taken from the work of Sébastien Mercier,⁴ while Count de Puisaye's *Mémoires* are an important source for the character Lantenac.⁵

I. SÉBASTIEN MERCIER

In order to estimate properly the significance of the bits of description which Victor Hugo borrows from writers like Sébastien Mercier, it is necessary to examine for a moment the general purpose of the author. In *Quatrevingt-treize*, as in other historical novels, Victor Hugo has two chief goals,⁶ first, a pro-

¹ This article is a continuation of the one which appeared in the *P.M.L.A.* XXXIX, 368–405. The edition here used is that of M. Gustave Simon, literary executor of Victor Hugo, published by the Imprimerie Nationale, Paris (1924). For convenience, references are also made to the *Édition Définitive* published by J. Hetzel, Paris (1880), which was the edition used in my preceding article. M. Simon's edition will be referred to as *S*; that published by Hetzel as *H*.

At the end of this article will be found a Table of Additions and Corrections for the preceding article. This table includes a concordance of the principal earlier references to the Hetzel edition with references to M. Simon's edition. I take this occasion to thank M. Gustave Simon for kindly allowing me to examine his page-proofs, while I was preparing this article.

² Paris (1862).

³ London (1803).

⁴ See *S*, p. 456: D'autres auteurs ont été consultés: Michelet, Garat, Félix Pyat, Sébastien Mercier

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

⁶ See *S*, p. 425, where a hitherto unpublished preface is cited, in which Victor Hugo states that just as *l'Homme qui rit* was intended to depict all England before 1688, and as the projected novel *la Monarchie* was to have reflected the spirit of all France before 1789, so *Quatrevingt-treize* was to be a picture of France of the Revolution.

digious evocation of the general spirit of an entire epoch; second, the creation on a colossal scale of characters who fit into the massive framework of the picture.

Obviously, the danger is that such grandiose conceptions will seem merely fantastic. In order to provide an atmosphere of reality, therefore, Victor Hugo introduces into the final draft of the novel an enormous number of minor, but picturesque details. Thus he provides background for the somewhat elusive soul of an epoch, as well as for the titanic characters themselves. In this manner he comes to accord with Taine, by his use of "petits faits significatifs," and to anticipate Zola by his close association of characters with environment.⁷

For such minor details, it has been seen that Victor Hugo's most fruitful sources were perhaps Duchemin-Descepeaux and Louis Blanc. Third in the list, however, should be placed Sébastien Mercier, whose *Paris pendant la Révolution* furnished rare anecdotes of a personal flavor, and descriptions of an intimate nature, concerning the Paris of the Revolution.

Victor Hugo's indebtedness to Sébastien Mercier is especially evident in the chapter of *Quatrevingt-treize* entitled "les Rues de Paris pendant ce Temps-là,"⁸ which serves as a sort of prologue to the second part of the novel. The extent of Mercier's influence, as well as that of similar writers, may be gauged by comparing the first draft of this chapter, entitled "les Rues de Paris,"⁹ with the one finally adopted.

"Les Rues de Paris," written without especial reference to Sébastien Mercier, has only one passage which appears in the later version. Here Victor Hugo contrasts the streets of Paris before and after the 9th Thermidor, in the following language:

A l'époque où furent jetées les fondations de la république, les rues de Paris ont eu deux aspects révolutionnaires très distincts, avant et après le 9 thermidor.¹⁰

In the final version, the fall of Robespierre is also made the turning point in the history of the streets of revolutionary Paris. Hugo writes:

⁷ Émile Zola, *les Romanciers Naturalistes*, Paris (1893), pp. 227, 228.

⁸ *S*, pp. 93-98.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 391-392.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

Plus tard, à la ville tragique succéda la ville cynique; les rues de Paris ont eu deux aspects révolutionnaires très distincts, avant et après le 9 thermidor; le Paris de Saint-Just fit place au Paris de Tallien.¹¹

In "les Rues de Paris pendant ce Temps-là," aside from this one case, the author's style has totally changed. Previously he had been content to describe Paris before the 9th Thermidor as "grandiose et farouche."¹² The remainder of the chapter had consisted of glittering generalities, intended to demonstrate, in accordance with his Manichaeian philosophy, that the streets of Paris had been the scenes of good mingled with evil, the evil predominating presumably after the fall of the Dictator. He now abandons generalities almost entirely, substituting for them a mosaic of small details, drawn from Sébastien Mercier and other authors of the same school. These scraps are deftly pieced together in order to form a picture of heroic Paris before the 9th Thermidor, and wicked, gay, corrupt Paris after that fatal date.

Let us examine first his description of heroic Paris, as inspired by Sébastien Mercier.

In those Spartan times, grim hunger stalked through the streets; the Germans were ever menacing the city gates; yet the people smiled. Meat was the luxury of the wealthy, the price of lamb having risen to 15 francs per pound.¹³ Everywhere stood bread-lines, the most famous of which began at the door of a grocer of the Petit-Carreau and extended to the middle of Rue Montorgueil.¹⁴ After the scarcity of bread, the water supply failed. During the winter, the fountains froze, and water was retailed at ten sous a pail, until the indignant

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 391.

¹³ Au quai de la Vallée, on vendait l'agneau quinze francs la livre (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 353).

A la Vallée, l'agneau se vendait quinze francs la livre. (S, p. 95; *H*, p. 144).

¹⁴ on remarqua que d'autres queues se formèrent Au mois de mai, il y en eut une qui, commençant à la porte d'un épicier du Petit-Carreau, s'allongeait jusqu'à la moitié de la rue Montorgueil. (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 354-55).

On faisait queue aux portes des marchands; une de ces queues est restée légendaire, elle allait de la porte d'un épicier de la rue du Petit-Carreau jusqu'au milieu de la rue Montorgueil. (S, p. 95; *H*, p. 144).

citizens organized a buyers' strike, and made themselves water-carriers.¹⁵

Panic had fallen upon the currency exchanges. The assignat had declined until a gold louis was quoted at the desperate figure of 3950 francs.¹⁶ The regular rate for a trip in a cab was 600 francs, or 6000 francs for an all day journey.¹⁷

The depreciation of French exchange was blamed in great measure upon the manipulation of the English government, and of exchange brokers on the Perron de la rue Vivienne, wearing "bonnets à poil à queue de renard."¹⁸

This desperate Paris was enlivened by prostitutes, who went through the streets peddling lavender water, garters and hair tresses.¹⁹ It diverted itself by patronizing Martin, the favorite fortune-teller, who plied his trade at No. 173 Rue d'Anjou.²⁰

¹⁵ Here the source was probably Louis Blanc, as well as Sébastien Mercier. See my previous article, p. 373, note 17. Cf. S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 357: "les citoyens indignés . . . se firent porteurs d'eau" and Victor Hugo's "tout le monde se faisait porteur d'eau." (S, p. 96; H, p. 145).

¹⁶ . . . les louis d'or étant monté (*sic*) à 3,950 fr. assignats à la Bourse du 14 décembre 1795 (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 360, note 1).

Le louis d'or valait trois mille neuf cent cinquante francs. (S, p. 96; H, p. 145).

¹⁷ Une course en fiacre coûtait 600 livres: Un particulier rentrant chez lui le soir: "Combien? dit-il au cocher.—6,000 livres." (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 213).

Une course en fiacre coûtait six cents francs. Après une journée de fiacre, on entendait ce dialogue:—Cocher, combien vous dois-je?—Six mille livres. (S, p. 96; H, p. 145).

¹⁸ La voilà, cette armée ennemie que soudoie et qu'entretient le cabinet britannique! Les guinées ont ravagé notre papier-monnaie et ont attaqué le crédit public.

Sous le perron de la rue Vivienne sont les brigands subalternes qui exécutent les ordres des chefs

Leur costume est assez uniforme, c'est un bonnet de poil à queue de renard. (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 359).

L'ennemi, aussi bien l'ennemi de Coblenz que l'ennemi de Londres, agiotait sur l'assignat. . . . il y avait des agioteurs du Perron de la rue Vivienne, en souliers crottés, en cheveux gras, en bonnet à poil à queue de renard . . . (S, p. 96; H, p. 144).

¹⁹ Des tripots de jeu soutiennent des boutiques de filles qui vendent des modes, des jarrettières, des houpes, de l'eau de lavande, des cadenettes, de la cire à cacheter (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 363).

Des filles allaient et venaient, offrant de l'eau de lavande, des jarrettières et des cadenettes, et faisant l'agio (S, p. 96; H, p. 144).

²⁰ Rue d'Anjou, près la rue ci-devant Dauphine n° 173, au premier, loge

Victor Hugo's description of corrupt Paris, after the 9th Thermidor, is much shorter and his obligations to Sébastien Mercier become proportionately less important. During this ignoble period the capital, wearying of its heroic rôle, debauched itself. Bacchanalian orgies were frequent at the celebrated dancing halls of Ruggieri, Luquet, Wenzel, Mauduit and Montansier.²¹

Eventually a *régime* of martial law was imposed upon the city through the instigation of a revolutionary group called the *Évêché*, which claimed for itself limitless powers in all sections of Paris.²²

By substitution of mass description for exposition, Victor Hugo thus accomplishes his purpose of evoking the "dualistic" spirit of the Revolution. He is able also more powerfully to portray his characters.

For instance, let us compare the concluding lines of the two chapters on the streets of Paris. "Les Rues de Paris" ends as follows:

Tous les excès, toutes les frénésies, toutes les barbaries que résume le mot Terrorisme, sont inextricablement mêlés au salut du monde; ils en sont peut-être la rançon. Il y a dans le prodigieux fait révolutionnaire un côté crime; nous le haïssons comme crime, nous le respectons comme mystère; nous condamnons la fureur révolutionnaire, en la vénérant; nous flétrissons 93, à genoux.²³

un tireur de cartes des plus accrédités. Il se nomme Martin (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 254).

On allait se faire tirer les cartes par Martin, au n° 173 de la rue d'Anjou, ci-devant Dauphine. (S, p. 95; H, pp. 143-44).

²¹ Mais les deux cents bals et les bals de Ruggieri, de Lucquet, de Mauduit, de Wenzel, de Montansier (S. Mercier, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 383-84).

. . . . les bals de Ruggieri, de Luquet, de Wenzel, de Mauduit, de la Montansier (S, p. 97; H, p. 147).

²² D'autres auteurs ont été consultés: Sébastien Mercier; un volume de ce dernier: *Paris pendant la Révolution* porte un signet p. 104, avec ce mot: *évêché*, au chapitre xxi intitulé: *le Comité central de l'Évêché*. (S, p. 456).

S. Mercier writes: l'Évêché qui se dit investi des pouvoirs illimités de toutes les sections de Paris (Op. cit., I, p. 104).

Victor Hugo says: La Commune surveillait la Convention, l'Évêché surveillait la Commune. (S, p. 103; H, p. 156).

See my previous article, p. 388, note 93.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

In this version, all is generalization and moralization, with no direct connection with any of the characters of the novel. On the other hand, the chapter entitled "les Rues de Paris pendant ce Temps-là" concludes far more significantly:

Mais en 93, où nous sommes, les rues de Paris avaient tout l'aspect grandiose et farouche des commencements. Elles avaient leurs orateurs . . . leurs héros . . . leurs favoris. Quelques-unes de ces popularités étaient malfaisantes; d'autres étaient saines. Une entre toutes était honnête et fatale: c'était celle de Cimourdain.²⁴

In the second version an important character, Cimourdain, emerges from the maze of picturesque detail, and is at the same time part of it. The streets of Paris are his environment, and he is in turn their prophet and personification. Sébastien Mercier, by contributing to the descriptions of the streets, is therefore indirectly a source for the character Cimourdain.

The question naturally arises, How far does Victor Hugo distort his historical materials in order to obtain literary effects?

The answer is in general, very little. The romantic historical novelists were as a rule much more faithful to their *fiches* than the realists to their reporters' pads. Where Victor Hugo has departed from his original, however, his purpose has been almost invariably to heighten relief effect. For example, in order to magnify the horrors of the winter of 1793, he uses the quotation of the assignat given by Sébastien Mercier for December 14, 1795, when French exchange had fallen much lower. In another instance, Sébastien Mercier tells of seeing a one hundred franc assignat lying on the ground. A passer-by remarked: "Il ne vaut pas la peine d'être ramassé." Hugo

* *Ibid.*, p. 98. Cimourdain, the most composite of the characters in *Quatre-vingt-treize*, was intended to represent all the principal elements in the Revolution. Observe the following extract from a *dossier* which Victor Hugo drew up, probably long before beginning actual composition of the novel:

Cimourdain

C'était un inflexible et un incorruptible, en cela il confinait à Robespierre; c'était un homme bon, violent, en cela il confinait à Danton; c'était un sanguinaire politique, en cela il confinait à Marat; c'était un sauvage social, en cela il confinait à Marat. (*Ibid.*, p. 415).

Cimourdain was thus the quintessence of the incarnation of the Revolution, for had not Victor Hugo written: "Danton et Robespierre incarnent la révolution, Robespierre dans sa logique, Danton dans son génie" (*Ibid.*, p. 404).

makes Marat, not Mercier, a witness of this scene, in order to give further prominence to one of his outstanding characters.²⁵

II. COUNT DE PUISAYE

The influence of the *Mémoires du Comte de Puisaye* upon Victor Hugo appears to have manifested itself late in the composition of *Quatrevingt-treize*. At first, the fictitious leader of the Vendéan forces had been conceived of as a "grand seigneur débauché, sceptique, voltairien," known as "le duc de Réthel." This *gentilhomme* was a worthy relative of the duc de la Meilleraye who had given twenty lashes to a priest at the Pont Neuf in 1723, and had consequently served a sentence of one year's imprisonment at Vincennes.²⁶

It was characteristic of the duc de Réthel that his favorite amusement was the making of *bons mots*, after the following manner:

La torture est le tire-bouchon de la justice.

La dualité humaine se compose d'un mâle qui s'appelle Rien et d'une femelle qui s'appelle Personne.²⁷

About 1872, the cynical duke disappears altogether from the scheme of the novel, and is replaced by another "grand seigneur," the marquis de Lantenanc, ferocious but majestic defender of feudal privilege. Such a transformation can be accounted for in part by the author's reading of two episodes in the *Mémoires du Comte de Puisaye*.

(a) *The Escape of Lavedan from the Claymore*

In his *Mémoires*, Count de Puisaye relates how he eluded the republican forces during a storm, in a leaky old boat, upon which he erected a long pole as a mast, with bed sheets for sails.

Victor Hugo's comment was: *Vieux canot utilisé. Important à lire.*

²⁵ In his notes, Victor Hugo wrote: *Convention*—Cri de Danton: Quand Paris périra, il n'y aura plus de république. (*S*, p. 407). Later he puts these words into the mouth of Marat. (see my previous article, p. 381, and notes 44, 47).

²⁶ *S*, p. 417.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

This episode became the model for the description of Lavedan's escape in an open boat from the doomed corvette *Claymore*.²⁸

It should be observed, however, that the unbending Lantenac differs in essential respects from the more frail Count de Puisaye, who was such a poor sailor that he made a most miserable figure while on the boat, and confessed that he was "incapable de la moindre utilité."²⁹ For his part Lantenac, with perfect self-possession, was able to dominate completely the rebel oarsman Halmalo, who began by attempting to slay him in order to avenge the death of a brother, and ended by bowing, crushed, before a superior will. This difference may be accounted for in part by the conversion and repentance scene, which we have found to be modeled perhaps on a similar scene in Balzac's *les Chouans*, if not on the archetype scene found in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*.³⁰

(b) *Lavedan and the Caimand*

Some time before his adventure at sea, the Count de Puisaye met a ragged beggar, carrying an even more ragged bag. The bread which the wretch had received as alms was plainly visible through the holes of his disreputable looking bag.

In spite of his dire poverty, nevertheless, this vagabond disdained to claim the 60,000 franc reward which had been offered for the capture of de Puisaye, but chose instead to warn the Vendéan chief of his danger. De Puisaye in fact took refuge in the hut of the beggar, where his presence naturally remained unsuspected. The tatterdemalion host provided supper for his noble guest, and stood on guard for his safety during the night.

This episode became the model for the fourth book of *Quatre-vingt-treize*, entitled *Tellmarch*, in which an account is given

²⁸ Concerning Lantenac's escape, M. Gustave Simon writes: "Dans les *Mémoires de Puisaye*, nous voyons . . . le lieutenant général Joseph de Puisaye s'emparant d'un canot de onze pieds de quille, aménageant une voile avec des draps de lit, convertissant en mât une longue perche, s'embarquant, par une mer houleuse, dans le canot faisant eau de toutes parts. Le signet marquant cette page est éloquent: *Vieux canot utilisé. Important à lire*. Cette fuite historique du comte de Puisaye par une mer agitée a inspiré à Victor Hugo la fuite du marquis de Lantenac." (S, p. 454. See de Puisaye, *op. cit.*, II, p. 615).

²⁹ Count de Puisaye, *op. cit.*, II, p. 616.

³⁰ See my earlier article referred to, p. 395, and note 132.

of the price set upon Lantenac's head,²¹ and of his refuge in the hut of the Caimand.

Victor Hugo's narrative differs from that of Count de Puisaye largely because of Lantenac's dramatic challenge to the beggar to seize the opportunity of earning a glittering reward. This challenge, lacking in the *Mémoires* of de Puisaye, is found in *Hernani* where the bandit hero declares his identity in the house of Ruy Gomez, and challenges the servants to betray him for the sake of the reward offered for his capture.²²

It would seem evident, from this investigation, that Victor Hugo's obligations to Count de Puisaye, as well as to Sébastien Mercier, consist principally of matters of detail. The details borrowed from Sébastien Mercier are distorted in a few in-

²¹ Concerning the price set upon Lantenac's head, M. Simon says:

Nous trouvons dans les *Mémoires de Puisaye* un signet à la page 419, tome II, sur lequel Victor Hugo a écrit: *Tête mise à prix, le mendiant*; et de Puisaye raconte:

J'aperçus un mendiant qui venoit à nous; la figure de cet homme s'est profondément gravée dans mon souvenir. Il étoit couvert de haillons, et portoit sur son épaule un mauvais sac qui, comme il étoit percé en plusieurs endroits, laissoit entrevoir quelques morceaux de pain qu'il avoit reçus de la charité des habitants. Il m'avoit reconnu de loin: "Où allez-vous, me dit-il, ainsi, Monsieur, sans être mieux accompagné? J'arrive de la ville; votre tête y a été mise à prix. On promet soixante mille francs à celui qui pourra vous faire prendre. Ce pays n'est pas sûr; on sait que les chouans n'y sont pas; les espions et les patrouilles vont se répandre sur toute la campagne."

Cela fut dit avec un accent de frayeur et de sensibilité qui commandoit ma confiance.

"Je suis fatigué, lui répondis-je, il me seroit impossible d'aller plus loin; et je vais me reposer à cette ferme."

"M'est-il permis de vous donner un conseil, Monsieur? N'en faites rien; le fermier est un homme riche. Si les *bleus* viennent ici, ce sera chez lui qu'ils iront. Venez dans ma cabanne (*sic*); on sait que je suis pauvre; je n'ai rien qui puisse les tenter. J'irai chercher à la ferme un lit et à souper pour vous; je veillerai toute la nuit, et vous serez averti à la première alerte."

De tels sentiments ne m'étonnoient pas; ce bon peuple m'y avoit accoutumé! J'acceptai la proposition sans hésiter, et nous passâmes, dans cette misérable hutte, une nuit plus douce que nous ne l'eussions fait dans un palais.

Qu'on se reporte au livre quatrième du roman de Victor Hugo: *Tellmarck*, on y trouvera la rencontre de Lantenac avec le mendiant, on y lira l'affiche mettant la tête de Lantenac à prix pour la somme de soixante mille livres. Mais la conversation entre le marquis et le mendiant est autrement émouvante." (S, p. 454).

²² See my earlier article *cit.*, p. 397, and note 140.

stances, in order to heighten relief effects. Those taken from Count de Puisaye are combined with dramatic episodes drawn from Balzac—or perhaps Walter Scott—and from Victor Hugo's own *Hernani*. By his use of such details as the background not only for the epoch as a whole, but also for the characters of his romance, Victor Hugo anticipates here, as elsewhere, the methods of the naturalistic school.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

to my Former Paper (*P.M.L.A.* XXXIX, 368-405)

P. 372, note 11, next to last line: Read vote for note.

Ibid., note 13, line 4: Read *Quatrevingt-treize* for *Quatreingt-treize*.

P. 396, line 15, delete *détresse* and read: et Jésus-Christ d'être en *détresse*.

P. 401, note 151, line 4: Read Dix-huit cents ans instead of Dix-huit ans.

P. 404, line 8, change period to comma, and read: in F. Ponsard's *Charlotte Corday*.

CONCORDANCE OF PRINCIPAL REFERENCES TO THE EDITION OF GUSTAVE SIMON AND TO THE "ÉDITION DÉFINITIVE" OF HETZEL (1880)

Note 9: *S*, p. 140.

P. 371, l. 13: *S*, p. 136.

Ibid., lines 15, 16: *S*, p. 141.

Ibid., lines 20, 21: *S*, p. 140.

Ibid., note 11, line 6: *S*, p. 141.

Ibid., lines 9, 10: *S*, p. 141.

Ibid., lines 12, 13: *S*, p. 140.

P. 372, note 11, lines 1, 2: *S*, p. 140.

Ibid., line 5: *S*, p. 140.

Ibid., lines 8-10: *S*, p. 140.

P. 374, note 17: *S*, p. 96.

Ibid., note 18: *S*, p. 95.

P. 375, note 25: *S*, p. 59.

P. 377, note 29: *S*, p. 57.

P. 378, note 36: *S*, p. 135.

P. 378, 379, note 37: *S*, pp. 43, 47.

P. 380, note 42: *S*, p. 150.

P. 381, note 44: *S*, pp. 145, 407.

P. 382, note 50: *S*, p. 41. P. 395, note 132: *S*, p. 51.

P. 396, note 136: *S*, pp. 51-52.

P. 397, note 140: *S*, p. 73.

OLIN H. MOORE

XXVI.

MAURICE BARRÈS AS A ROMANTICIST

DURING the last two and a half years France has lost three great writers, Pierre Loti, Anatole France, and Maurice Barrès. Loti, because of his impressionistic novels of the most artistic kind which record his tireless quest of sensations in all countries of the world, France, because of his epicurean philosophy and Voltairean wit expressed in two-score works of the most finished style, and Barrès, because of his triple rôle of author, politician, and leader of traditionalism in France,—all three have left a profound influence on the contemporary literature of their country. Of these three, Barrès, in spite of the conceit of his early egotism, the narrowness of his nationalism, and the occasional arrogance of his confidence in the superiority of French culture, is by far the most highly endowed and representative; and on this account his work will receive more and more attention from serious students of the political, social, and literary movements of the last thirty years in France. He was one of the first to make his voice heard against the extreme naturalism of Zola and his school;¹ he founded a group of enthusiastic young writers striving toward a new order of things;² and, after a period of hesitation, he stood forth as the champion of the best traditions of his country.³ The purpose of this paper is not, however, to make a comparative study of the relative greatness of these three writers, but rather to trace the struggle between the classical and romantic elements in Barrès' composition, and to show that the latter were not only predominant in his first writings but continued to the end of his life as a strong undercurrent in his novels and books of travel.

The first group of works that need to be considered is his trilogy of the *Culte du moi* (1888–1891). In the first volume of

¹ E. Gaubert: *Maurice Barrès*, Paris, p. 19. Cf. V. Giraud: *Les Maîtres de l'Heure: Maurice Barrès*, Paris, 1922, pp. 25–26. L. Bérard: "Discours sur Barrès," *L'Echo de Paris*, Dec. 9, 1923.

² R. Jacquet: *Notre Maître Maurice Barrès*, Paris, 1900, pp. 3–4. A. France: *La Vie Littéraire*, IV, 224 and 230. V. Giraud: *Op. cit.*, pp. 110–111. E. Josse: *French Profiles*, p. 287.

³ V. Giraud: *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–157. M. Barrès: *Les Traits Eternels de la France* and *Chronique de la Grande Guerre*.

this trilogy, entitled *Sous l'Oeil des Barbares* (1888), Barrès relates the story of his youth, thinly disguising the facts of his exterior life in a series of brief occurrences, while those of his inner life are exhibited more in detail. From these sources we learn that he was brought up in the east of France, was bitterly opposed to the stereotyped educational system of the times, went to Paris for his further development, and found himself out of sympathy with the ideals and customs of the people about him. His sole aim was to cultivate his Ego, to preserve it intact from the contagion of the barbarians, that is, from all those who were unlike himself and whose mode of living he could not assimilate. Naturally this seclusion in his own ivory tower grew wearisome at times and we are not surprised to hear him at last, when assailed with doubt as to his course of action, call for the unknown master, whom he might serve, love, and trust.⁴ In his examination of his own work Barrès defended this Cult of the Self against the attack of critics on the ground that the French ethical code, religion, and sense of nationalism having crumbled to pieces, the only thing worth while until something more certain should be attained, was the reality of the Self.⁵ He replied to those who decried Egoism by pointing out that the socialistic Saint-Simon demonstrated that patriotism is merely a magnified egoism resulting in the same injustice between nations as personal egoism does between individuals. The best that we can hope for is that personal selfishness and national selfishness can be brought to act in accord. The first duty is to understand and to develop the Ego and then to harmonize the Self with the rest of humanity.⁶

In *Un Homme libre* (1889) Barrès continues the theme of the first volume of his trilogy. His hero, Philip, and his companion, Simon, study *The Imitation of Christ* and Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and arrive at the following principles: "1. We are never so happy as when in a state of exaltation. 2. What increases much the pleasure of exaltation is to analyse it. Consequently one must feel the most by analyzing the most."⁷ To realize their idea of free men they renounced the city, withdrew

⁴ Barrès: *Sous l'Oeil des Barbares*, Paris, 1922, p. 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

to the Isle of Jersey, and then to Lorraine, where they led the life of hermits, subjecting themselves to certain exercises of meditation and seclusion after the manner of monks, but, unlike these, living luxuriously and communing not with saints but with egoists like themselves—Benjamin Constant and the Romantic Sainte-Beuve of the period of the *Volupté*. After this artificial régime had palled on them, Philip visited scenes in his native province, was deeply impressed with its former greatness and present decadence, and learned therefrom a lesson about his origins. After separating from Simon he took a trip to Italy, where Venice revealed to him certain subconscious elements in his nature that had never before been touched, namely assimilable points of contact between himself and the outside world of beauty. Lorraine and Venice made him understand himself to be a moment in an immortal thing. Or as Barrès expressed it:

Je ne suis qu'un instant d'un développement de mon Etre; de même la Venise de cette époque n'est qu'un instant de l'Ame vénitienne. Mon Etre et l'Etre vénitien sont illimités.⁴

While *Le Jardin de Bérénice* (1891), the third volume of this trilogy, still has as its main theme the cult of the self, yet, as was foreshadowed in the two preceding works, the hero commences to reconcile his desire for self-culture with society's demands on one's time by campaigning for a deputyship, which he wins. Bérénice, the heroine, symbolizes the instincts and traditions of the race; Martin—Philip's political adversary—reason and system and uniformity, the exponent of the Barbarians who always wish to make everybody like themselves; and Philip, the hero, represents the idealist who aims to blend these two unequal and hostile forces in life.

The pages of the *Culte du moi* series—generally regarded as the author's spiritual biography—are pregnant with Romantic qualities and point unmistakably to Barrès' literary forbears. In the first place the exaltation of the Self, the substitution of the individual for society as of primary importance, the antipathy for the philistines, a certain melancholy brooding and love of solitude, the inordinate penchant for self-analysis and

⁴ Barrès: *Un Homme Libre*, p. 181. Cf. Barrès: *Le Jardin de Bérénice*. Paris, 1921, p. 140.

emotional experiences, the great yearning for the Unknown and the unattainable—all these and many other characteristic traits in the author's early production show his affinity with Chateaubriand, Constant, and Stendhal. How like René is Bérénice in her unnatural love for Bougie-Rose, or Philip like Adolphe in his inability to seize happiness within his grasp! Again, there are passages rather unique in being peculiarly tinged with the author's ego, such as those describing the dreary landscape in Lorraine, the physical and artistic beauties of Venice, and the panoramic view of Aigues-Mortes and the surrounding country,—things that are unforgettable, as A. France has pointed out,⁹ and comparable with the best work of the masters of the Romantic School of the first half of the 19th Century. The following passage illustrates Barrès' manner of describing a landscape as a state of mind, as a transposition of his ego, and hence as a subjective picture:

J'atteignais la plate-forme de la tour, et mon cœur se dilata à voir l'univers si vaste. Le passage de cette tour qui m'oppressait à cet illimité panorama de nature exprimait exactement le contraste de l'ardeur resserrée d'un saint Louis et de mes désirs infiniment dispersés. . . . Maintenant, à mes pieds, Aigues-Mortes, misérable damier de toits à tuiles rouges, était ramassée dans l'enceinte rectangulaire de ses hautes murailles que cerne l'admirable plaine: terres violettes, étangs d'argent et de bleu clair, frissonnant de solitude sous la brise tiède; puis, à l'horizon, sur la mer, des voiles gonflées vers des pays inconnus symbolisaient magnifiquement le départ et cette fuite pour qui sont ardentes nos âmes, nos pauvres âmes, pressées de vulgarités et assoiffées de toutes ces parts d'inconnu où sont les réserves de l'abondante nature.¹⁰

And can we entertain any doubt as to his allegiance to Romanticism after this eulogy of its eighteenth-century progenitor?

O my dear Rousseau, my Jean-Jacques, you, the man in the world whom I have most loved and celebrated under twenty pseudonyms, you another myself, you have known on the isle of Saint Pierre in the middle of Lake Bièvre, the hatred of living beings, those long solitudes with the fear of meeting men, those moments when a man circumscribes himself by himself, aware of nothing but the feeling of

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 223-230. Cf. M. Barrès: *Vingt-cinq années de vie littéraire*, Paris, 1912; Introduction by Henri Bremond, p. xxv.

¹⁰ Barrès: *Le Jardin de Bérénice*, pp. 67-68.

his existence; would you have submitted yourself to the conditions of the task which the methodical culture of my Ego imposes on me?¹¹

It is worthy of note that Barrès as early as 1891 entertained doubts as to the utility of his peculiar worship of the Self, although it had already gained the allegiance of a set of enthusiastic young writers who looked upon Barrès as their master and guide.

The *Culte du Moi* series is significant because it contains the germs of all the author's subsequent work; his regionalism, his traditionalism, his nationalism begin to appear in his love of Lorraine and her history, in his desire to leave undisturbed by modern science old sections of France like that around Aigues-Mortes, and in his aim to reconcile the best in the past with the notion of progress in the present.¹² Furthermore, it is important because it shows plainly the two constant factors in its author's psychology: on the one hand, it discloses the dreamer, the meditator given to self-analysis, love of beauty, idealism; on the other, it reveals the rationalist, the ironist, the man eager for the battle of life.¹³ The former tendencies probably have their roots in his Lorraine origin on his mother's side, the latter in his Auvergne ancestry on his father's.

L'Ennemi des Lois (1892) follows closely in time and theme the author's first group of novels. The dramatis personae, as in the foregoing trio, are symbolical: Velu the dog represents the common people or nature, Marina instinct, Claire pure reason, and André the idealist trying to conciliate instinct and reason in a conventionalized world. All the characters are social revolutionists, nay even anarchists. However, to the author's way of thinking at this time, the race or nation stood in less need of another system of belief—the Catholic religion would amply suffice for those in want of a faith and a God—than of energy to make its habits conform to its ways of feeling.¹⁴ It is clear from this stress of the feelings as a proper guide to action, from the emphasis placed on the rights of the individual

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹² M. Barrès: *Vingt-cinq années de vie littéraire*, Introduction by Henri Bremond, p. XI. Cf. E. Gaubert: *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-20.

¹³ Ernest Gaubert: *Op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴ M. Barrès: *L'Ennemi des Lois*, Collection Gallia, Crès, Paris, Avertissement provisoire, p. VI.

as against those of society (shown in this book, for example, by the utter disregard of the sanctity of the home) that Barrès was still a staunch Romanticist. That nature is fundamentally good and that civilization has corrupted man was a favorite platitude of Rousseau and his literary descendants. It is pertinent to note that Barrès in this work preferred French socialism to German socialism because the leaders of the former were moved by an idea of justice and fraternity, whereas the latter were inspired by an economic conception, satisfactions to be fulfilled, necessary of course but of secondary importance.

What the world demands, [he wrote], is not laws but a state of mind; a mental reform rather than a material reform. One must not dream of setting up men in a rule which imposes happiness, but of suggesting to them a state of mind which allows happiness.

And further on he claims that it is "only those truths that make us weep that lead us."¹⁵ As Curtius, the German critic, points out in his excellent study on Maurice Barrès, this marks a turning on the part of the writer from intellectualism to emotionalism.¹⁶ But when this emotionalism takes the form of the law-breaker in the novel we are considering, who, along with his prototypes in the earlier works, believed that the instincts of the modern man must be set free on the score that a thousand years of laws and religion have prepared him for this freedom, have we not another sure sign of Romanticism?¹⁷ What else is the moral strain that runs through *Corinne*, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, *Les Confessions d'un Enfant du Siècle* but a similar irresistible urge to break through the bonds of social conventionalities?

Up to this point in Barrès' development one sees a struggle between his intense individualism on the one hand and his collectivism on the other. However, in his volume, *Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort* (1894), the triumph of the former seems to be complete, for the classic restraint is temporarily abandoned.¹⁸ Through an abnormal sister-brother love affair of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

¹⁶ Curtius; *Maurice Barrès und die geistigen Grundlagen des französischen Nationalismus*, Bonn, 1921, p. 61.

¹⁷ Barrès: *L'Ennemi des Lois*, pp. 200-201.

¹⁸ Barrès: *Vingt-cinq années de vie littéraire*, Introduction by Bremond, pp. XXXI-XXXIV.

the Amélie-René type told in *Un amateur d'âmes*,¹⁹ a story of hatred and passion related in *La Haine emporte tout*,²⁰ and a score of other tales figuring characters of the type of Carmen or Don Juan or presenting scenes in Italy and Spain that can be fitly called prose ecstasy, we follow his Ego through a new series of experiences, tense and nerve-racking, as it undergoes the whole gamut of feelings. Here Barrès not only recalls the various symptoms of the *mal du siècle* of his literary ancestors but also, in his love of the exotic, of violent contrasts, of ruins and decadent life, he reveals a certain strain of extreme Romanticism even of Baudelairianism.²¹ Examples of this are to be found in his portraits of Spanish and Italian cities of which he seems to have discovered the peculiar essence. Take for instance this picture:

Tolède sur sa côte, et tenant à ses pieds le demi-cercle jaunâtre du Tage, à la couleur, la rudesse, la fière misère de la sierra où elle campe et dont les fortes articulations donnent, dès l'abord, une impression d'énergie et de passion. C'est moins une ville, chose bruisante et pliée sur les commodités de la vie, qu'un lieu significatif pour l'âme. Sous une lumière crue qui donne à chaque arête de ses ruines une vigueur, une netteté par quoi se sentent affermis les caractères les plus mous, elle est en même temps mystérieuse, avec sa cathédrale tendue vers le ciel, ses alcazars et ses palais qui ne prennent vue que sur leurs invisibles patios.

Ainsi secrète et inflexible, dans cet âpre pays surchauffé, Tolède apparaît comme une image de l'exaltation dans la solitude, un cri dans le désert.²²

This penchant for antithesis so characteristic of himself and his literary forbears Barrès discloses to view in the sketch entitled *A la pointe extrême d'Europe*,²³ which refers to Spain in general and to Seville in particular. An enervating bull fight witnessed by the author leads him to lay bare the distinctive traits of the Spaniards and their country. He exhibits a land of contrasts, a people of violent oppositions in the individual as well as in the race: Don Quixotes and Sancho Pansas, Moor

¹⁹ Barrès: *Du sang, de la volupté et de la Mort*, Paris, 1910, pp. 27-83.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-138.

²¹ Guérard: *Five Masters of French Romance*, London, 1916, p. 220.

²² Barrès: *Du sang, de la volupté et de la mort*, p. 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-219.

and Castillian; Philip II and the Escorial, Saint Theresa and the Carmelites, Loyola and his order of friars. Seville is rich in memories of sensual Don Juan, while Cordova brings to mind the philosopher Seneca. Contrast is likewise seen in the exalted mysticism of the priests and the ferocity of the subjects of the church paintings, symbolizing the high and low tides of the moral nature of man.

His description of the capital of the Empire of the West under Honorius savors of Villon and Baudelaire in its stressing the dead or the decaying element in life:

Ravenne, tout chargé de siècles, lourd vaisseau échoué aux sables de l'Adriatique avec son chargement de Byzance. . . . Ce pays-ci, trop lourd de reliques et de drames, s'enfonce. La crypte de Saint-Apollinaire, hors les murs, est remplie d'une eau verdâtre, décomposée, qui atteint la marche suprême, pourrit lentement le parvis de l'église et ronge les dix sépulcres qui, depuis douze siècles, perpétuent des mémoires indifférentes. Dans tout Ravenne, les choses, lasses de se maintenir, veulent aller où sont déjà les êtres: sous terre. Elles aspirent à descendre dans le sépulcre, à se faire enfin pourriture. Et ce désir des choses, s'affirme avec tant de puissance que nous verrions un sacrilège à intervenir contre cette ascension de la mort.²⁴

Like Goethe and the Romantic School, by both of whom he has been deeply influenced, Barrès reveals in his poetic *Jardins de Lombardie*²⁵ a marked affinity between the various aspects of nature and the different moods of his soul. In this series of pictures we have, in the opinion of Victor Giraud, "a few of the most finished landscapes in contemporary French prose?"²⁶ The perfect harmony here displayed makes *amende honorable* for such scenes as the sepulchre of Ravenna from which the preceding citation was taken:

Quel paysage incomparable autour de ces chétifs qui vont à leur destin! Sur le lac Majeur, le ciel semble plus haut et l'horizon moins fermé qu'à Côme. Les montagnes y sont si belles, avec leurs courbes infiniment souples et fières et leur aisance de beautés naissantes, que je ne leur sens d'analogue que le jeune corps des femmes du Corrège ou les sentiments d'une pureté virile des jeunes gens de Platon. Chères montagnes, tantôt voilées dans les nuages, tantôt couchées au

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 268.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-255.

²⁶ V. Giraud: *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

ras des flots, tantôt groupées comme des Mauresques au cimetière, mais jamais sèches ni dures, et que, vers le soir, les ombres vêtent des plus souples velours! La vie est plus rare ici que sur ce brillant lac de Côme; dans cet isolement le sentiment s'élargit, dépasse l'exquis pour atteindre au sublime.²⁷

By his second trilogy, entitled *Le Roman de l'énergie nationale*, (1897-1900) Barrès impressed many of his critics as having performed a complete 'volte-face' in his philosophy of life and in his literary manner. However, this was more apparent than real, for the cult of the Self in his earlier work led naturally to the hero worship, the regionalism, and the traditionalism developed in his *Les Déracinés*, *L'Appel au soldat*, and *Leurs Figures*. By analyzing the composition of his Ego and by observing its reactions to a wide range of emotional experiences, he gradually arrived at the conclusion that a man is determined by his ancestors and his race.²⁸ Furthermore, he became convinced at the same time that a nation produces inspiring leaders, embodiments of energy, in the emulation of whom the Ego has its most certain assurance of highest self-realization.²⁹ The first novel, *Les Déracinés*, traces the course of seven youths from the Lycée at Nancy who, having been trained in the humanities rather than in local traditions and virtues, were lured to Paris by their teacher of philosophy to make a career for themselves, and shows how they failed to cope successfully with life in the city because they had been uprooted from the province and transplanted in uncongenial soil. Barrès of course here defends a thesis that contains both truth and error; it could easily be shown, for instance, that transplantation of people as well as of plants often brings about a healthier condition of growth. However, our task is not to disprove Barrès' argument but rather to indicate the pronounced Romantic traits in his work. These elements are to be found not only in the hero worship of Napoleon by the young men transplanted from their eastern

²⁷ Barrès: *Du sang, de la volupté et de la mort*, p. 238. Cf. Barrès: *L'Appel au soldat*, p. 27.

²⁸ Maurice Barrès: *Vingt-cinq années de vie littéraire*, Introduction by Bremond, pp. V-VI. Cf. René Jacquet: *Op. cit.*, pp. 222-225.

²⁹ Maurice Barrès: *Op. cit.*, pp. XLII-XLV. Cf. Maurice Barrès: *Les Déracinés*, the chapter "Au tombeau de Napoléon," Nelson ed., Paris, pp. 209-236.

province, but also, as has been pointed out by an English critic,³⁰ in the long psychological and sociological digressions interspersed in this and the other two novels of the series. *L'Appel au soldat*, while continuing the adventures of six of the lycéens (one lost out in the struggle for life), relates the short but exciting history of General Boulanger, the idol of young Barrès and many other ardent dreamers of "La Revanche." The third volume, *Leurs Figures*, ends the fortunes of the young Lorrainers, paints in graphic colors the Panama Scandal, and is a scathing indictment of the parliamentary system. These three novels, from the point of view of expression, are a decided departure from the charming, colorful, and poetic phrasing of *Le Jardin de Bérénice* and *Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort*; their form is journalism of the highest kind, worthy according to Lemaître to rank with the *Mémoires* of Saint-Simon:

L'Appel au Soldat me paraît être de l'histoire au même titre, par exemple, que les *Mémoires* de Saint-Simon, les *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* ou les visions de Michelet, et à plus forte raison que les admirables chapitres de *l'Éducation sentimentale* où est racontée la Révolution de 1848. Toute histoire est forcément *subjective*, c'est-à-dire interprétée, et par suite transformée par le narrateur, à moins que celui-ci soit un esprit tout à fait indigent. L'histoire est, dans *L'Appel au Soldat*, d'un subjectivisme qui avoue, voilà tout. . . .³¹

In one sense of the word they are most realistic pictures of a turbulent period in French history; the realism, however, is so tinged with a partisan spirit that it belongs more properly to subjective art than to objective. And to this same art belongs the somewhat melodramatic treatment in *Les Déracinés* of Astiné and Racadot, friends of the principal hero of the three tales, Sturel. This latter personage who represents the free-lance side of Barrès' character, has no God to whom to pin his faith, but many substitutes for the Almighty, such as his professor at Nancy, Napoleon, Boulanger, Taine, Renan, and Déroulède; he is typical of the heroes of the Romantic School through his craving for emotional excitement, his erotic adventures, his hero worship, his quixotic idealism, his love of fame,

³⁰ Winifred Stephens: *French Novelists of To-Day*, First Series, London, 2nd ed., p. 200.

³¹ E. Gaubert: *Op. cit.*, p. 26. Cf. V. Giraud: *Op. cit.*, p. 68. Cf. M. Barrès: *Vingt-cinq années de vie littéraire*, Introduction by Bremond, pp. 52-53.

and his melancholy sensitiveness. To be sure, these unstable qualities are offset in part by the steady Roemerspacher, the conservator of the best traditions of his family and race in Lorraine, and we must admit that Barrès made his literary and political reputation as the champion of these same traditions expanded into his nationalism.³² But if it is true, as Curtius maintains in his criticism of Barrès' doctrine that "Nationalism is in a threefold opposition to rationalism: it is relative, it is empirical, it is emotional,"³³ then we must conclude that the basic principle of this corner stone of all of Barrès' work is Romanticism rather than Classicism, for the foundation of the latter is rationalism. The fusion of Barrès' lyricism and patriotism has nowhere been more impressively and beautifully done than in his passionate apostrophe to Metz in *L'Appel au soldat*.

She is the Iphigenia of France sacrificed with the consent of the fatherland when the men of 1870 were in the depths of misery, bleeding, ill clad under the cold and whom they themselves the Chanzys, the Ducrots, the Faidherbes, the Bourbakis, the Charettes, the Jaurès, the Jauréguiberrys abandoned. You and your magnificent sister, Strasbourg, are the most beloved French cities; a day will come when among the devastated vineyards, on the sunken roads and in the ruins we shall go to beg your forgiveness and to rebuild you with gold and marble. Oh! the rejoicings then, the immense national pilgrimage, all of France rushing up to kiss the shackles of the captive.³⁴

Should we question the importance of the Romantic strain in his second trilogy regardless of the restrictions just made, we could entertain no doubt about this quality in his *Amori et Dolori Sacrum* (1903). The content and style of this most artistic study follow the example of his earlier work, *Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort*, with which it vies as being his most romantic production. The following passage from *La Mort de Venise*, the introductory piece of this writing, reflects again the influence of Baudelaire:

³² Léon Guérard: *op. cit.*, pp. 222-226. Cf. M. Barrès: *Scenes et doctrines du nationalisme*. Cf. M. Barrès: *L'Appel au soldat*, see chapter "La vallée de la Moselle."

³³ E. R. Curtius: *op. cit.*, p. 132. Cf. R. Jacquet: *op. cit.*, p. 245. Cf. H. Massis: *Jugements*, Paris, 1924, part III, "Maurice Barrès ou la génération du relatif."

³⁴ Barrès: *L'Appel au soldat*, p. 323.

La puissance de cette ville sur les rêveurs, c'est que, dans ses canaux livides, des murailles byzantines, sarrasines, lombardes, gothiques, romanes, voire rococo, toute trempées de mousse, atteignent sous l'action du soleil, de la pluie et de l'orage, le tournant équivoque où, plus abondantes de grâce artistique, elles commencent leur décomposition. Il en va ainsi des roses et des fleurs du magnolia qui n'offrent jamais d'odeur plus enivrante, ni de coloration plus forte qu'à l'instant où la mort y projette ses secrètes fusées et nous propose ses vertiges.³⁵

Space prevents quoting fully the poetic description of the gorgeous sunset on the canals of Venice, probably the most celebrated etching in Barrès' rich picture gallery, one that challenges comparison with the best in contemporary French prose landscapes:

Là-bas, sur notre droite, Venise, au ras de la mer, s'étendait et devait faire une barre plus importante à mesure que le soleil s'anéantissait. Des colorations fantastiques se succédèrent qui eussent forcé à s'émouvoir l'âme la plus indigente. C'étaient tantôt des gammes sombres et ces verts profonds qui sont propres aux ruelles mystérieuses de Venise; tantôt ces jaunes, ces orangés, ces bleus avec lesquels jouent les décorateurs japonais. Tandis qu'à l'Occident le ciel se liquéfiait dans une mer ardente, sur nos têtes des nuages enivrants de magnificence renouvelaient perpétuellement leurs formes, et la lumière crépusculaire les pénétrait, les saturait de ses feux innombrables. Leurs couleurs tendres et déchirantes de lyrisme se réfléchissaient dans la lagune, de façon que nous glissions sur les cieux. Ils nous couvraient, ils nous portaient, ils nous enveloppaient d'une splendeur totale, et, si je puis dire, palpable. Vaincus par ces grandes magies, nous avions perdu toute notion du réel, quand des taches graves apparurent, grandirent sur l'eau, puis nous prirent dans leur ombre. C'étaient les monuments des doges.³⁶

If now we compare the above passages from *Amori et Dolori Sacrum* with others in the same book, we observe a regular rhythm between his individual lyricism and his social lyricism, just as we have done between his *Culte du moi* series and his *Roman de l'énergie nationale*. His social lyricism, however, seems at this time to expend itself particularly on his native province, for he informs us that the subsoil of his thought is Lorraine, on whose somber horizon he finds the essential

³⁵ Barrès: *Amori et Dolori Sacrum*, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1917, pp. 20-21.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

quality of beauty, which he used to believe was scattered about the world in most mysterious places.³⁷ The following apostrophe is notable alike for its thrill of suppressed emotion and for its prophetic vision:

Voici la Lorraine et son ciel: le grand ciel tourmenté de novembre, la vaste plaine avec ses bosselures et cent villages pleins de méfiance. O mon pays, ils disent que tes formes sont mesquines! Je te connais chargé de poésie. Je vois sur ton vaste camp des armes qui reposent. Elles attendent qu'un bras fort les vienne ressaisir

La motte de terre, qui paraît sans âme, est pleine du passé, et son témoignage ébranle les cordes de l'imagination. Plus que tout au monde, j'ai cru aimer le musée du Trocadéro, les marais d'Aigues-mortes, de Ravenne et de Venise, les paysages de Tolède et de Sparte, mais à toutes ces fameuses désolations je préfère maintenant le modesto cimetière lorrain où, devant moi, s'étale ma conscience profonde.³⁸

It is in the concluding study of this masterpiece, *Le 2 novembre en Lorraine*, in striking contrast with the opening selection, *La Mort de Venise*, for its soberness and depth of feeling, that Barrès proclaims again with the solemnity of a seer his famous doctrine of regionalism: namely, (1) that we are the prolongation and the continuity of our fathers and mothers, and (2) that we and our dead are one:

Les ancêtres que nous prolongeons ne nous transmettent intégralement l'héritage accumulé de leurs âmes que par la permanence de l'action terrienne. C'est en maintenant sous nos yeux l'horizon qui cerna leurs travaux, leurs félicités ou leurs ruines, que nous entendons le mieux ce qui nous est permis ou défendu. . . . Chacun de nos actes qui dément notre terre et nos morts nous enfonce dans un mensonge qui nous stérilise.³⁹

This struggle between the liberty of Romanticism on the one hand and the discipline of regionalism on the other, which we have found thus far to be a regular rhythm in Barrès, with emphasis sometimes on the one strain and sometimes on the other, could be shown to exist likewise between *L'ennemi des lois*, already discussed, and *Les Amitiés françaises* (1903). The latter bears the self-explanatory sub-title, "Notes on the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 263, 267.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259. Cf. W. Stephens: *op. cit.*, p. 217.

acquisition by a little Lorraine boy of sentiments that enhance the value of life." The first is extremely individualistic, the second, as Curtius shows,⁴⁰ is purely traditionalistic in its educational program and nationalistic in its aggressive manner of handling the Alsace-Lorraine question. Lack of space forbids quoting more than the following short excerpt which renders faithfully enough the spirit of the book:

L'Honneur, comme dans Corneille, l'Amour, comme dans Racine, la Contemplation, telle que les campagnes françaises la proposent. . . . Quand une âme lorraine se forme une haute conception de sa terre et de ses morts, cette idée, avec l'occasion, deviendra le principe de grandes actions lorraines.⁴¹

Les Bastions de l'Est (1905-1921) is the title of Barrès' third trilogy, the first two volumes of which aim plainly to establish an opposition between Latin and German culture, all to the advantage of the former as might be expected from the leader of French traditionalism. In fact the author in the first book of the series frankly informs his readers what they may look forward to from his pen:

Si les Allemands me font l'honneur de me lire, ils sont prévenus que l'auteur, étant un Lorrain français, juge nécessairement toutes choses par rapport à la Lorraine et à la France.

Aux frontières de l'Est, ma petite nation, à travers les siècles, a joué un rôle principal dans cet antagonisme de races, où je suis à mon tour un modeste combattant.⁴²

Au Service de l'Allemagne (1905) relates the life of a young annexed Alsatian, Ehrmann, performing his 'volontariat' in the Kaiser's army (unlike R. Bazin's hero in *Les Oberlé* who runs away), and there setting his military superiors and comrades—caricatured without doubt—a splendid example in the social amenities and in manly character. Barrès aims to have Ehrmann serve as a model for his countrymen in the annexed territory whose duty it is, in his opinion, to tame their German conquerors by living a more humane life than theirs.

Il faut mettre dans les esprits [writes Barrès] des sortes de germes, des faits, si forts qu'ils grandissent d'eux-mêmes, après que nous nous sommes tus.⁴³

⁴⁰ Curtius: *op. cit.*, pp. 168-179.

⁴¹ Barrès: *Les Amitiés françaises*, Paris, pp. 255, 249.

⁴² Barrès: *Au Service de l'Allemagne*, Paris, 1923, Avant-Propos, p. 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

In this novel with its pictures of German army arrogance, tyranny, and low morals on the one side, and French urbanity, kindness, and irreproachable conduct on the other, we see how the author succeeded in planting germs of hatred in the minds of his people against their conquerors of 1870, and in fanning the flame for the Revenge of the late World War.⁴⁴

Colette Baudoche (1909), often praised because of its classical elements, pursues the same theme as the preceding volume, namely, the defense of Latin civilization against the Teutonic.⁴⁵ Colette, an idealized French girl, and Asmus, an overdrawn young German instructor, enamored of French culture exemplified by Colette and her grandmother, fall in love with each other, but the engagement is broken off after Colette, hearing in the cathedral at Metz the mass commemorating the French soldiers dead in the Franco-Prussian War, becomes convinced that it is her duty to oppose the German invasion. She symbolizes feminine honor, as does Ehrmann masculine honor, in resisting even the friendly advances of the conquerors from behind the Rhine. That Barrès' thesis in this novel rests on exceptional reasons and hence on relative and not universal truths (a characteristic of Romanticism), can be deduced from his declaration in the Preface of the last edition of *Au Service de l'Allemagne*, that since the victory of the Allies the Lorraine girls may marry Germans like Asmus if they desire, following the advice of Mistral who saw things from an all-inclusive point of view.⁴⁶

Le Génie du Rhin (1921), the last of the trio, is a collection of lectures given by Barrès at the University of Strasbourg, setting forth a program of French action in the Rhenish country, that the Treaty of Versailles refused to cede to France. It is more conciliatory in tone than the two works just examined, aiming as it does at an amalgamation of the Latin and Teutonic genius.⁴⁷ It is the "book of a poet and an artist at least as much as of a moralist and statesman" writes Victor Giraud, who quotes from Barrès' preface to this particular work as follows:

⁴⁴ Curtius: *op. cit.*, pp. 168-185. Cf. W. Stephens: *op. cit.*, pp. 211-217.

⁴⁵ L. Guérard: *op. cit.*, pp. 227-230. Cf. E. Gaubert: *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, Preface, pp. 24-28.

Ce qui m'a poussé, avoue-t-il, c'est mon amour du sujet que je voulais traiter. Un tel amour que je ne peux voir où que ce soit, dans la page la plus morne du livre le plus insipide, le nom du fleuve brillant et mystérieux, sans en recevoir une espèce de commotion, un prodigieux éveil d'intérêt, une curiosité de tout l'être. Et encore: Magie des nuées qui flottent sur le fleuve et ses collines! Nous tous, gens des deux rives, que nous nous tournions en esprit vers le Rhin, aussitôt nous sommes pris d'un tressaillement de poésie et d'un mystérieux attrait. Et il y a beau vouloir se discipliner et se circonscrire, concentrer et refroidir son sentiment pour le rendre plus opérant: il est visible que son imagination hantée par le romantisme du Rhin a donné le branle à sa sensibilité et à sa réflexion, bref, qu'il a été comme ressaisi par le génie de sa race, ce Mosellan qui trouve dans la vieille Lotharingie son parfait climat moral, et que, tout en s'efforçant d'exprimer, sur ces graves questions, la pensée de la France, il cède obscurément à ces puissances invincibles du désir et du rêve qui, peut-être, à leur insu, conduisent mystérieusement tous les hommes. . . .⁴⁸

In the first two books of *Les Bastions de l'Est* it cannot be denied that Barrès was preparing the way for "La Revanche," a goal already aimed at in *Leurs Figures*,⁴⁹ and in the third the object is clearly the propaganda of French influence beyond the eastern boundary.⁵⁰ To the critical and dispassionate reader, no matter how great his admiration for Barrès as an author and patriot, this series, although classical in form is undeniably Romantic in spirit: the personal note or the lyrical touch runs through it as an undertone. By positing dramatic moral problems and by resolving them along heroic lines in his *Au Service de l'Allemagne* and his *Colette Baudouche*, Barrès has no doubt allied himself by his art with the great masters of the seventeenth century; nevertheless these two novels are too obviously written with the object of idealizing the French characters at the expense of the German to attain the high classical level of a Racine, a Corneille, or a Madame de La Fayette.⁵¹ The creator of *Colette* remarked somewhere that "there is no justice except in the interior of the same species." This is tantamount to claiming that there is no universal justice but only a French,

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

⁴⁹ See the chapter, "La Vallée de la Moselle."

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.

⁵¹ E. R. Curtius: *op. cit.*, p. 182. Cf. V. Giraud: *op. cit.*, pp. 91-95.

a German, or an English justice; this reasoning when applied to other spheres of action is plain relativism in ethics, individualism or nationalism in society, Romanticism in art. As this relativism characterizes Barrès' whole life, and stamps not merely the two works just mentioned but nearly all his production, in spite of noble attempts to free himself from it, we are led to classify him still as a Romanticist at heart.⁵²

Le Voyage de Sparte (1905) and *Les Bastions de l'Est* reveal once more the regular rhythm or antinomy of the author's literary manner, the continual struggle between his individualism and his collectivism, the steady conflict of his Romanticism and his Classicism. In the former volume for instance he wrote:

Je reconnais les Grecs pour nos maîtres. Cependant il faut qu'ils m'accordent l'usage du trésor de mes sentiments. Avec tous mes pères romantiques je ne demande qu'à descendre des forêts barbares et qu'à rallier la route royale, mais il faut que les classiques à qui nous faisons soumission nous accordent les honneurs de la guerre, et qu'en nous enrôlant sous leur discipline parfaite ils nous laissent nos riches bagages et nos bannières assez glorieuses.⁵³

It is such declarations as this and the following on the part of Barrès that have led critics like Giraud⁵⁴ to believe that the author of the *Culte du moi* has abandoned the ranks of the Romanticists, but we shall see it is only one of the alternations in the ebb and flow of his artistic temperament:

Reste, m'a dit la Grèce, où te veulent tes fatalités. Tu n'as pas à masquer, dénaturer ni forcer ce qu'il y a dans ton cœur, mais simplement à le produire. Demeure à l'Orient de la France, avec ta petite nation, à combattre pour ma beauté que tu n'es pas prédestiné à vivre.⁵⁵

This rhythm occurs as can be observed, not merely between series like *Le Culte du moi* and *Le Roman de l'énergie nationale* but also within the compass of a single study such as the work under consideration.

⁵² H. Massis: *Jugements*, Paris, 1924, part III, "Maurice Barrès ou la Génération du Relatif." Cf. L. Guérard: *op. cit.*, pp. 234-248.

⁵³ Barrès: *Le Voyage de Sparte*, Paris, 1906, pp. 278-279.

⁵⁴ Giraud: *op. cit.*, pp. 96-100. Cf. Stephens: *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁵⁵ Barrès: *op. cit.*, pp. 282-283.

Greco ou le Secret de Tolède (1912) is written somewhat in the vein of the earlier works on Spain and Italy but is quite free from the over-emphasis of the erotic element; it is more of a companion piece to *Le Voyage de Sparte* in its classical restraint. This artist El Greco, a Cretan by birth but a Spaniard by adoption, was a painter of the soul, a man after Barrès' own heart; he surpassed in portraying the essential element of Spain, namely the tendency to exalt the feelings, to become possessed by a fixed idea borne along by the spirit of adventure like Don Quixote, or by the Inquisition like Torquemada, or by dreams of the golden isles in Western seas. Although these word etchings reveal the sensitive, ethical, and aesthetic nature of Barrès, his deep interest and affection for the genius who best caught the spirit of exaltation so peculiar to Spain betray the underlying affinity with the emotional or subjective side of life and art. Out of a dozen passages that could be cited to illustrate the spiritual bond that exists between the French author and the Spanish artist the following is typical and to the point:

Comme je les aime, ces œuvres mystérieuses des grands artistes devenus vieillards, le *second Faust* de Goethe, la *Vie de Rancé* de Chateaubriand et le bruissement des derniers vers de Hugo, quand ils viennent du large s'épandre sur la grève. Pressés de s'exprimer, dédaigneux de s'expliquer, contractant leurs moyens d'expression comme ils ont resserré leur paraphe, ils arrivent au poids, à la concision des énigmes ou des épitaphes. Leurs sens demi-usés les laissent-ils à l'écart, en marge de l'univers? Ils nous semblent détachés de tous les dehors, solitaires au milieu de leurs expériences qu'ils transforment en sagesse lyrique. Et le chef-d'œuvre du Greco selon mon cœur, la fleur de sa vie surnaturelle, c'est justement le dernier tableau qu'il a peint, sa *Pentecôte*, que l'on voit au musée de Madrid.⁶⁶

La Colline Inspirée (1913) tells the story of three brother priests who, because of their excessive love of Sion-Vaudémont, the inspired hill, and their inordinate ambition to revive its ancient glory as a seat of pilgrimages, first aroused the antagonism of the State and Church, and then were excommunicated. The leader Léopold, however, at the end of his long life of revolt yielded submission to the power of Rome. Nowhere in all his literary production is the eternal conflict between Barrès' individualism, lyricism, Romanticism on the one hand

⁶⁶ Barrès: *Greco ou le Secret de Tolède*, Paris, 1912, pp. 154-155.

and his traditionalism, rationalism, Classicism on the other more powerfully and passionately contrasted.⁵⁷ In this novel the author has opposed Poetry and Dogma, and in his hero, Léopold Baillard, he has created a romantic genius, one of revolt and sentiment, as Mary Duclaux writes in her *Twentieth Century French Writers*.⁵⁸ Many passages in this strange book quiver with suppressed religious emotion or are shot through and through with poetic images. We cannot resist quoting as an example some of the dialogue between the meadow-land and the chapel, symbolical of the eternal struggle between the individual and society, local tradition and the church:

Je suis, dit la prairie, l'esprit de la terre et des ancêtres les plus lointains, la liberté, l'inspiration.

Et la chapelle répond:

Je suis la règle, l'autorité, le lien; je suis un corps de pensées fixes et la cité ordonnée des âmes.

J'agiterai ton âme, continue la prairie. Ceux qui viennent me respirer se mettent à poser des questions. Le laboureur monte ici de la plaine, le jour qu'il est de loisir et qu'il désire contempler. Un instinct me l'amène. Je suis un lieu primitif, une source éternelle.

Mais la chapelle nous dit:

Visiteurs de la prairie, apportez-moi vos rêves pour que je les épure, vos élans pour que je les oriente. C'est moi que vous cherchez, que vous voulez à votre insu. Qu'éprouvez-vous? Le désir, la nostalgie de mon abri.⁵⁹

And Barrès concludes his epilogue with the opinion that these two forces cannot do without each other, that the life of the one depends on that of the other.

The scope of this study does not admit a lengthy consideration of Barrès' apology for the Church expressed in his *La Grande Pitié des Eglises de France* (1913) and his *Les Familles Spirituelles de la France* (1917), nor his stirring patriotic articles in the *Echo de Paris* which have been published in his fourteen volume *Chronique de la Grande Guerre* (1916-1924), although they too offer abundant evidence of the duality of his literary,

⁵⁷ R. Lalou: *Histoire de la Littérature Française Contemporaine*, Paris, 1922, p. 306. Cf. Guérard: *op. cit.*, pp. 232-234. Cf. H. Massis: *op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 26-29.

⁵⁹ Barrès: *La Colline Inspirée*, 5^e édition, Paris, 1913, pp. 423-424. Cf. George Sand: *Les Maitres Sonneurs*, Paris, 1923, p. 295.

ethical, and social development. Notwithstanding the fact that the author of *Colette Baudouche* was probably still more or less a doubter in religious matters at the time of his defense of the churches as public monuments (many of them were going to ruin as a result of the enactment of the law of the Separation of Church and State), in championing their cause he made some of the most eloquent speeches ever heard in the Chamber of Deputies,⁶⁰ speeches whose sentiments, as we shall see, reveal the soul of a poet akin to the composer of *Le Génie du Christianisme*:

Et pourtant, Messieurs, quels trésors de noblesse et de poésie, quelle richesse matérielle aussi représentent ces églises de France, que nous sommes en train de laisser s'écrouler! . . . Il n'y a pas sur la terre de France deux églises rurales qui soient en tous points pareilles, pas plus qu'il n'y a deux feuilles identiques dans la vaste forêt. Eglises romaines, églises gothiques, églises de la Renaissance française, églises de style baroque, toutes portent un témoignage magnifique, le plus puissant, le plus abondant des témoignages en faveur du génie français. . . . elles sont la voix, le chant de notre terre, une voix sortie du sol où elles s'appuient, une voix du temps où elles furent construites et du peuple qui les voulut. . . .

Vous n'en êtes pas touchés! Ce beau clocher qui est l'expression la plus ancienne et la plus saisissante du divin dans notre race, cette voûte assombrie où l'on prend le sentiment d'avoir vécu jadis et de devoir vivre éternellement, cette table de pierre où reposent les grands principes qui sont la vie morale de notre histoire, rien de tout cela ne vous persuade, rien ne vous retient de renverser cette maison qui, par sa porte ouverte, à toute heure, au milieu du village, crée une communication avec le divin et le mêle à la réalité quotidienne.⁶¹

In *Les Diverses Familles Spirituelles de la France* Barrès undertakes to show by a collection of letters from soldiers and officers on the front that France is no longer a country disrupted by hopeless political and religious controversies, wrangles, and disputes, as she was prior to 1914, but is now a united France, one whose sons on hundreds of battle fields continue the glorious traditions of the fatherland begun in the early dawn of history. These letters probably represent the cream

⁶⁰ Cunliffe and De Bacourt: *French Literature During the Last Half-Century*, New York, 1923, p. 161.

⁶¹ Barrès: *Autour des Églises de Village*, Paris, 1913, pp. 23-24, 47. The above material was incorporated in *La Grande Pitié des Églises de France*.

of the million and a half of those who sacrificed their lives for their country, for many of their composers appear to be modern Crusaders, Bayards, Rolands, and other knights of historical or epic fame, with an emphasis, however, very often shown on the spiritual rather than on the military side of life. The following, quoted from one of the many missives placed at Barrès' disposal is typical of the religious and patriotic wave that was passing over France at this time, a wave noticeable in all classes of people and in all shades of belief:

Je crois en Dieu, en la France, en la victoire. Je crois en la beauté, en la jeunesse, en la vie. Puisse Dieu me protéger jusqu'au bout. Mais si mon sang est utile à notre victoire, mon Dieu, que votre volonté soit faite!⁶²

We can understand why the poetic and artistic author of *Les Amitiés françaises* selected these lines written by another young man in a farewell to his parents; they are so beautiful that he might have penned them himself:

Je serai mieux et plus à ma place de soldat dans la terre de France, dans un de ces beaux champs pour lesquels je donne ma vie, je vous jure, avec joie. J'ai appris à aimer cette terre française, ces pays magnifiques, qui sont nôtres; depuis la guerre, en les parcourant, j'ai appris la poésie des grandes plaines sous le chaud soleil, ou la beauté d'un couchant sur les bois lorrains, et il m'est doux de penser qu'au moins pour une fois dans ma vie, j'aurai servi à quelque chose.⁶³

La Chronique de la Grande Guerre, originally published as *L'Ame Française et la Guerre*, is an epitome of the World War with France as the fulcrum of the great conflict, which is conceived in terms of an opposition of racial, spiritual, and economic forces. Should space permit, it would not be difficult to demonstrate how this voluminous history, written from day to day during the war, is saturated with all the characteristic traits of Barrès' style and thought. Let us take for example the eighth volume of the original series, *Le Suffrage des Morts*; its pages are full of his regionalism (see the chapters, *Pourquoi nous nous battons*, *Les Alsaciens-Lorrains vivaient en captivité sans cesser d'être Français*), his nationalism (see the chapters on the search for unity of action), his traditionalism (see the

⁶² *Op. cit.*, 16th edition, 1917, p. 248.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

chapter on the right of the dead to vote through their nearest relatives, *De tels morts peuvent encore servir la France*), his hatred of the Germans (see the chapter, *Humani generis odium*), his interest in the churches of France (see the last two chapters of the book), his romanticism and mysticism in the chapter, *Les Vosges transfigurées*. From this last we select the following description transfused by the author's poetic soul:

Devant nous se développent une succession de montagnes, noires de sapins, dont les pentes glissent vers la plaine d'Alsace et le Rhin perdus dans le brouillard. Voilà toujours ces formes éternelles et sévères, et ce silence perpétuellement agité par le vent. Mais de quelles émotions s'est peuplé le désert! Au milieu de ces nuées de novembre qui naviguent dans le ciel et au-dessous de nous, on éprouve le sentiment extraordinaire des grandes présences: la Douleur, l'Espérance, l'Esprit de sacrifice et la Mort agissent dans ces espaces. L'homme pourtant y demeure invisible. Deux armées cheminent sous ces forêts et s'épient, mais à peine une détonation vient-elle par intervalle témoigner leur présence.⁶⁴

As was his due as the President of the League of Patriots Barrès witnessed the triumphal entry of the French troops in Metz and Strasbourg and while no doubt such unusual events beggar description, his pictures of these reflect the deep emotion he felt and saw about him. The singing of the *Te Deum* at the cathedral of Strasbourg with ecclesiastical and military pomp particularly moved him, for it celebrated the return of the lost provinces, the one great aim of his life as the successor of Paul Déroulède. Writes Barrès in this connection:

Les orgues exultaient d'allégresse, les lumières faisaient un diadème aux poils, les voix escaladaient le ciel, et tout le monde pleurait. L'immense multitude aimait et remerciait ceux qui tombèrent dans les batailles et leurs familles, et les réunissait en esprit aux fils de France survivants. Tous les morts de la guerre et tous les survivants emplissaient la nef, heureuse de contenir une fois un âme digne de ses beautés.

Jusqu'à la dernière minute de notre vie, quand nous baisserons nos paupières pour nous recueillir, nous trouverons toujours dans notre conscience l'étincelle qu'y déposent ces grands jours.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, Paris, 1919, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁵ Barrès: *L'Appel du Rhin: La Minute Sacrée*, Société Littéraire de France, Paris, 1919, p. 46. This work is incorporated in vol. XIII of *Chronique de la Grande Guerre*, Paris, 1924 (see pp. 236-237 for citation given).

We must now conclude our survey by confining our attention to the last two works of the author issued to the public just prior to his death in December 1923, *Un Jardin sur l'Oronte* (1922) and *Une Enquête aux Pays du Levant* (1923). The former is an Oriental tale of the time of the Crusades and reflects the subtle charm so characteristic of the near East as seen through the gossamer of Romantic fiction. A French nobleman at the head of a peace embassy sent from Tripoli to the Emir of Qalaat, becomes enamored of the Mohammedan life and the potentate's favorite of the harem, Oriante, who clandestinely returns his love. Through the opportune death of the Emir the knight, Guillaume, and the Saracen princess, Oriante, gain control of the government, but are soon attacked and overwhelmed by Christian forces aided by the connivance of the former favorite anxious to continue to be queen. Guillaume, unaware of this deceit, makes his escape, but returns to Qalaat to find his mistress the consort of the conqueror, the Christian prince of Antioch. Learning of Oriante's duplicity he gives way to his wrath and is mortally hurt. As for the former Emir's favorite, she becomes an abbess. Those who had fondly imagined that Barrès had forsaken the banners of the Romantics, his early idols, were quite shocked at the appearance of *Un Jardin sur l'Oronte*. Its ethics and aesthetics gave rise to not a few polemics.⁶⁶ As we have endeavored to demonstrate in the course of this survey, this work is not to be considered so much a renaissance or a recrudescence of his early manner as it is a regular note in the rhythm of his artistic evolution.⁶⁷ Years of arduous war-work had made Barrès long to give free rein to his creative imagination and the result was this last novel, in conception and execution so suggestive of Chateaubriand's *Le Dernier des Abencérages*, while not attaining its lofty idealism. The moral laxity of an impossible love, the contrast of Mohammedan and Christian civilizations, the beauty and lassitude of the East painted in rich but subdued colors, the poetic language, in short everything about this novel, characterization, plot, motivation, background, is pure Romanticism. Barrès, in referring to it, poked fun at the censors who saw in it a doctrinal purpose:

⁶⁶ R. Benjamin: *Le Soliloque de Maurice Barrès*, Paris, 1924, p. 136. Cf. Massis: *op. cit.*, pp. 266-280.

⁶⁷ R. Lalou: *op. cit.*, pp. 308-309.

It was a work of art [he asserted] and no more culpable, let it be said in passing, than a certain little Greek masterpiece that the good bishop Amyot did not disdain to translate.⁶⁸

This alludes of course to *The Ethiopics* of Heliodorus, or to his *Daphnis and Chloe*.

In his *Une Enquête aux Pays du Levant* (1923) Barrès gives an account of the noble work he saw carried on in asylums, hospitals, and schools in the Balkan States, Egypt, and Syria by certain French religious orders, who were teaching there Western ideals and civilization to 100,000 children and he announced his intention of proposing a law to provide for training new French teachers and leaders for manning these institutions, which were in danger of passing into other hands because the separation of the Church and the State was diminishing the supply of native French instructors. In his dedication of the *Enquête* to Abbé Henri Bremond, Barrès explains to his readers the purpose of his work:

Je tente d'esquisser et d'ordonner les choses et les gens que j'ai vus défiler d'Alexandrie à Constantinople: enfants d'Asie menés par nos maîtres français, et puis, dans une ombre plus reculée, danseurs de Konia, adorateurs du Diable, Hashâshins d'Alamout et du Kaf, bacchantes de Byblos. . . .

Qu'y a-t-il dans ces âmes? Votre œuvre magistrale répond à cette question. Ces maîtres honorent et soignent dans leurs petits élèves cette même source de toute énergie que vous avez reconnue dans nos Carmels, chez M. de Condren, chez Bérulle, l'étincelle mystique par qui apparaît tout ce qu'il y a de religieux, de poétique et d'inventif dans le monde. Rien n'existe dans l'humanité sans ce jaillissement primitif, dont nul être n'est incapable, et qui d'abord doit être obtenu, puis canalisé et discipliné.⁶⁹

Thus in this last publication we see Barrès wavering between his love of freedom or Romanticism and his leaning for discipline or Classicism. From one angle *L'Enquête* might be considered along with *La Grande Pitié des Eglises de France* as an apology for the church. Typical of this tendency is the author's exclamation after traveling extensively in the Orient and tasting its civilization:

⁶⁸ M. Barrès: *Une Enquête aux Pays du Levant*, Paris, 1923, I, Dédicace, p. ii.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. ii and iii.

Il faut une seule religion et qu'elle soit de qualité éminente. Entrenons avec ardeur ce qui fait notre unité, c'est-à-dire la plus haute culture spirituelle. Et vivent nos missionnaires, prêtres et religieuses!⁷⁰

It is quite evident that the *Enquête*, unlike many of his studies in Spain, Italy and Greece, is not merely "a book of desires, dreams, and colors." It is indeed one of Barrès' most practical and serious works of travel; it is inspired by the quest for the fountain head of energy, the mystic spark from which spring religion, poetry, and invention, seen in his unquenchable thirst for information about these matters from scholars and teachers of various Eastern cults. One feels the earnestness of the man when at the end of his investigation he declares that there is an awakening of the down-trodden races in the Levant:

Sur cette terre d'Asie, je distingue bien autre chose que la source originaire de mes plaisirs de Venise, de Grenade et du Caire; j'y pressens un trésor de richesses spirituelles. Je crois retrouver avec vénération la figure voilée de l'Agia Sophia.⁷¹

And yet the *Enquête* is replete with Barrès' romantic ideas such as his fondness for extraordinary characters (Alexander the Great, Renan and his sister Henriette, Lady Esther Stanhope, the Arabian nun Hendiyé, and the Old Man of the Mountain, the fanatical friend of Omar Khayyam);⁷² it is charged with deep interest in emotional experiences exemplified by his reverie over the Bacchantes at the source of the Adonis and by his visit to the Dervishes at Konia.⁷³ Here as in *Un Homme libre*, where he exploited the principles for increasing the state of exaltation, we find Barrès asking himself again and again the old question: "Are there mechanical means for multiplying in us enthusiasm?"⁷⁴ But this craving for enthusiasm, for emotional experience is one of the dominant traits of the school of Chateaubriand and Stendhal.

This review of Barrès' principal works of fiction and travel—earlier productions such as *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme* and later ones such as *Faut-il autoriser les congrégations* (a supplement to the *Enquête*) have been omitted for lack of space

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 50.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 165.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, vol. I, Chaps. II, IV, V, VII, XII.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, chapt. VI; vol. II, chapt. IV.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. iii and 4; II, pp. 156 and 238, note 17.

—leads us to conclude that at heart he never renounced his literary forbears of the Romantic School, even though at times his conception and treatment of subjects as in *Les Bastions de l'Est* and *Le Voyage de Sparte* inclined us to believe he had become a Classicist. It is only fair to recognize, on the other hand, that to some serious critics the whole line of Barrès' development was steadily in the direction of Classicism. This is the view expressed, for example by Victor Giraud:

Né romantique, de par ses hérédités et ses premières lectures, il a débuté par le romantisme le plus exalté et le plus nuageux; et, comme un vin généreux qui peu à peu se dépouille, il est allé se clarifiant, se simplifiant, se disciplinant et, sans répudier toutes ses rêveries de poète, il a connu le prix de l'ordre, de la sobriété, de la raison, bref, il s'est rangé à la tradition classique. Dilettantisme, pessimisme, nihilisme, il a commencé par sacrifier,—avec combien d'autres!—à tous ces faux dieux de sa jeunesse; mais il les a reniés à temps, et par la plume et par l'exemple, il a fini par glorifier les saines vertus et le nécessaire optimisme de l'homme d'action.⁷⁵

In pointing out the regular alternation or rhythm of romantic and classical impulses (with stress on the former) which appear in the series of Barrès' works, and in indicating the relativism which governed his notions of art, politics, and religion (for Barrès, though an apologist of the Church, stood outside of her fold) it should be understood that I have no desire to diminish his glory as a distinguished author and patriot. Barrès' literary genius, it must be admitted, had its limitations, and these have already been exposed by Ernst Curtius and Henri Massis, whose studies pronounce severe indictments against the great French civilian.⁷⁶ However, when we consider some of his masterpieces, his rôle as a professor of energy, his championship of so many worthy causes such as the churches, the mutilated soldiers, the League of Patriots, and his part of inspired spokesman and interpreter of France to the outside world during the late War, we must regard Barrès, in spite of his Romantic tendencies, as indeed a great man, one of the greatest in France during the last generation.⁷⁷

FREDERIC D. CHEYDLEUR

⁷⁵ V. Giraud: *op. cit.*, p. 156. Cf. Cunliffe and De Bacourt: *op. cit.*, p. 166.

⁷⁶ Curtius: *op. cit.*, chapters IX-XII incl. Cf. Massis: *op. cit.*, chap. III.

⁷⁷ Pierre Troyon: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Sept. 1924, article on Barrès' *Chronique*.

XXVII.

IS RENE BOYLESVE A DISCIPLE OF BALZAC?

THAT René Boylesve is descended in a direct line from Balzac has for years been a commonplace with critics. As long ago as 1906, Henri Gheon¹ styled Boylesve a "fils direct de Balzac." Jules Bertaut, after pointing out that Boylesve's characters, like himself, are very "sensibles," and that the provincials among them, having been forced to suppress their individualities, experience violent emotional crises when, for one reason or another, they tear themselves loose, adds this comment: "Le grand Balzac le savait bien, lui qui a dressé ses plus belles figures de grand passionnés dans d'inertes chefs-lieux de canton!"² Pierre Lasserre says of *la Becquée* that it has "de fortes ressemblances avec un chef-d'œuvre balzacien."³ Similarly, Winifred Stephens,⁴ in her essay on Boylesve, sees in his work "the minuteness of a Balzac," and Mme Mary Duclaux,⁵ compares Boylesve's Touraine novels to the *Scènes de la vie de province* of the *Comédie humaine*. Indeed, the work of Boylesve almost inevitably calls up the name of Balzac. It is the purpose of the present paper to determine whether this resemblance is anything more than a superficial one and, if it is not, to see wherein lies the originality of Boylesve.

Let it be stated at once that Boylesve was fully cognizant of Balzac's achievement as novelist. In answer to the question, raised by Eugene Montfort as to the true function of art, Boylesve wrote:

A mon avis, le roman, comme tout art, est d'agrément. Son but principal est de procurer du plaisir. Qu'il touche à tout, pourvu que par

¹ In a review of *le Bel avenir* published in *l'Ermitage* for January 15, 1906 (p. 61).

² In an essay on Boylesve included in his *les Romanciers du nouveau siècle* (Paris, Sansot, 1912, pp. 34-64).

³ In a footnote to a review of *Madeleine jeune femme* reprinted in *Portraits et discussions* (Paris, Garnier frères, no date, p. 214).

⁴ *French Novelists of Today: Second Series*, London and New York, 1915, p. 229.

⁵ *Twentieth Century French Writers: Reviews and Reminiscences*, New York, 1920, p. 117.

la magie du talent, il en fasse matière agréable. . . . Toutefois il y a un genre de roman qu'une tradition magnifique, composée par la puissance créatrice de Balzac et par le goût de la perfection de Flaubert, a mis en France à un rang si élevé que tous les autres me semblent se rapetisser graduellement, à mesure qu'ils s'en éloignent: c'est celui qui tire tout son agrément de l'éclatante vérité des gestes, des mouvements, des paroles, en un mot de la comédie des hommes.⁶

That Boylesve appreciated Balzac's greatness, however, without deeming it necessary to imitate him is evident from statements made by him in the course of an article contributed to the Marcel Proust number of the *Nouvelle revue française*.⁷ Boylesve here asserts that "ce qui est proprement l'objet de la littérature romanesque ou dramatique, c'est les caractères, la psychologie, et les mœurs." The qualities in literature which charm him most, he declares, are "l'expression frappante et originale de la vie contemporaine, des figures inoubliables, une atmosphère attiédie, singularisée, et comme imprégnée d'une odeur de peau, une ironie voilée non pas amère ni dédaigneuse, . . . enfin, ce qui dépasse tout, la vertu sans laquelle un livre ne me plaît jamais tout à fait: la poésie." He then goes on to make the following striking comparison between Balzac and Proust:

A ne considérer ce grand livre (i. e., *A la recherche du temps perdu*), que du dehors, on est déjà frappé par la variété des exemplaires humains dont il contient l'image et qui ferait penser à Balzac si l'on pouvait concevoir un Balzac descendu de sa chaire de sociologie, pourvu de la sensibilité la plus fluide,—pourvu aussi de rentes, me dira-t-on—pourvu de goût, non moins, et oublieux du feuilleton comme du public, et railleur délicat, à la façon des énigmatiques visages de Léonard. On ne conçoit point de Balzac ainsi fait; on le diminuerait en lui souhaitant ce qu'il n'a pas, et l'on ne sert pas davantage l'exquis artiste que fut Proust en l'approchant d'un colosse à l'état massif. Au-dessus de la lourde terre où Balzac est modelé, Proust m'apparaît comme un Ariel qui s'envole.

If the name of Boylesve were substituted for that of Proust in the above comparison, it would still contain a measure of truth. It is this measure that remains to be determined.

First, then, let us consider the similarities that may be said to exist between the work of Boylesve and that of Balzac.

⁶ "Les Marges," *Gazette littéraire*, No. 5, Oct. 1904, pp. 161-3.

⁷ January 1923, pp. 109-16.

These similarities are to be found primarily, although by no means exclusively, in a comparison of the principal "regional" novels of Boylesve—*Mademoiselle Cloque* (1899), *la Becquée* (1901), *l'Enfant à la balustrade* (1903), *la Jeune fille bien élevée* (1909), and *Madeleine jeune femme* (1912)—with Balzac's *Scènes de la vie de province* and his *Scènes de la vie de campagne*. As Balzac, in the novels of these two groups, may be considered the inventor of the "regional" novel, many of the similarities which appear in the works of Boylesve are merely the result of the treatment by both men of more or less identical subjects. Indeed, it is in subject-matter that the most striking similarities are to be found. A superficial reading of *Mademoiselle Cloque* might induce the belief that Boylesve had written this novel with *le Curé de Tours* open before him; the theme of ecclesiastical chicanery is the motive of both works, and the resemblance is increased by the fact that in both the scene is laid in the city of Tours. Other themes of which Balzac was fond were also used by Boylesve. Thus, the motivation of *la Becquée* is made to hinge upon the last will and testament of the old aunt; this is a theme that Balzac overworked in such novels as *le Cousin Pons*, *La Rabouilleuse* (better known perhaps by the title of *Un ménage de garçon en province*), *Ursule Mirouet* and others almost too numerous to mention. The tale of the virtuous wife faithful to an unappreciative husband, related by Balzac in *le Lys dans la vallée*, finds its counterpart in Boylesve's *Madeleine jeune femme*; the gossip and intrigues concomitant with small-town life are depicted alike in Balzac's *Pierrette* and *les Deux poètes* and in Boylesve's *l'Enfant à la balustrade* and *la Jeune fille bien élevée*. Minor similarities abound; the hero of Boylesve's *le Bel avenir*, for instance, shows marks of kinship with Eugène de Rastignac; the heroine of *le Parfum des Îles Borromées* is involved in adventures no less thrilling than those through which passes the Duchesse de Langeais. The list could be increased *ad libitum*; but enough has been said to demonstrate the fact that Boylesve has used a number of Balzac's *motifs*. It is a matter of supererogation to prove that such a relationship, even where it is not wholly accidental, is of little importance in the appraisal of a novelist's genius.

Another similarity between Boylesve and Balzac has already been hinted at, namely, that of setting. Here we are dealing

with a phenomenon that is even more accidental than the similarity of subject-matter. From the fact that both novelists were natives of Touraine and that both received a part of their education in Tours, it results that the events of many of their novels are spun out upon the Tourangeau background—*Le Curé de Tours*, and *le Lys dans la vallée*, on the one hand, *Mademoiselle Cloque*, *la Becquée*, *la Leçon d'amour dans un parc*, *l'Enfant à la balustrade*, and *la Jeune fille bien élevée*, on the other. Balzac's appreciation of the bewitching beauties of the Touraine countryside is amply, if somewhat clumsily, expressed in *le Lys dans la vallée*.⁸ Similar appreciations are to be found *passim* in Boylesve's "regional" novels. Likewise, Boylesve's description of Chinon with which *la Jeune fille bien élevée*⁹ opens is not unreminiscent of the description of Saumur in *Eugénie Grandet* or of Tours in *le Curé de Tours*. When we come to the comparison of the two men as stylists, however, we shall see that their pages of urban and landscape painting are radically different.

A strong point of resemblance between Boylesve and Balzac is their courageous admission of the cruelty of life. In the pages of Balzac the villain usually leaves the field over the dead body of the representative of the good and noble and with all the spoils of ruthlessly-gained victory in his hands: indeed, almost all of his novels might have been named *Illusions perdues*. One need mention only the Philippe Bridau of *La Rabouilleuse*, the despoiling relatives of *le Cousin Pons*, the hawks who accomplish the spoliation of *Pierrette*, the Nucingens, the Gobsecks

⁸ *Ceuvres complètes*, ed. Bouteron et Longmon—the edition cited in the present paper—Vol. XXV, cf. especially, pp. 24–27.

⁹ Since there is, as yet, no *édition définitive* of the *Oeuvres complètes* of Boylesve, his novels referred to in this paper are of various editions and dates. The following is the list of the novels in the order in which they are here mentioned, with the publishers and dates of the first edition: *le Bel avenir* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1905); *Madeleine jeune femme* (Calmann-Lévy, 1912); *Mademoiselle Cloque* (Paris, Editions de la Revue blanche, 1899); *la Becquée* (Revue blanche, 1901); *l'Enfant à la balustrade* (Calmann-Lévy, 1903); *la Jeune fille bien élevée* (Floury, 1909); *la Leçon d'amour dans un parc* (Revue blanche, 1902); *Mon amour* (Calmann-Lévy, 1908); *Souvenirs du jardin détruit* (Paris, Ferenczi, 1924); *Ah! Plaisez-moi* (Paris, Nouvelle revue française, 1922); *Je vous ai désirée un soir* (Paris, Fayard, 1924); *Nouvelles leçons d'amour dans un parc* (Paris, Editions du Livre, 1924); *le Médecin des dames de Néans* (Paris, Ollendorff 1896); *le Meilleur ami* (Paris, Fayard, 1909).

and the Du Tillets of *Père Gloriot* and the *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*, and the machinations of the abbé Troubert of *le Curé de Tours*. To be sure, there is the noble-hearted, omniscient M. Benassis, the "médecin de campagne," but even he meets sudden death as the belated result of one of the sins of his youth. Again, Ursule Mirouet finally marries the man of her heart's desire after the scoundrel who robbed her of her inheritance has reaped his just deserts and repented. But the occasions on which good triumphs over evil in the mildewed society which Balzac depicts are so rare as to be patently mere concessions on the part of the novelist. Similarly, in Boylesve, the pious and virtuous Mademoiselle Cloque sees her illusions destroyed one by one and succumbs at the worst blow of all, the supposed defection of her cherished niece. The dashing, lazy hero of *le Bel avenir* comes to a better end than does either of his two more serious, more studious rivals; Madeleine Doré, the "jeune fille bien élevée," is forced by the pressure of conventions to abandon her mystical and æsthetic ideals for a humdrum life with a man considerably her senior who has no affection for her and whose infidelities begin on the very morrow of the wedding. This grim acceptance of the disillusioning facts of life is certainly a link between Boylesve and Balzac, but it goes without saying that this may be a matter of individual temperament, or a conviction independently arrived at, so that it can scarcely be relied upon to establish the influence of Balzac upon Boylesve.

One further detail which might indicate a conscious imitation of Balzac should here be mentioned, namely, Boylesve's fondness for sequels. *La Becquée* and *l'Enfant à la balustrade*, *la Jeune fille bien élevée* and *Madeleine jeune femme* are twin-novels each pair of which revolves about related people and connecting incidents. Moreover, *Mon amour* is a distant sequel to *la Becquée* and *l'Enfant à la balustrade*; while one of Boylesve's most recently published novels, *Souvenirs du jardin détruit*, is a pendant hanging by a rather slender thread to *Mon amour*. Likewise, in another recent novel, *Ah! Plaisez-moi* (which has since appeared in a slightly altered version under the title of *Je vous ai désirée un soir*), Boylesve has resuscitated Mlle Cloque, the heroine of his first work of prime importance; and *Nouvelles leçons d'amour dans un parc* is a collection of

stories dealing with the personages of *la Leçon d'amour dans un parc*. This concern with the members of a more or less definite group might subsume a desire on the part of Boylesve to give us his version of at least a few scenes of the "human comedy."

Let us now examine the reverse of the shield, and note the differences which exist between the work of Boylesve and that of Balzac. Though both men, as we have seen, frequently employ the same subject-matter as the framework of their novels, their methods of handling the material are in almost every case as far apart as the poles. This divergence springs from the two men's conception of the importance of plot in the structure of the novel. For Balzac, the god of whose youth was Sir Walter Scott and whose literary activity was coincident with the rise and triumph of Romanticism in France, a novel must have a highly-developed plot of intricate pattern, seasoned with highly sensational incidents—duels, abductions, midnight excursions of more than doubtful purpose, nerve-racking and protracted death scenes. Fortunately in the greatest of his works—*Eugénie Grandet*, *César Birotteau*, *le Curé de Tours*—Balzac departed from his own formula, but the overwhelming majority of his novels, among them such masterpieces as *le Père Goriot* and the two novels included in *les Parents pauvres*, are marred by what Lanson has called "bas-romantisme." For Boylesve, on the other hand, the architectonics of plot are almost negligible; his "regional" novels at least are wholly devoid of violent or even of dramatic episodes, running along as calmly as the life of the countryside which they depict. The ripples and the eddies are all under the surface, in the minds and souls of the persons of the drama, and it is only when we consider these that we realize that all is not as peaceful as it would seem. If we compare, for example, the death of Old Goriot, or of *la Rabouilleuse*, with that of tante Félicie in *la Becquée*, or of we contrast the lack of incident in *l'Enfant à la balustrade* with the mesmeristic *séances* and the spectral visions of *Ursule Mirouet*, we shall see how widely the two novelists differ with respect to the technique of plot-construction. If the cases just cited are challenged as not being representative examples, many others could easily be adduced which will illustrate in varying degree this difference between the two authors.

In the matter of setting, we note again a radical difference between the two men. Balzac's fondness for detailed description is too well known to require demonstration. The father of modern realism frequently leaves his reader so bewildered by details that he is unable to see the forest for the trees. With Boylesve this is never the case, for in the handling of setting he did not take Balzac as his model but the Flaubert of *Madame Bovary* and *l'Education sentimentale*. Unwilling to attempt to include every detail of a landscape or a room, Boylesve is content to call attention to the salient points in the scene he is describing and to leave, by means of well-chosen metaphors and what the rhetoricians call the "dominant image," an ineffaceable impression upon the minds of his readers. Passages might be cited from almost any one of Boylesve's novels that are Flaubertian for their precision and, more especially, for their *sensibilité*; while such novels as *le Médecin de campagne* and *le Curé de village* though they contain rhapsodies on the beauties of the Savoian Alps or of the Limousin, do not always ring true. Balzac was much more at home in the description of interiors; his practical nature was more at ease in the calculation of incomes or the pricing of art-treasures than in the sights and sounds and odors of the countryside. Boylesve, on the other hand, born and reared in a village of the Touraine and gifted by nature with keen senses and a talent for recording the impressions left upon his senses, is in his element when undertaking natural description.

In his little book on Balzac, Faguet¹⁰ accuses him, as many others have done before and since, of a lack of taste and a lack of style. Balzac is at his worst, Faguet points out, when he tries to write well, and he is at his best when he is content with simply writing down what he has to say. Wholly apart from decision as to the soundness of Faguet's other judgments, these dicta as to Balzac's style and taste are incontrovertible. Certainly, Balzac was devoid of that quality without which, Boylesve testifies in a passage already quoted, a book never completely satisfied him: namely, "la poésie." For Boylesve is, in the best sense of the word, in the Flaubertian sense, a stylist. Like Flaubert, he has always shunned publicity and he has

¹⁰ *Balzac par Emile Faguet*, Paris, 1913. Cf. especially chapters VI and VII.

always placed artistic perfection and psychological verisimilitude above literary fame and its golden harvests. In his feelings for the "mot juste," his love of a simplicity from which harmonious ornamentation is not absent, and in his avoidance of the pitfalls of over-sentimentality and over-didacticism that have ensnared such of his colleagues as Bazin and Bordeaux, he is the true classicist and, as such, may well lay claim to the mantle which has fallen from the shoulders of Anatole France.

In treatment of subject-matter, then, in handling of setting, and in style, Boylesve differs radically from Balzac; it remains to consider the two men as delineators of character. To be sure, character-delineator is scarcely the epithet to be applied to Balzac. In him we have the true creator of character, the gigantic moulder of types of power and "energy" (to use the term of which Stendhal was so fond) beside whom most other novelists fade into an anæmic insignificance. A comparison of Boylesve and Balzac as character-portrayers would, thus, scarcely be fair to Boylesve. Making no pretensions at creation of character, Boylesve has contented himself with the calm and painstaking analysis of normal human beings in the routine as well as the crises of life. In his very first novel, *le Médecin des dames de Néans* (1896), Boylesve blazed the trail which he was to follow, with only occasional deviations for the composition of narratives of romance, throughout his literary career. Especially in the analysis of feminine character has he proved himself a master. Such personages as Mlle Cloque, tante Félicie, Bernerette de Chanclos of *le Meilleur ami*, Mme de Pons of *Mon amour*, grand'mère Coëffeteau of *La Jeune fille bien élevée*, and Madeleine Doré of this novel and its sequel, *Madeleine jeune femme*, reveal a thorough and sympathetic understanding of feminine nature. Indeed, in his more recent novels—*Elise*, *Je vous ai désirée un soir*, *Souvenirs du jardin détruit*—Boylesve manifests the tendency to subordinate everything else to psychology. It is the motives behind the deeds performed by his characters far more than the deeds themselves which claim his attention. So true is this that *Madeleine jeune femme* may be said to contain scarcely a single extraordinary incident in the whole of its four hundred pages; it is an analysis, pure and simple, of the heroine's reactions in

the face of the temptation to prove unfaithful to her husband and of the reasons that prevent her taking the step that would lead into the banal adultery so overworked by the novelists and dramatists of France. It should not cause surprise that Boylesve should occasionally, as in *Je vous ai désirée un soir*, stray from the beaten path of pure psychology into the less-trodden and somewhat unwholesomely fascinating byways of abnormal psychology, especially now that Marcel Proust and André Gide have made their audacious incursions into this hitherto forbidden realm. In any case Boylesve, in his portrayal of character, often works from the inside outward, attempting to shed light upon motives and reactions and to discover what is going on in the recesses of his creatures' minds and hearts. Balzac, on the other hand, aims rather at heaping external detail upon detail and incident upon incident, thereby enabling his reader to make his own psychological studies. Thus we have his colossal incarnations of single passions—Old Goriot, Old Grandet, Cousin Pons, Cousine Bette, Vautrin, Philippe Bridau, Father Troubert, Balthasar Claes, *e tutti quanti*. To admit that Boylesve's personages have no place beside these overpowering monomaniacs is in no sense to belittle them; the two groups belong in as completely separate categories as though they were inhabitants of different planets.

From the foregoing rather hasty examination of the similarities and differences between the work of Balzac and Boylesve, it would seem that the question propounded in the title of this paper must be answered in the negative. Boylesve can scarcely be called a disciple of Balzac or his "fils direct." The points of resemblance between the two men are either of minor importance or were arrived at independently. And the points of divergence are of so much greater significance that they far outweigh the others and leave Boylesve's genius unaffected by any far-reaching dependence upon Balzac. Boylesve did not get from Balzac his qualities of style or his knowledge of human nature; and it is upon these possessions and his employment of them that his fame must stand or fall.

AARON SCHAFFER

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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a type-written synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered, trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

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48

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CONTENTS

XXVIII.— <i>The Faerie Queene</i> in Masque at the Gray's Inn Revels. By EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT.....	497-516
XXIX.—Spenser's Use of the Bible and His Alleged Puritanism. By GRACE WARREN LANDRUM..	517-544
XXX.—Burton on Spenser. By MERRITT Y. HUGHES.	545-567
XXXI.—Dating a Spenser-Harvey Letter. By JAMES RALSTON CALDWELL.....	568-574
XXXII.—Renaissance Criticism and the Diction of <i>The Faerie Queene</i> . By EMMA FIELD POPE.....	575-619
XXXIII.—The Evolution of <i>The Comedy of Errors</i> . By ALLISON GAW.....	620-666
XXXIV.—Hamlet and Dr. Timothy Bright. By MARY ISABELLE O'SULLIVAN.....	667-679
XXXV.—Hamlet's Delay—A Restatement of the Problem. By BERNARD R. CONRAD.....	680-687
XXXVI.—Shakspeare's Use of the Voyagers in <i>The Tempest</i> . By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY....	688-726
XXXVII.—Improving Shakespeare. Bibliographical Notes on Restoration Adaptations. By HAZELTON SPENCER.....	727-746
XXXVIII.—The Essays on Fredrika Bremer in the <i>North American Review</i> . By ADOLPH B. BENSON...	747-755
XXXIX.—Stedman, Arbiter of the Eighties. By G. E. DEMILLE.....	756-766
XL.—James Whitcomb Riley and Donald G. Mitchell. By WALDO H. DUNN.....	767-769

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XXVIII

**THE FAERIE QUEENE IN MASQUE AT THE GRAY'S
INN REVELS**

IT HAS long been believed that, before Part I of *The Faerie Queene* was published (in 1590) portions of Books I and II had been seen by Fraunce, Peele, and Marlowe.¹ It is known that Gabriel Harvey had manuscript of *The Faerie Queene* for criticism before April, 1580;² that Raleigh in Ireland and Queen Elizabeth in London passed judgment on some part of the first division before it was put into print;³ and that a circle of Lodowick Bryskett's friends near Dublin heard Spenser tell his plans for the whole work and also saw "some parcels" of it.⁴

As yet, I think no evidence has been presented to show that any part of the last three books was known in England previous to its appearance in print. The publication of these books probably fell between the date of entry on the Stationers' Registers, January 20, 1596, and the date of the protest of King James of Scotland against Spenser's treatment of his mother in that part of the work, November 12, 1596. But the six books were evidently completed some time before 1596, for Sonnet No. 80 of the *Amoretti* contains the lines:

After so long a race as I have run
Through Faery land, which those six books compile.

¹ See J. C. Smith, *The Faerie Queene* (Oxford, 1909), introd., p. xi.

² See *Three Proper and Wittie, Familiar Letters* (1580), in *Spenser's Poetical Works* (Oxford, 1924), p. 612.

³ *Spenser's Works*, ed. Grosart, I, 155ff; and *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.

⁴ The meeting told of in Bryskett's *Discourse of Civill Life* probably occurred in the first half of 1582, according to Mr. H. R. Plomer, in a study of Bryskett's life and work, soon to be published in the Modern Philology Monograph Series.

Spenser's wedding was on June 11, 1594. The *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion*, "written not long since," were entered for publication on November 19, 1594 and published in 1595. In dedicating them to Sir Robert Needham, William Ponsonby, the publisher, reveals the method by which Spenser sent him these manuscripts from Ireland:

This gentle Muse for her former perfection long wished for in Englande nowe at the length crossing the Seas in your happye companye, (though to your selfe unknowne) seemeth to make choyse of you, as meetest to give her deserved countenance, after her Retourne.

Now if the six books of *The Faerie Queene* were finished before the *Amoretti* came over with Needham in 1594, it seems entirely reasonable to suppose that the last half of *The Faerie Queene* was available for use before November 19, 1594. Possibly it came over along with the *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion*. It is the purpose of this paper to show that the Proteus masque contains a fairly explicit announcement, to the court of Elizabeth, of the impending publication of Part II of *The Faerie Queene*, in connection with the acknowledgment of it as a source; and that parts of Books IV and V (as yet unpublished) gave suggestions for two little masques, of Amity and of Proteus, in the Christmas Revels at Gray's Inn and at court in the winter of 1594-5.

Until this article was ready to be put into print, I was under the impression that no note had been made of the probability that the transformations of Malengin endeavoring to escape from Artegall furnished a source for Davison's contest between the Prince and Proteus. My attention has just been called to a footnote in P. Reyher, *Les masques Anglais*, (p. 148), naming this episode of *The Faerie Queene* as a source of this contest and linking Spenser's Proteus with the Proteus masque. Reyher gives no evidence, and apparently does not notice that the portions needed for the masque were not yet published, nor that any acknowledgment of source was made by Davison in the masque. He has also (p. 143) a line on Spenser as a source of this masque, where he attributes to Spenser the idea of the adamantine rock as turned to masque by Davison. Spenser has some adamantine rocks in his poem, but, so far as I can see, they have no significance whatever for Davison's masque, and I am sure a better source for that device can be supplied. Reyher's

footnote on Proteus and Malengin seems to have been overlooked or ignored, no reference to it appearing in F. I. Carpenter's *Reference Guide*. I do not think that Spenser's manuscript was the source of the device of the adamantine rock, but I am reasonably sure it was the source of the Proteus masque and am inclined to believe that it also furnished the idea for the small masque of Amity (which Reyher does not mention).

The best account of the Gray's Inn Revels of 1594-5 is the *Gesta Grayorum* edited by W. W. Greg, *Malone Society Reprints*, 1914. The full text may be found also in Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, volume II, together with an apocryphal "second part" of later date, continuing some of the same themes in an inferior manner.⁵

The invitations to the entertainment were sent out from Gray's Inn December 13, 1594, and the Revels began at the Inn December 20. The small masque of Amity was given at Gray's Inn on January 3, 1595; but the larger masque of Proteus was presented at court near the close of these revels, either on March 2 or on March 3.⁶ We have no list of the courtly personages who witnessed the masque of Proteus, but we may guess that they were no less distinguished than the group named as attending on the evening of January 3 when the little masque of Amity was given at Gray's Inn. On this occasion, besides the Queen and the men of Gray's Inn and the guests from the Inner Temple, there were present:

The Lord Keeper, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Northumberland, Southampton, and Essex, the Lords Buckhurst, Windsor, Mountjoy, Sheffield, Compton, Rich, Burleygh, Mounteagle, and the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Thomas Heneage, Sir Robert Cecil; with a great number of Knights, Ladies, and very worshipful Personages.⁷

The masque of Proteus was prepared by two poets, fellow members of Gray's Inn and actors in the Christmas Revels:⁸ Francis Davison, now remembered chiefly as the editor of

⁵ On the nature of this "second part", see Greg's introduction. The Masque of Proteus may be found in Nicholas Nicolas' edition of Davison, *Poetical Rhapsodie*, (1826), vol. II.

⁶ See *Gesta Grayorum*, (ed. Greg), pp. vi, 3, 67, 68, *et passim*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6 and 67. Davison is listed as "Gentleman Pensioner," and Campion is in all probability the "Campnies" who was in the Masque at the close.

The Poetical Rhapsodie, (1602);⁹ and Thomas Campion, best known for his songs. Campion's contribution to this masque is the opening hymn in praise of Neptune, which, according to Davison, in his *Poetical Rhapsodie*,¹⁰ was sung by "Amphitryte, Thamesis, and other Sea-Nymphes in Grayes-Inn Maske at the court. 1594" (i.e., 1595). From the same source we learn that Davison was himself the main author of the Masque; for Sonnet IV of his "Sonnets to his first Love" has this heading:

Upon presenting her with the speech of Grayes-Inne Maske at the Court 1594. consisting of three partes, The Story of Proteus Transformations, the wonders of the Adamantine Rocke, and a speeche to her Majestie.¹¹

Davison owned an account of the whole entertainment; for among the "Papers Lent" listed by Nicholas Nicolas, editor of the *Rhapsodie*, is "Grayes In Sportes under Sir Henry Helmes, lent to Eleaz. Hogsdon, (i.e., Hodgson); but whether Davison contributed more than the items above listed is not known. Of his acknowledged contributions to the Revels, I shall discuss in this paper only the first mentioned, the story of Proteus.¹²

The Masque of Proteus combines two very similar threads of story from Spenser. The basic situation is Spenser's story of the conflict of Arthur and Artegall with Malengin, or Guile, who, endeavoring to escape, goes through a series of Protean transformations. With this story Davison interwove suggestions from Spenser's account of the transformations of Proteus himself in several parts of *The Faerie Queene*. In place of Spenser's Arthur, Davison introduced *Prince*; and for Artegall, (chiefly typifying Lord Grey de Wilton), he substituted *Esquire*.

In the ninth speech of the masque the Esquire voices Davison's acknowledgment of Spenser's narrative as source by placing the story in a continuous narrative of exploits of Arthur and his knights, a part of which is assumed as already known by the audience, and a new part of which is about to come into print.

⁹ An anthology containing poems by himself, his brother, some major, and some minor poets of his day.

¹⁰ 1602 ed., sig. K8 recto.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, sig. D3 verso.

¹² The idea for the Adamantine Rock is from another source, and serves to link the masque of Proteus with certain political purposes of the *Gesta Grayorum* as a whole, which I shall discuss in a separate article.

It is the new part that has been used by the author of the masque, as appears from his statement of the position of the Proteus material with reference to the whole work:

After the victory at Austrican
Had made an end of the Tartarian War,
And quite dispers'd our vanquish'd enemies,
Unto their Hoards, and huge vast Wilderness;
Our noble Prince, and his couragious Knights,
Whose untry'd Valour, in the Battle fought,
Was rather warm'd, than fully exercis'd,
Finding no Enterprise that did deserve
Th' Employment of their brave united Force,
After assignment of a Day and Place,
Where both himself and all his Knights should meet,
Dispers'd themselves into many sundry Quests,
To seek Adventures as they should befall.
The Prince himself, who only was attended
By me his Squire, had many strange Exploits;
Which since they shortly shall be put in Print,
Join'd with Prince Arthur's famous Chronicle,
I shall not now need to repeat at large.¹³

That the chief ideas for Davison's Proteus masque are traceable to Part II of *The Faerie Queene* may be shown by an analysis of the setting of time and place, the story situation, the characters, and the order of ideas in the masque as compared with those of a few situations in Spenser's story, chiefly contained in Book IV, canto xi, and Book V, canto ix.

The characters of the masque are: Neptune, Proteus, Amphitrite, Thamesis, sea-nymphs, and Tritons. In *The Faerie Queene*, we find this grouping provided in Book IV, canto xi, st. 2 ff., where there is a solemn feast to the sea-gods and their descendants in honor of the spousals between the Medway and the Thames (see st. 8). Spenser's characters here are: Neptune, Proteus, Amphitrite, Thames (and the Medway), sea-nymphs, and Triton, thus providing, all in one place, the complete list of characters at the opening of Davison's masque except for his Prince and his Esquire, which, as noted above, come from another situation in Spenser's narrative.

¹³ *Gesta Grayorum*, p. 60.

The setting of place and time make the relationship more certain. In the masque, Proteus meets the Esquire (Spenser's Artegall) by appointment at a rocky place, with a cave and cliffs near by. The same setting is used in Spenser's story of the exploits of Proteus in Book V, canto ix, st. 4-15: an underground cave in a rock, with cliffs near by.

The Esquire's speech quoted above gives the occasion of the Protean exploits as

After the Victory at Austrican
Had made an end of the Tartarian War.

With this we may compare the opening of Book V, canto ix, st. 2, where Arthur and Artegall catch Guile:

And turne we, to the noble Prince, where late
We did him leave, after that he had foyled
The cruell Soldan.

Spenser follows this with the adventure of Arthur with Malengin, or Guile.

Davison gives a Protean character to Malengin. The basis of this identification may be found in *The Faerie Queene*, Book V, canto ix, st. 17-19, where the Prince fights Malengin in the presence of Artegall, and Malengin endeavors to escape by transforming himself into such shapes as are ascribed to Proteus in other passages of *The Faerie Queene*. It is clear that Spenser's Arthur becomes Davison's Prince in the masque. That his Artegall is represented by the Esquire is indicated by a speech of Thamesis to the Esquire which makes him companion and eye-witness of the Prince's exploits:

The story of those oft-transformed shapes,
I long to hear from you that present were,
And an eye-witness of that strange conflict.

Though the main situation of the masque is that in V, ix of *The Faerie Queene*, suggestions for the transformations occur also in IV, xi, 17 ff.; IV, xii, 3ff., as well as in several parts of the earlier books, as in I, ii, 10; III, iv, 25 ff.; III, viii, 29 ff., and III, viii, 40 ff. But the masque cannot be accounted for as coming from Books I to III, which were already in print. The only essential element in these books and not in the later ones is the conception of Proteus as prophet (III, iv, 25). This is a

mythological commonplace, and possibly does not require a source in Spenser. But as Davison is evidently familiar with the whole work, there is no reason why he should not use matter in the first part with that of the second. Spenser's Proteus and Malengin assume, in the passages referred to above, a great variety of forms: a fowl, a fish, a fox, a dragon, a faerie knight, a giant, a centaur, a bush, a bird, a hedgehog, a stone, a serpent. Davison, dealing with a single situation in his masque, uses but four changes: to a fair lady, a serpent, a casket, a faerie knight of the Prince.

Davison not only took his cast of characters, his setting of place and time, and his main situation from Books IV and V of *The Faerie Queene*, but he also employed the same sequence of topics through a considerable part of the masque. In Book V, canto ix Spenser tells of the Protean transformations of Malengin, or Guile, to escape Arthur. Then, with one of his characteristically sudden, dream-like shifts of situation, the gentle knights (st. 21), "passing little further, commen were, Where they a stately palace did behold." This is the palace of Mercilla. Then follows an elaborate tribute to Elizabeth. Similarly in the masque, after the transformations of Proteus, with no transition except Proteus's boast of the qualities of the Adamantine Rock, we pass suddenly to the praises of the Queen, the true Adamant of Hearts. We even find here a very faint echo of the phraseology, though Davison is innocent of any attempt to imitate Spenser's style throughout the masque. In *The Faerie Queene*, V, ix, 20 are these lines on Elizabeth:

Most sacred wight . . . that ever yet
With Diademe hath ever crowned been.

Davison's lines are more ornate:

Out of that sacred garland ever grew
Garlands of Virtues, Beauties, and Perfections
That crowns your crown.

For the most part, however, the resemblance is only in matter and order of ideas, and linguistic echo is rare.

After the entrance to Mercilla's palace, there is in *The Faerie Queene* (V, ix, 23-24) a praise of peace and order as against war and force:

The marshall of the hall to them did come.
His name hight Order, who commanding peace,

Them guided through the throng, that did their clamors cease.

Ne ever was the name of warre there spoken,
But ioyous peace and quietnesse alway.

In the masque the Esquire tells Proteus that his Adamantine Rock is of no power:

For Force to Will, and Wars to Peace do Yield.

The next topic treated in *The Faerie Queene* is loyalty (the Bon Font incident serving as a prelude), V, ix, 25-26. Next, too, in the masque, is a heavy stressing of the idea that the loyal hearts of subjects are the real source of safety for the Queen.

One can find in Spenser's story sources even for minor items such as could be shorn away from the masque without damage. For example, the masque contains an allusion to "that famous old received history of good Arion by a dolphin saved," which has no purpose unless to link with some other parts of the *Gesta Grayorum* outside this masque, but which is included perhaps because the author had just come across a seven-line passage on Arion and the dolphin in one of the books that gave him the ideas for his masque (IV, xi, 23).

Campion's introductory hymn to Neptune shows rather more dependence on Spenser for minor detail than does Davison's masque; but, as the matter is quite commonplace, the debt might go unnoticed but for the more significant borrowings of Davison from the same source. Campion's hymn begins:

Of Neptune's empire let us sing
At whose command the waves obey,

recalling a passage in Spenser's handling of the same situation (IV, xi, 12):

First the Sea-gods, which to themselves doe clame
The powre to rule the billows, and the waves to tame.

Again, the opening of the second stanza of the hymn,

The Tritons dancing in a ring,
Before his palace-gates, do make
The water with their Ecchoes quake,
Like the great Thunder sounding,

reminds one of a few of Spenser's lines from the same stanza quoted above (IV, xi, 12):

Triton his trumpet shrill before them blew
For goodly triumph and great jollyment,
That made the rocks to roar as they were rent.

As the masque is in blank verse, the poetic form shows no imitation of verse movement or stanzaic form of the *Faerie Queene* at any point. *Campion* and *Davison* were already young poets in their own right. *Davison* proved later to be an editor whom worthy poets trusted with their manuscripts. Elsewhere, handling his own materials, he imitated *Spenser's* vein; but here, using *Spenser's* materials in advance of publication, probably with the author's knowledge and consent, he avoided any imitation of general effect. His debt was large—for characters, setting, main situation, and order of ideas (exclusive of the Adamantine Rock, which comes from another source); but, as we have seen, he made what would then probably have been recognized as a full public acknowledgment of his source.

The second masque for which *Spenser* may have furnished the inspiration is that of *Amity*, given at *Gray's Inn* on the evening of January 3, 1595. The occasion was, the celebration of the long-continued friendship between the two Inns of Court,—*Gray's Inn*, the hosts, and the *Inner Temple*, invited to be their guests at the Revels. Either in reality or in pretense, there had been a rift in the friendship when a play of "Errors" was performed during the Revels, but the guests returned the following night.¹⁴ "After variety of Musick" they were presented with this Device:

At the side of the Hall, behind a Curtain, was erected an Altar to the Goddess of *Amity*; her Arch-Flamen, ready to attend the Sacrifice and Incense that should, by her Servants, be offered unto her. Round about the same sate Nymphs and Fairies, with Instruments of Musick, and made very pleasant Melody with Viols and Voices, and sang Hymns and Praises to her Deity.

Then issued forth of another Room the first pair of Friends, which were *Theseus* and *Pirithous*; they came in Arm in Arm, and offered Incense upon the Altar to their Goddess, which shined and burned very clear, without Blemish; which being done, they departed.

Then likewise came *Achilles* and *Patroclus*; after them, *Pilades* and

¹⁴ See *Gesta Grayorum*, pp. 22–24 *et passim*. I am not altogether convinced that the quarrel was real. It may have been part of the program.

Orestes; then Scipio and Lelius: And all these did, in all things, as the former, and so departed.

Lastly were presented Graius and Templarius; and they came lovingly, Arm in Arm, to the Altar.¹⁵

Here the Gray's Inn masque of Amity branches off to its one original touch.

Achilles' love for Patroclus is referred to in Spenser's *Hymne in Honour of Love* (l.233), which was published by Ponsonby in the *Fowre Hymnes*, 1596, but composed and circulated, according to the author, in the "greener times" of his youth. Two others of the four pairs of friends in the Amity Masque are in Spenser's celebration of the superiority of chaste, devoted friends to ordinary lovers (Book IV, canto x, st. 26-27). In the island on which stands the Temple of Venus there are many happy lovers of the amorous variety; but fully as happy are the pairs of devoted friends:

Another sort
Of lovers lincked in true harts consent;
Which loved not as these, for like intent,
But on chast vertue grounded their desire.
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Such were great Hercules, and Hylas deare;
Trew Jonathan, and David trustie tryde;
Stout Theseus, and Pirithous his feare;
Pylades and Orestes by his syde;
Myld Titus and Gesippus without pryde;
Damon and Pythias, whom death could not sever:
All these and all that ever had bene tyde
In bands of friendship, there did live for ever,
Whose lives although decay'd, yet loves decayed never.

This strikes the note of the conclusion of the masque of Amity, where Graius and Templarius are pronounced by the Arch-Flamen of Friendship to be "as familiarly united and linked with the Bond and League of Sincere Friendship and Amity" as ever were the four pairs of friends. The Arch-Flamen "there-withal did further divine that this Love should be perpetual." It is not to be broken down or weakened, but eternized forever.

This theme of devoted friendship of man for man, it is true, was a conventional theme and a favorite one in the Renais-

¹⁵ *Gesta Grayorum*, p. 25.

sance literature; but if Book IV was certainly used for Davison's Proteus masque in the same Revels, it seems reasonable to suggest that it may also have served to inspire the smaller masque of Amity.

At the time of these Revels, Francis Davison was a member of Gray's Inn, perhaps about twenty-five years of age.¹⁶ He was the eldest son of William Davison, that unfortunate Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth who in 1586-87 was made the official scape-goat for giving effect to her signed warrant for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. In spite of Elizabeth's disgracing of her Secretary, neither he nor his son lacked friends. Not only the editorial work, but the memoranda of Francis Davison would seem to indicate that he was an enthusiastic and aspiring collector of contemporary literature, and that people were willing to trust him with their manuscripts. He contemplated much larger collections than he ever edited. Here is one of his lists, of "Manuscripts to Get":

Letters of all sorts, especially by ye late E. of Essex.

Orations, Apologies, Instructions, Relations.

Sports, Masks, and Entertaynments, to ye late Queen King etc.

Emblemes and Impresaes

Anagrams

Poems of all sorts Divine and Humane

Psalmes by ye Countess of Pembroke. Qre. If they shall not bee printed.

Psalmes by Joshua Sylvester, Sir John Harrington, and Joseph Hall.

Satyres, Elegies, Epigrams, etc. by John Don. Qre. Some from Eleaz.

Hodgson and Ben Johnson.

Poems by Ben Johnson.

Hen. Constables 63 Sonnets.¹⁷

Only one of Spenser's poems appears in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsodie* of 1602, and that is a reprint of Spenser's Elegy in "Trimetre Iambickes" from the Harvey-Spenser correspondence of 1580; but that is not surprising in view of the fact that when the *Rhapsodie* was published, Spenser's works had nearly all been issued by his regular publisher and had their own public. The eclogues in the first part of Davison's anthology show strong

¹⁶ So according to the genealogy in Nicholas Nicolas, *Life of William Davison*; but some writers have dated his birth 1575.

¹⁷ *Poetical Rhapsody*, (ed. Nicolas), I, xliiiff.

Spenserian influence, with their shepherds and their Cuddies and their various pastoral devices, as, for example, in several poems by "A. W." Davison's elegy on Sidney has a Thenot and a Cuddie, and refers to Colin as a fit elegist for Sidney. The whole is in a Spenserian vein. In an eclogue of old age there is a Wrenock (as in Spenser's December eclogue), who carries on a dialogue with Perin reminiscent of that of Thenot and Cuddie in Spenser's February eclogue.¹⁸ The Wrenock-Perin dialogue is a fragment, lacking beginning and ending. Davison was, then, an admirer and imitator of Spenser, and a collector of Spenseriana, but not a plagiarist nor a thief. Everything would seem to indicate that the use he made of Spenser's ideas at the court was with Spenser's foreknowledge and consent.

If this is true, it opens up some interesting possibilities with reference to Spenser. For, if there was a friendly relation between Spenser and the Davisons, it would help us understand two of Spenser's strongest prejudices. Perhaps that against Burghley was established before there was any need to sympathize with the Davisons; but that against Mary Queen of Scots has always seemed to me to need some accounting for, because of its virulence. A connection with the Davisons would be still more interesting as a possible explanation of a reasonable source of information on Irish, Scottish, English, and French political situations—information of a sort which even Spenser's own official position and that of Lord Grey de Wilton do not altogether explain. Not only the facts, but the political bias in Spenser's works might be in a measure supplied by contact with William and Francis Davison.

After the elaborate account by Nicholas Nicolas of the exact part of William Davison, Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor to Elizabeth, in the carrying out of the warrant for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots,¹⁹ it is hardly necessary to bring fresh evidence that Davison was made the scape-goat; that he unjustly suffered fine, imprisonment, poverty, and disgrace merely because he was the instrument for passing on the warrant for that execution after Elizabeth had signed it. But, should the reader consider Nicolas a special pleader, he may turn to Martin Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, (pp.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 82.

¹⁹ *Life of William Davison*, L., 1823.

418-92), which is dedicated to a descendant of Lord Burghley and is not likely to be unfair to the family. Hume shows from documentary evidence in the handwriting of Burghley himself a scheme by which Burghley and the rest of the Privy Council became accomplices in advance with Elizabeth in her intention of repudiating her orders and ruining her Secretary to escape the odium of seeming to be personally responsible for an order to execute her kin.²⁰ This throws light on some very peculiar speeches made by certain members of the Council at the trial of Davison in the Star Chamber. Several contemporary accounts are printed in the Appendix to Nicholas Nicolas, *Life of William Davison*. Others are in the State Papers Domestic. The conclusion is unavoidable, that Davison only did what the Council and the Queen and Burghley all wished him to do, and that all were thankful that he had done it, but that they were not admitting it. The Council were forgiven by Elizabeth, as having been misled by Davison as to her wishes. Burghley suffered only a short fit of temper from Elizabeth. He made one half-hearted effort to say a word for Davison's innocence, and then diplomatically gave it up.

Only one friend of Davison had the courage to come out boldly at his trial. That was Lord Grey de-Wilton, Spenser's patron. The best accounts of his arguments are two in the Appendix to Nicolas, *Life of William Davison*, on pp. 322 and 345.²¹ In the first, we find that Grey argued that Davison's offence was made the worse "for that it was for execution of a Queen, but what Queen? Surely, such a Queen as practiced most horrible treasons against our sovereign Queen! yea such a Queen as conspired the overthrow of the whole State! yea such a Queen that sought the subversion of Christ's true religion, to bring our souls headlong to the Devil. So then, my Lords, the taking away such a Queen can no way aggravate his fate."

Grey goes on to remind the members of the Commission of the trouble both in the realm and abroad, and then poses this question: "Had that other thing [i.e. the downfall of Elizabeth through foreign plotters] happened (which God forbid), that her Majesty would have miscarried, and then this warrant,

²⁰ The document is in *Hatfield Papers*, part III, no. 472.

²¹ The first is from a MS in Caius Coll. Camb. Class A. 1090. 8. p. 267; the second, from Bodleian MS Juridici, 7843. 862. p. 235.

signed and sealed, had been found in Mr. Davison's hands, wanting nothing but execution, should we not then have judged him a traitor? Should we not have torn and rent him asunder? Surely, my Lords, I should then have thought him more worthy of ten thousand deaths, than now of the least punishment that may be inflicted upon him."

According to Harley MS 6807, Grey even ventured to picture Davison as a self-sacrificing patriot. He was content that the punishment mentioned should be laid upon him, "desiring therewithal that it might please the mighty God to put it into her Majesty's heart to remit him his punishment, that all good subjects, by his example, may neglect their own private hinderance and disgrace in respect of the furtherance of the weal public, and thereby to encourage her faithful servants and subjects to perform their duty."²²

The second long account of the trial in Nicolas gives substantially the same record of Grey's stand, except that it mentions more explicitly the forces then in Ireland and Wales, and the dangers to Elizabeth from outside; and it speaks of Davison as "more zealous and forward for his Prince than we."

Grey's final question, which challenges the Council as to their sincerity in any of their acts on the execution of Mary, was the one question that Davison himself desired to ask when judgment was imposed: "If this being in my hands, her majesty had miscarried, what would have become of me?"²³ The Lords pointed out that Grey had moved this already.

All this goes to show that Lord Grey de Wilton, the patron of Spenser, was the only friend who had the courage to stand up for Davison outspokenly when he was unjustly accused and condemned. Later, Essex made attempts to win favor for him with Elizabeth, as also with King James of Scotland when Elizabeth did not respond. Lord Grey was untiring in his efforts. He wrote to Davison after he was released from the Tower that he had asked Burghley to intercede for him with the Queen. Burghley answered Grey that Davison was "in reasonable good terms of favor" with Elizabeth, "yet in respect of her begun course she might not with honour saved make show." Secret

²² Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 139. The Earl of Lincoln and the Earl of Sunderland were inclined to agree with Grey, but were somewhat faint-hearted.

²³ *Ibid.*, 345ff.

relief was then suggested, but she replied that her acts were watched. Grey concluded his letter to Davison on the subject with the promise, "Whilst I am a courtier, you shall not want a remembrancer."²⁴

Grey's attack on Mary was on religious as well as general grounds, and his intense, even rabid hatred of her is shown at Davison's trial and in his long continued efforts to prove the necessity of her execution may account for the somewhat virulent nature of Spenser's treatment of the character of the Queen of Scots as typified by Duessa.

The very canto which Francis Davison made use of in his little masque at court in March, 1595 contains the trial of Duessa, the part of the *Faerie Queene* which seems to have given King James most offense—probably because it was based on an official act of England.²⁵ In handling that trial, Spenser has been fairly cautious. Though he is against Mary on every count, he diplomatically pictures Elizabeth as letting fall "few perling drops from her faire lamps of light" when Mary is condemned, and in Book V, canto x, st. 3-4, he praises Elizabeth's mercy at the same moment that he suggests (very innocently) that it is mercy misplaced, for one universally condemned:

Much more it praised was of those two knights;
The noble Prince, and righteous Artegall,
When they had seene and heard her doome arighte
Against Duessa, damned by them all;
But by her tempred without grieve or gall,
Till strong constraint did her thereto enforce.
And yet even then ruing her wilful fall,
With more then needfull naturall remorse,
And yeelding the last honour to her wretched corse.

This is Elizabeth as she fancied herself in the eyes of admiring subjects. It is perhaps the most diplomatic touch that Spenser gives to anything connected with Scotch affairs. It is kind to Spenser, kind to "Artegall"—for he distinctly did not praise Elizabeth's mercy at the time of the trial,—and it would be kind to the Davisons in putting the whole trial in the light in

²⁴ *Harl. MS* 290, f. 233. orig.

²⁵ A good transcript of James's letter of objection, November, 1596, may be found in F. I. Carpenter, *Reference Guide to Spenser*, p. 41.

which Elizabeth desired to have it appear. At the same time there is a gentle insistence on the justness and necessity of the condemnation and execution of Mary that cannot be missed.

William Davison long pondered the details of the execution and nursed a grudge against Burghley, who, he thought, had betrayed him by evading the responsibility which he shared in passing on the warrant. The son Francis also retained a lifelong interest in the situation. The poverty, official disgrace, and eventual ruin of his father could not but take a firm hold on his feelings. Books and manuscripts of William Davison, endorsed by his son, indicate that Francis kept a keen interest in Burghley and in Scottish affairs. In the list of books and manuscripts which remained with him till his death are these:

Papers

My Fathers Apology (defense concerning the execution of Mary)
His Answer at ye Star-Chamber
Discourses about the Sc. Q.

Written Books. Discourses.

The Manner of Proceeding against ye Queen of Scotts
Arms of ye Nobility and Gent. of Scotland
A Discourse touching ye Matt. between ye D. of Norfolke and ye S.Q.
Allegations for Mary Q. of Scots
Qre An Extract of Corcelles Negociation in Scotland 1586. fo.
Dr. Hamon's dialogue touching ye Justice of ye Sc. Queen Execution,
fo.²⁸

How strong a hold his father's unjust persecution took upon the imagination and the feelings of Francis Davison may be judged not only by his accumulation of information on the facts of the case, but by his poetic expression of his feelings in a moving plea for his father. It is easy to recognize in the wise counsellor Eubulus and his cruel mistress the figures of Elizabeth's secretary and herself, in one of the eclogues in the *Poetical Rhapsody*.

If Spenser was, like Lord Grey, friendly to the Davisons, father and son, as would seem likely even without the evidence of the lending of manuscript for this masque, it should be

²⁸ See the full list of books and papers left in Francis Davison's hands, in Nicolas' edition of the *Poetical Rhapsody*, I, xliii. For an account of Burghley's enmity toward William Davison, drawn up by Davison himself, see Nicolas, *Life of William Davison*, Appx.

noted that there was in the possession of the Davison family a large collection of books and papers that would be exceedingly useful to Spenser for both facts and background. Much of it would be helpful for *The Faerie Queene* and the *Veue of . . . Ireland*. The item on the Duke of Norfolk and the Scottish Queen would perhaps be useful in connection with the February eclogue if that eclogue does, as I believe, refer to that situation. And the notes on the French marriage might be useful in connection with *Mother Hubberds Tale*.

Francis Davison seems to have been interested in history. There is in his papers (*Harl. MS 304*, f. 79) a set of notes "for a Relation of England." It maps out topics for a history of England, and gives references to authorities on English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh affairs. There is also, in the list printed by Nicolas, a *Briefe Demonstration of ye State of England and Wales*.

Equally interesting is the matter on Ireland which might possibly have been accessible to Spenser through Grey's or his own affiliation with the Davisons. In Nicolas' list of papers in the hands of Francis Davison are:

- Papers.
- Instructions for Ireland.
- Written Books. Discourses.
- A Great Booke of Irish Discourses
- Certain Irish letters in folio.

Now some of these books and papers are such as any thoughtful courtier, or at least any statesman, might have in a private library; but others look more like state documents. Perhaps Elizabeth's mistreatment of Davison was one reason for his retaining in his own possession rather more of such material than he would otherwise have done; for he seems to have had an earnest desire for a justification of his career as Secretary. Nicolas lists papers and books of William Davison which were endorsed by Francis and kept by him all his life. Several manuscripts of Francis show the handwriting of Ralph Starkey on them, and it is clear that in 1619 he held manuscripts of both father and son, and that among them were documents of state. On August 10, 1619, according to Nicolas, "the Privy Council issued a warrant, directed to Sir Thomas Wilson, commanding him to repair to Starkey's lodgings, and to seize on

all such papers and matters of state as in time past were in custody of Secretary Davison (*Harl. MS* 286, f. 160).” Sir Simon d’Ewes later acquired some of the manuscripts that had been in Starkey’s hands, though why either had them has not been explained.²⁷

William Davison had some other matter on Ireland that would have been useful to Spenser. Just at the time Grey was trying to befriend him, Davison was sent to the Tower. He busied himself making a map of Ireland, with a description. This was in circulation somewhere until October 21, 1595, when a notice was given that made its recall for state purposes possible. But between the imprisonment (which at most lasted only a few years after 1586) and October, 1595, there would have been ample time for any use by Spenser for the latter part of *The Faerie Queene* and perhaps also for the *Veue of . . . Ireland*. The latter was not entered for publication until April 14, 1598. There is a letter of October 21, 1595 from Peter Probyn to Sir Robert Cecil which prepares the way for the return of Davison’s Map to the custody of the state:

The cabinet wherein is the written description of Ireland, with the map which was Mr. Secretary’s, and written by Mr. Davison when he was in the Tower is come to Heneage House and my lady saith only Cecill shall have it, or anything else that there is to pleasure him. In the same cabinet are other books which will also be kept for him.²⁸ “My lady” referred to is the Countess Dowager of Southampton, mother of Shakespeare’s patron. She had recently married the Vice-Chancellor, Heneage.

In F. I. Carpenter’s *A Reference Guide to Spenser*, (p. 213) there will be found a list of printed maps of Ireland available to Spenser. Their dates are 1565, 1568, 1570, and 1573. There was also a manuscript map in the possession of one of Spenser’s benefactors, Dean Nowell, which must have been before 1576. All these maps would be behind the times before 1598, when the *Veue of . . . Ireland* was published. As Grey strongly befriended Davison just before his imprisonment, it would seem reasonable to suppose that he could procure for his protégé and helper in Irish affairs the use of Davison’s map and description of Ire-

²⁷ See Nicolas’ account of these state papers, in his ed. of *Poetical Rhapsodie*, I, xliii ff.

²⁸ *Salisbury MSS*, V, 427.

land prepared in prison just after Grey's display of friendship. Perhaps, then, this map by Elizabeth's Secretary of State is the "mappe of Ireland" referred to by Spenser (*View of . . . Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 652) as his guide in his descriptions.

Besides a desire to keep in his possession papers and books giving facts tending to justify his own diplomacy, the Secretary may have had another reason for retaining and passing on to Francis so many books on national and international politics. According to Nicolas' account of Francis in his edition of the *Poetical Rhapsodie*, he once intended to go to France as private secretary to Sir Thomas Parry, the English ambassador. He had a suitable education at Gray's Inn; and it might be that, but for the cloud on his family, he would have chosen a diplomatic career.

Lord Grey died in October, 1593; but he lives on as Artegall in Book V of *The Faerie Queene*, which Spenser had completed by 1594. What more likely than that Spenser, with his enthusiasms for Grey's causes, should be animated, to some extent, by sympathy with the Davisons for their wrongs in the matter of the Scottish Queen; and that his diplomatic handling of the trial scene in Book V was intended to mollify Elizabeth and at the same time to show that all the Council had agreed on the necessity of the execution, thus relieving the unfortunate Davison of his load of blame? Who would be a more interested reader of Book V than Francis Davison? The permission to turn a harmless bit of Books IV and V into masque before Queen Elizabeth would bring young Davison before the Queen on an important occasion in a way that would appeal to her. It would be an act of generosity on Spenser's part in line with his patron's promise to William Davison that, while he lived, the Secretary should not want a remembrancer at court.

Lord Grey would be the strongest link between Spenser and the Davison family; but it should be mentioned that William Davison was related by marriage with Leicester and with Philip Sidney, and that both called him "Cousin."²⁹ Essex was another mutual friend.

In conclusion one may suggest the possibility that permission granted to Francis Davison by Spenser to use his man-

²⁹ See the genealogical chart in Nicolas, *Life of Wm. Davison*, opp. p. 212.

uscript may have been followed by such reciprocal favors as it was in the power of the Davisons to bestow: namely, the use of a recent and official map of Ireland, with a description of the country and various official and other documents on English, Irish, and Scottish history retained for the private use of the Davison family through the life of father and son.³⁰ If Spenser, like Grey, were attached to the Davisons, it would be easier to understand how Spenser joined in Grey's almost fanatic fury against Mary Queen of Scots, a fury compounded of anger and religious zeal.

EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT

³⁰ Sir Henry Sidney's Dispatches, Dean Nowell's *MS Abbreviate of Ireland and Description of the Power of Irishmen* (before 1576), and Churchyard's *General Rehearsall of Warres* (*Churchyard's Choise*, 1579) are all worth looking into as possible sources; but all are earlier than the Davison material, as are all the maps listed as available in Carpenter's *Guide*.

XXIX

SPENSER'S USE OF THE BIBLE AND HIS ALLEGED PURITANISM

I

ALTHOUGH SPENSER, speaking in the character of Irenæus in the *View of the State of Ireland*, declares himself as not "professed" in religion, he shows in general such profound interest in religion that his ecclesiastical and theological views have provoked abundant discussion. In examining the question of his religious predilections one might expect to gain further evidence from a careful study of his use of the Scriptures.

In the middle of the eighteenth century Upton in his voluminous comments on the *Faerie Queene* noted many biblical references. These have been increased or re-emphasized by succeeding commentators, notably Miss Winstanley in her edition of *The Four Hymnes*. The most systematic effort hitherto made in the study of Spenser's use of the Scriptures is that by W. Riedner, in his dissertation, *Spensers Belesenheit* (1908), although this is far from exhaustive. I have subjected the whole of Spenser's work to an independent examination, afterwards checking my results with those of previous investigators. As an appendix to the present paper I offer what purports to be a complete list of the biblical texts to which Spenser refers or alludes in his poetry and prose. The borrowings are made from forty-nine books, and are distributed as follows:

OLD TESTAMENT

Genesis.....21	1 Kings.....7	Isaiah.....11
Exodus.....12	II Kings.....4	Jeremiah.....6
Leviticus.....2	I Chronicles.....1	Ezekiel.....3
Numbers.....1	II Chronicles.....1	Daniel.....8
Deuteronomy.....2	Job.....8	Hosea.....2
Joshua.....2	Psalms.....39	Joel.....1
Judges.....5	Proverbs.....11	Jonah.....1
I Samuel.....5	Ecclesiastes.....5	Zechariah.....2
II Samuel.....4	Canticles.....6	

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew*.....	50	I Corinthians.....	11	James.....	6
Mark.....	5	II Corinthians.....	8	I Peter.....	6
Luke.....	10	Galatians.....	5	II Peter.....	4
John.....	18	Ephesians.....	6	I John.....	3
Acts.....	4	I Timothy.....	1	Jude.....	2
Romans.....	12	Hebrews.....	6	Revelation.....	46

APOCRYPHA

II Esdras.....	2	Ecclesiasticus.....	3	II Maccabees.....	2
Wisdom.....	24	Baruch.....	2		

* To Matthew are assigned all texts that may be referred indifferently to any of the Gospels.

These passages frequently include an idea contained in more than one verse. Sometimes a chapter number has been the simplest and most comprehensive indication of source. The total number of separate passages referred or alluded to is 402. But the number of borrowings is larger, since 27 passages are referred or alluded to more than once. In all, the repetitions amount to 57. Therefore if one include repeated texts the total number of passages involved may be considered as 459. This number becomes more significant when one realizes that the borrowings are not from intermediate sources, but directly from the Bible.¹

The question at once arises, What version did Spenser use? There are three possibilities: (1) Cranmer's Bible, or the Great Bible; (2) The Genevan version; (3) The Bishops' Bible. The vogue enjoyed by these versions changed during the period of Spenser's life. In the poet's earliest years Cranmer's Bible (translated in 1539) was used both in public service and private devotion.² Shortly before he entered the Merchant Taylors' school (doubtless in the early '60's), the Genevan version came to England, destined to obtain wider popularity than the

¹ This estimate excludes, of course, references in Spenser's translations, in the argument and the Gloss of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. In the prose matter accompanying the latter Spenser may have had a hand. See Draper's study of the Gloss, *Journ. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XVIII, 556-74.

² Queen Elizabeth reinstated Cranmer's Bible as the authorized version (*The English Hexapla*, p. 88). It is not impossible, though not highly probable, that Spenser might have reverted to the Coverdale version (1535 A.D.). But a comparison of Spenser and the passages below in parallel columns shows no

Great Bible among the English people as a whole.³ The Genevan version was, moreover, admirable, more exact in scholarship than Cranmer's Bible.⁴ Six years later than the first Genevan version appeared the Bishops' Bible,⁵ so called from its group of translators, chief of whom was Archbishop Parker. The Bishops' Bible, though influenced by the Genevan version, was inferior to it in accuracy, and usually rejected its readings in favor of the Great Bible.⁶ Though the Bishops' Bible was adopted in the place of all others for use in the church services, the general popularity of the Genevan version continued, and in fact its circulation was four times that of the Bible which was officially recognized.

evidence of his use of this version. In the single case (No. 11) in which he is closer to Coverdale the change in phrasing from the latter to that of the Bishops' Bible is inconsequential:

Spenser: *Her berth was of the wombe of morning dew*

Coverdale: *The dew of thy byrth is of the wombe of the morning*

Bishops': *The dewe of thy birth is to thee from the womb as from the morning*

In every other instance in which Spenser is closer to C or B than to G the Coverdale phrasing is the same as that of C and B. Again, the sole case of greater likeness of Coverdale to the Genevan proves nothing as to Spenser's dependence upon Coverdale.

There is a singular agreement of Spenser with the Vulgate in No. 1 (see below), as Professor Carleton Brown has shown me. The Vulgate (Gen. 2:11) has *Phison* and *Gihon*, Spenser's forms, with which no one of the four Protestant versions agrees exactly. But there is no further consistency in Spenser's spelling of biblical names. For example, the Vulgate has *Debbora*, *Sisara*; Coverdale, *Deborra*, *Sissera*; Cranmer, *Sisara*, *Debora*; the Genevan, *Debora* and *Sisera* (Judges 4:14). Again, the Vulgate, the Bishops' Bible and Spenser agree in *Elias* as the prophet's name. It seems to me, therefore, unsafe to assume more than accidental agreement between Spenser and the Vulgate. However, in his correspondence with Harvey Spenser quotes verbatim part of a long verse (2 Mach. IX:8) from the Latin. This verse suggested to him *FQ I iv 47 8 (q.v.)*.

³ Between 1560 and 1644 at least 140 editions of the Genevan Bible or Testament appeared. See *The English Hexapla*, p. 93.

⁴ "Even Parker and Grindall, opposed as they were to the sentiments of the translators on ecclesiastical grounds, acknowledged it [The Genevan Version] as a valuable performance—" *The English Hexapla*, p. 35. See also Westcott, *A General View of the English Bible*. p. 107.

⁵ *The English Hexapla*, p. 93.

⁶ The similarity of the Bishops' version to Cranmer's will appear in quotations in this article. See also *The English Bible* in the John Rylands Collection, p. 215.

The natural expectation, then, would be that Spenser if he were an ardent Anglican would adhere to the Bishops' Bible; or if he were a thorough-going Puritan, to the Genevan. On the other hand, as a conservative in literary taste, he might continue to read the version of his childhood, The Great Bible. That this was in point of fact, the version most familiar to him I shall attempt to prove by internal evidence.

Many of Spenser's allusions are, of course, indeterminate, since the several versions of the Bible agree so closely as to make it impossible to choose between them. The following cases will illustrate:⁷

F Q VI viii 24 1,2^a

Here *in this bottle* (said the sory
Mayd) I *put the tears* of my contrition *bottell*

Amoretti, LXVIII, 3,4

didst bring away
captivity thence captive us to win

F Q III v 35 7

Thou hast *from darknesse* me
returned to light

F Q I ix 49 8, 9

And thousand fiendes that doe
them endlesse paine

With *fire and brimstone* which
forever shall remaine

C, G, B^a (Ps. 56:8).

Thou hast *put my tears in thy*

C, G, B (Eph. 4:8)

he ledde captivity captive

C, G, B (1 Pet. 2:9)

that hath called you *out of dark-
ness into his marvelous light.*

C, G, B (Rev. 14:10)

And he shalbe punished *in fyre
and brimstone*

Also among the indeterminate references may be included Spenser's reference, in his letter to Raleigh expounding the allegory of the *Faerie Queene*, to "the armour of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul, v. Ephes."¹⁰ This is the sole instance in which Spenser refers by number to a chapter in the Bible, and in this instance his reference is incorrect: obviously he meant the *sixth* chapter (vv. 11, 12). But all versions agree in reading "the armour of God."

⁷ In the biblical citations which follow, *C* is used to designate Cranmer's version, *G*, the Genevan, and *B* the Bishops'. I have not always cited the same edition of *G*, but the variations between the editions are too slight, I believe, to affect the results of this investigation.

^a References in Spenser are to the Oxford edition, 1912.

^b Coverdale's translation in the four passages which follow agrees perfectly with *C*, *G*, and *B*. The spelling given is that of *B*.

¹⁰ Oxford edition p. 408.

In the large majority of Spenser's references, however, a choice is possible between the several biblical versions, as will appear from the following illustrations:

1. *F Q I vii* 43 8, 9 (Gen. 2:11-14)

Which Phison and Euphrates floweth by,
And Gehons golden waues doe wash continually.

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
Pison, Gihon, Euphrates	Pishón, Gihón, Peráth	Pison, Gihon, Euphrates.

2. *View of Ireland*,¹¹ p. 479 (Ex. 18:21)

followed the counsel of Jethro to Moses . . . *caplaynes* and wise men of trust.

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
<i>caplaynes</i> over thousands	<i>rulers of thousands</i>	<i>rulers of thousands</i>

3. *F Q III iv* 2 7,8 (Judges 4:14)

how stout *Debora* strake
proud *Sisera*

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
Sisara, Debora	Sisera, Deborah	Sisara, Debora.

4. *View of Ireland*, p. 365 (II Kings 2:8)

as you may read of *Elias mantell*

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
<i>Elia</i> toke his <i>mantell</i>	Then <i>Elijah</i> tooke his <i>cloake</i>	<i>Elias</i> took his <i>mantell</i>

5. *Daphnaida*, 411-3 (Job 9:25)

all times doo flye
So fast away and may not stayed bee
But as a speedie *post* that passeth by

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
My days are more <i>swift than a runner</i>	My days have been more swift than a <i>poste</i>	My days are more <i>swift than a runner</i>

6. *F Q III x* 52 1 (Job 38:12)

till day *spring* he *espyde*

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
shewed the <i>dayspring</i> his place	caused the <i>morning</i> to know his place	shewed the <i>dayspring</i> his place

7. *F Q I ix* 42, 4, 5 (Pa. 31:15)

Their *times* in his eternal book of fate
Are written sure.

¹¹ For this treatise references are to Todd's edition of Spenser, 1805.

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
My <i>time</i> is in thy hand	My <i>times</i> are in thy hand	My <i>time</i> is in thy hand

8. *F Q II* II 34 7,8 (Ps. 39:11)

And inly grieve as doth an hidden *moth*
The inner garment *fret*

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
as it were a <i>mothe</i> <i>fretynge</i> a garment	as a <i>moth</i> makest his beauty to <i>consume</i>	as a <i>moth</i> dooest <i>consume</i> his <i>excel- lencie</i>

9. *F Q II* VI 24 6, 7, (Ps. 65:13)

The fields did *laugh*, the flowers did freshly spring

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
The valleys shall stand so thicke with corne that they shall <i>laughe</i> and syng	The valleys also shal- be covered with corn; therefore they <i>shout</i> for joy and sing	The valleys stood thick with corn so that they <i>shoute</i> for joy and also sing

10. *F Q I* IV 21 4 (Ps. 73:7)

And eke with *fatnesse* swollen were his eyne

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
Theyr eyes <i>swell</i> <i>for fatnesse</i>	Their eyes <i>stand out</i> <i>for fatnesse</i>	Their eyes <i>swelle</i> with <i>fatnesse</i>

11. *F Q III* VI 3 1 (Ps. 110:3)

Her berth was of the *wombe* of *morning dew*

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
The dewe of thy youth and the <i>wombe</i> of the <i>morning</i>	the <i>youth</i> of thy womb [shalbe] as the <i>morning dew</i>	The <i>dewe</i> of thy birth is to thee from the <i>womb</i> as <i>from the morning</i>

(Coverdale: the dewe of thy byrth is of the wombe of the morning.
See Note 9 above.)

12. *View of Ireland* p. 498 (Matt. 6:33)

according to the saying of Christ Seeke first the kingdome of
Heaven and the Righteousnesse thereof

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
kingdome of heaven and the <i>righteousnesse</i>	<i>kyngdom</i> of heaven and the <i>righteousnesse</i> therof	kyngedome of God and his <i>ryghteous- nesse</i>

13. *Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 225, 226 (Luke 2:7)

Beginne from first where he encradled was
In simple *cratch* wrapt in a wad of hay

<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>B</i>
layde him in a <i>manger</i>	layd him in a <i>cratch</i>	layde him in a <i>manger</i>

14. *M H T* 477, 478 (Gal. 5:1)

We be not tyde in willful chastitie
But have the gospel of full *libertie*

C	G	B
Stand fast therefore in the <i>liberty</i> wherewyth Christ hath made us free	Stand fast therefore not <i>contrarily wrap</i> yourselves in the <i>yoke</i> of <i>bondage</i>	Stand fast therefore in the <i>libertie</i> where- with Christ hath made us free

15. *Hymne of Heavenly Love* 171 (Heb. 1:3)

Most lively *image* of thy father's face

C	G	B
Very <i>image</i> of his sub- stance	Engraved <i>form</i> of his person	very <i>image</i> of his substance

16. *F Q I* 193 (II Pet. 1:5)

Add *faith* unto your force and be not faint

C	G	
in your fayth <i>minister</i> and <i>virtue</i>	<i>joyne</i> more over <i>virtue</i> with your faith	And herunto give al diligence in your fayth <i>minister vertue</i>

17. *View of Ireland*, p. 502 (Rev. 14:15)

to looke out into Godes *Harvest* which is ever ready for the
sickle and all the fields fallow long agoe

C	G	B
Thrust in thy sharpe <i>sickle</i> and gather the clusters of the vine- yard of the earth for her grapes are ripe	Thrust in thy <i>sickle</i> and reape; for the time is come to reape, for the <i>harvest</i> of the earth is ripe	Thrust in thy <i>sickle</i> and repe, for thy time is come to reape

18. Sonet, *I saw new Earth, new Heaven*, 3, 4 (Rev. 21:2)

The holy citie of the Lorde from hye
Descended *garnisht* as a loved spouse

C	G	B
<i>garnished</i> for her husband	<i>prepared</i> as a bride <i>trim-</i> <i>med</i> for her husband	prepared as a bride <i>garnished</i> for her husband

The results of this comparison may be summarized as follows;
in Nos. 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17 Spenser is closer to the Genevan.
In 4, to the Bishops'; in 2, 8, 9, 17 to Cranmer's; in 1, 6, 10, 14, 15
to Cranmer's or the Bishops'; in 3, to any one of the versions.
Thus we find only one clear case of the use of the Bishop's

Bible, seven of the Genevan,¹² four of Cranmer's, but since five may be either Cranmer's or the Bishops', it is safest to infer that they are Cranmer's, and that the reading of the Great Bible, had made a slightly deeper impression than any later version.

Spenser is, therefore, conservative or at the most eclectic in his appropriation of the Scriptures¹³. His sincere interest in them is none the less manifest. So well saturated is he in biblical material that he leads one to take seriously this statement of the printer to the Gentle Reader.¹⁴ "I understand that he [Spenser] wrote besides sundrie others namelie *Ecclesiastes*, and *Canticum Canticorum* translated. . . . Besides some other pamphlets loosely scattered abroad: as the Houres of the Lord, the Seven Psalms etc." Grosart¹⁵ even conjectures that the *Psalms* versified by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke may have been Spenser's gift to this elect lady. Rejecting this pleasant but daring supposition, we should, however, remember the popularity of such metrical versions.¹⁶ Harvey, for instance, delighted in "the sweet Psalms of King David royally translated by Buchanan,"¹⁷ and thus concluded the praise of this translator's Proverbs: " . . . but how few Buchanans! Such lively springs of streaming eloquence, and such right olympicall hilles of mountinge witte: I cordially recommend to the deere Lovers of the Muses: and namely to the professed son of the same, Edmund Spenser" etc. It is certainly possible that Spenser felt himself a sufficiently competent Hebraist to versify directly certain poetical books of the Old Testament.¹⁸ The beauty of Spenser's devotional poetry in the *Hymne of Heavenly Love* and

¹² The evidence from the prose, *The View of Ireland*, in which, relieved of metrical adjustment, Spenser could quote exactly, is divided. See cases 2, 4 (Crammer's); 12, 17 (Genevan).

¹³ It may be said in passing that Tyndale's New Testament version appears to have no influence upon Spenser's phrasing.

¹⁴ Preface to the *Complaints*, Oxford edition, p. 470.

¹⁵ *Complete Works of Spenser*, I, 99.

¹⁶ The metrical renderings of Sternhold and Hopkins to be sung in church appear in some Genevan versions. See *The Bay Psalm Book*, as reprinted by the New England Society in the City of New York, p.v.

¹⁷ *Four Letters*, edited by Grosart, I, 218.

¹⁸ Spenser has nearly sixty references or allusions to Psalms, Ecclesiastes and Canticles.

the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* leads one to regret his absence among gifted contributors to English hymnology.

The deep religious feeling of *Heavenly Love* and *Heavenly Beautie* has been studied heretofore chiefly in connection with Spenser's well recognized Platonism, and neo-Platonism. Miss Winstanley's admirable work¹⁹ makes unnecessary further mention of the poet's debt to the *Symposium*, the *Phædrus* and the commentary of Ficino on the former. But the exact relation in the *Hymnes* of the Platonic and the distinctly Christian theology needs reexamination. The fusion of these two elements has interested a number of Spenserian scholars.²⁰ But the prevalence of the Christian coloring has not yet been recognized. Spenser's Platonism voices itself partly in biblical phrasing even in the first two Hymns, *Love* and *Beautie*. In the later pair he is of course predominantly Christian both in phrasing and conception.

Let us see first his conception of the creation of man and the origin of souls, and the kindling of love in the Christian heart. The idea of love as the all-creative force in this line,

The world that was not till he did it make (*Hymne of Love*, 75)
and in

For ere this world's still moving mighty mass
Out of great chaos ugly prison crept (*Ibid.*, 57, 58).

though Platonic in origin, is not really dissimilar to the thought implied in Genesis 1:2 and 1:9 respectively.²¹ Moreover it is significant that Spenser thought of the soul in this love-created world not as pre-existent but "derived. . . . At first out of that great immortal spright" (*Hymne of Beautie*, 106, 7). He delights in the simple proclamation, "Let us make man in our own image."

Such he him made, that he resemble might
Himselfe as mortal thing immortall could (*Heavenly Love*, 113, 114).

¹⁹ The *Four Hymnes*.

²⁰ See Greenlaw, "Spenser's Influence on *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in Phil.* XVII, 320-359; Fletcher, "Spenser's *Four Hymnes*," *P.M.L.A.* XXVI, 452-75; Harrison, *Platonism in English Poetry*, pp. 185ff; Padelford, "Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *Mod. Phil.* XII, 1-18; "Spenser's *Four Hymnes*," *Journ. Eng. and Ger. Philol.* XIII, 418-83.

²¹ See *The Four Hymnes*, p. lxi.

Man is thereby "lord of every living wight" (*Ibid.*, 115) and the recipient of "all gifts of wit and knowledge" *Heavenly Beautie*, 9, 10; cf. Prov. 2:6).

His spirit is

most beautiful and fayre
Endowed with wisdomes riches heavenly rare (*Heavenly Love*
110-112).

Thoroughly Johannine is the emphasis on the coexistence of Christ with God

before all time prescribed
In endlesse glorie and immortal might (*Heavenly Love*, 36, 37)
and the descent of the Saviour

Out of the bosom of eternal blisse
In which he reigned with his glorious syre (*Ibid.*, 134, 135).
to breathe

that Sovereaine light²²
From whose pure beams al perfect beauty springs
That kindleth love in every godly spright (*Heavenly Beautie*,
295-7; cf. John 1:9)

Inspired by this all illuminating love of Christ is the reciprocal devotion of the soul for Christ the Redeemer and afterward for the brethren:

As he himself hath loved us aforehand
And bound thereto with an eternal band
Him first to love that us so dearly bought
And next our brethren to his image wrought (*Heavenly Love*. 186-9; cf. Matt. 5:43).

A similar thought, the obligation to share with other souls the light of life, occurs in *Heavenly Beautie*, lines 10-14:

To shed into my breast some sparkling light
Of thine eternal truth that I may show
Some little beames to mortall eyes below
Of that immortal beautie there with thee
Which in my weake distraughted minde I see.²³

²² See the comment on this, *The Foure Hymnes* p. 57. Compare the phras in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, vv. 839-842:

For long before the world he was y-'bore
And bred above in Venus bosom deare:
For by his powre the world was made
And all that therein of you wondrous doth appear.

Again, the transforming power of love, as expressed in *Heavenly Love*, 118, 119—

For love doth love the thing beloved to see
That like itself in lovely shape may be—

is close to Paul's conception in 2 Corinthians 3:18: "But we all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord are changed into the same image from glory even as by the spirit of the Lord" (A. V.).²⁴ Lastly this expression, embedded in a passage which has been traced to the Symposium²⁵

And all that pompe to which proud minds aspyre
By name of honor and so much desire
Seems to them basenesse, and all riches drosse,
And all mirth sadness, and all lucre losse (*Heavenly Beauty*, 277-280)

shows how easily Spenser drops into biblical phrasing. He is close to the Apostle's words: "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord" (Phil. 3:8 A. V.).

Of all Spenser's conceptions in the *Four Hymns* the most discussed is that of Sapience. Various opinions as to the meaning of the term have been expressed. Miss Winstanley discerns²⁶ an appreciation of the rich mediæval imagery which decked the Virgin in regal splendor, though the conception in general, she feels, Spenser drew from Diotima in the *Symposium*. A Catholic devotee of the poet²⁷ once wrote wistfully apropos of "the lovely description of the Eternal Wisdom which found its

²⁴ Compare *Amoretti*, LXVIII 12, 14:

With love may one another entertayne . . .
Love is the lesson which the Lord us taught.

²⁵ Spenser is nearer Luke than Plato in a phrase which Miss Winstanley derives from the latter (*The Four Hymnes* p. lvii):

At length him nayled on a gallows tree
And slew the just by most unjust decree (*Heavenly Love* 153, 154).

In referring to Christ's death why should Spenser have in mind "the fate of the just man as given in the *Republic*" when a biblical author twice calls Jesus "the Just?" (See Acts 3:14 and 7:52). The three versions (C, G, B,) agree in rendering *τὸν ἁγίον καὶ δίκαιον* "The Holy and the Just One."

²⁶ *The Four Hymnes*, p. 75.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁸ E. Hickey, "Catholicity in Spenser," *America Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXXII, 491.

incarnation in the Mother of our Lord," "it would be difficult to study his works without feeling that in some ways he was less far from the kingdom of God, by which, of course, I mean the church, than many of his readers would have us believe." Though, to be sure, Spenser harks readily back to old conceptions to suit his artistic purpose,²⁸ the source, is neither Plato, in whom the phrasing is distinctly dissimilar, nor mediæval hymnology, but, as Osgood has discovered, the Apocryphal Books of Wisdom.²⁹ His arguments in favor of this as an underlying source seem to me so convincing as to make all other sources less important. Since I had arrived independently at this conclusion before reading Osgood's article, I shall add a word or two of confirmation.

We are today prone to forget that the importance of the Apocrypha continued from the Middle Ages into the sixteenth century and later. Moreover the Book of Wisdom was still familiar by its Vulgate name, Sapience, for in the preface of Cranmer's Bible it is so designated. In the preface to the Bishops' Bible the adjective Sapiential is used with a distinctly theological significance: "In lists of biblical book groupings Sapiential were named those where in the wisdom of Christ is expressed by examples and precepts of godly living given by his Apostles." (These books begin with Romans and include the rest of the New Testament). Spenser may have had with Sapience connotations as thoroughly biblical as we have with the Apocalypse. A blending of the theme of the Book of Sapience in the Old Testament and the New Testament significance of Sapiential seems to suit well Spenser's conception. That the rare beauty of the Book of Sapience should have delighted him is not only likely but highly probable. The imagery would certainly be congenial. His idealistic fancy appropriated it, however, in a curiously interesting and eclectic fashion. Where it is sensuous, he borrows; where it hardens into a pragmatic parallel of wisdom and unwisdom, drawn from Oriental daily life, he will have none of it. But he has referred in all to more than twenty verses or passages.³⁰

²⁸ The Seven Deadly Sins passage, (*F. Q. I* iv) illustrates the point.

²⁹ "Spenser's Sapience," *Studies in Philology*, XIV, 169.

³⁰ To Osgood's list I should add *Heavenly Beautie*, 239-241 (Wisdom 9:16); *ibid.*, 246, 247 (Wisdom 10:10); *ib.* 53; 61, 62 (Wisdom 13:3). Osgood remarks

Accepting the Book of Sapience as an underlying source, what, may we conclude, does Sapience stand for in Spenser's thought? Fletcher believes that the conception represents the God-Christ in the "distinct yet mysteriously identical person of the Holy Ghost, conceived of as feminine, as the Gnostics had conceived the Pnuma or Holy Spirit."²¹ Padelford, though not rejecting the identification of Sapience with the Holy Ghost, suggests that Spenser may have intended to signify "the Logos, or Mind of Christ, as distinguished from the Christ of the third hymn, the redemptive love of God."²² In a word, Sapience represents some aspect of either the Second or the Third Person of the Trinity. Against the argument in favor of Sapience as the Holy Spirit is the obvious difference intended between the

Most almightie Spright

From whom all gifts of wit and knowledge flow

invoked in the second stanza and a figure climactically introduced into the radiant vision of God in heaven as the "soveraine darling of the Deity." To identify Sapience with the Second Person as the Logos is, I believe, very close to Spenser's real thinking. But closer still is a comprehensive attribute of the First Person, a Wisdom which includes an especially energizing force, both creative and providential. Now of all the attributes of God dealt with in the Scriptures wisdom is the most elaborated. Even the ineffably discerning Pauline treatment of charity or love, in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, involves personification of only the barest type. But the

in a note that Spenser's borrowing's from the Apocrypha are slightly nearer the Genevan version than the Bishops'. A careful examination of Cranmer's, the Genevan, and the Bishops' leads me to decide against the Genevan. The clearest cases of difference—very slight, to be sure—are as follows:

- (1) *H. H. B.* 62 (*Wisdom 13:3*)

And so much *fairer*

C.

G

B

more *fayrer*

more *excellent*

more *fayrer*

- (2) *Sh Cal May*, 74 (*Ecclus. 13:1*)

Who touches pitch mought needes be defilde

C

G

B

Who so toucheth pytch He that toucheth pytch Who so toucheth pytch

²¹ "Benievieni's Ode of Love and Spenser's Four Hymnes," *Mod. Philol.* VIII, 546.

²² Spenser's "Four Hymnes," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.* XIII, 425.

Hebrew imagination is rich in its portrayal of wisdom, the attainment of which by man is the goal of human endeavor, and a linking of the human with the divine. It is, then, an easy step for Spenser, building upon his scheme of love, beauty, heavenly love and heavenly beauty, influenced partly by Platonic, and neo-Platonic, but more by thoroughly biblical conceptions, entirely to identify Wisdom and Heavenly Beauty as a second attribute of God the Father, the first being Love expressed in Christ's redemptive power. Note the broad functions of Sapience: She rules the "House of God on hy," "the unmoving sky," the inhabitants of earth as well as heaven; she was present in creation; she has nourished and enriched the soul prepared for her gifts. At times she comes close to the ever beneficent Providence of God, and in all the functions there is nothing discordant with the conception of Wisdom in the Apocrypha. The emphasis on beauty in the Book of Sapience (an extension of the conception in Proverbs), concentrated in a way unique in the Scriptures argues again for the fusion of the attributes of Wisdom and Heavenly Beauty.

The fascination Heavenly Beauty exercised upon Spenser is peculiarly revealing. It illustrates preëminently what in general is indicated by his devotion to the Scriptures: a certain steadfastness of purpose, a curious sort of simplicity deserving greater praise than hitherto bestowed. He had once thought of certain biblical translations or versifications, in the fashion of youthful poets to whom all projects beckon. As a mature artist he was still obedient to the heavenly visions opening through the Scriptures. He responded abundantly, reverently, even ecstatically to the impulse within him to clothe them in perfect beauty. His task was in one respect far harder than that of his predecessors who had portrayed high spiritual adventure. Dante, DeGuileville, Malory, for instance, were heirs of the ancient church. Spenser, one of the first children of the consummated Reformation, must forego much that had been alluring in the rich heap of traditions. Yet he succeeded in building an allegory of life out of elaborately beautiful mediæval materials without the distinct symbolism and allegorism so fundamental in the mediæval church. In his newly enlightened age he used his freedom as a simple, devoted, eclectic reader of the Scrip-

tures, and a poet "rightly dividing the word of truth," reconciling supremely the ever insistent claims of sense and soul.

II

It remains to consider this evidence as to the Bible which Spenser used in its bearing upon the larger question of Spenser's attitude toward the religious parties of his day. If the result of our investigation had been to disclose a preference for the Genevan version the case for Spenser's Puritanism would have been materially strengthened. On the other hand, a consistent or general use of the Bishops' Bible would have tended to identify him with the Anglican party. The foregoing investigation, however, has not established either of these conclusions. Indeed, such preference as appears from Spenser's Biblical quotations was for neither the Genevan nor the Bishop's Bible, but for the Great Bible, the version of Spenser's childhood—although in weighing the significance of this fact one should bear in mind the obvious tendency in quoting from memory to revert to the phrases familiar in youth.

The eclectic method, however, which is exemplified in Spenser's Biblical quotations and allusions may fairly be regarded as evidence of his hospitality of mind. And, without attempting to discuss thoroughly the vexed question of Spenser's doctrinal and ecclesiastical affiliations, I desire to reaffirm his Calvinistic leanings but at the same time to insist that these do not necessarily stamp him as a Puritan.

Among recent arguments to establish the poet as Puritan the most vigorous are those by Padelford,³³ who presents a detailed analysis of Spenser's Calvinism, which he thinks "would have satisfied the most austere Puritan." However, he would class the poet not with extremists of the Puritan party, but with Grindal. Hughes believes Spenser "to have agreed with most of Cartwright's opinions," yet to have given his preference to Grindal.³⁴ Long remarks that Spenser "not only praises Grindal and Young [the Bishop of Rochester] after it had become

³³ "Spenser's Four Hymnes," *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XIII, 427ff; "Spenser and the Spirit of Puritanism," *Mod. Philol.* XIV, 36; "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 91ff; "Spenser and the Theory of Calvin," *Mod. Philol.*, XII, 9.

³⁴ "Spenser's Blatant Beast," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XIII, 273.

indiscreet to do so, but attacks the Bishop of London with vehemence."³⁶ Greenlaw holds a somewhat modified view of Spenser's Puritanism, which he terms "not doctrinal, but political."³⁶ In marked contrast to Padelford he considers the poet as not even in any way interested in the doctrinal aspects of Calvinism.³⁷ The advocates of a change in Spenser's attitude, from warm Puritanism to a Low Church position, are fewer but no less definite. Miss Winstanley believes firmly that his strongly Calvinistic views underwent considerable modification³⁸ Higginson expresses his opinion unreservedly: "My conclusions tend to prove that Spenser, in the years preceding his Irish employment, was an ardent thorough-going Puritan of the controversial type, and therefore make him to be more radical than his biographers, for supposed lack of evidence, have been disposed to believe him."³⁹ For the change from his "searching radicalism exhibited in the *Shepherd's Calender* to the Low Church position of the *Faerie Queene*" he assigns four reasons: "the mild influence of years," the concentration in Ireland of the Anglican and Puritan elements against the common enemy Catholicism; the patriotism stirred in Spenser by his employment under the government; his love of Elizabeth Boyle, which lessened his interest in religious controversy. Padelford, too, though not accepting any material change in Spenser's opinion, thinks he "may have grown somewhat more conservative with years and with long public service."⁴⁰ Quite another opinion is that of Tolman, the advocate of Spenser's consistent and unaltered Low Church views.⁴¹ He advances as an important argument his belief that Harvey's views were clearly non-Puritan and that Spenser in all probability agreed with Harvey.⁴² However, the weight of evidence still favors

³⁶ See *P.M.L.A.*, XXXI, p. 729.

³⁷ "The Shepheardes Calender," *P.M.L.A.*, XXVI., 448.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

³⁹ "Spenser's Puritanism," *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, III. 6-10, 103-110.

⁴⁰ James J. Higginson, *Spenser's Shepherd's Calender in Relation to Contemporary Affairs*, N. Y. 1912, p. 39; see also pp. 157 and 160.

⁴¹ "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," *Mod. Philol.* XI, 105.

⁴² "The Relation of Spenser and Harvey to Puritanism," *Mod. Philol.* XV, 549-64.

⁴³ De Selincourt considers Harvey "a strong Puritan (Oxford edition of Spenser, p. ix). The editor of his marginalia, G. C. Moore Smith, objects to

such an opinion as Lowell expressed long ago: "With the more generous side of Puritanism I think he [Spenser] sympathized to the last." That Spenser was Calvinistic there is, I believe, little doubt. Not only are Padelford's views hard to set aside, but capable of further emphasis and extension. Calvinism rings in Spenser's confidence in the Scriptures as the all-sufficient guide of life, exemplified in Una's request to Fidelia to become the teacher of celestial discipline.⁴³ The definite theology in reference to the Fall,⁴⁴ and to the sentence of death upon every sinner⁴⁵ is closely akin to the idea of depravity and the entire impotence of the human understanding until freed by Christ:

Whose counsels depths thou canst not understand
Sith of things subject to thy daily vew
Thou doest not know the causes nor their courses dew
(*F Q V* II 426-428).

There is in general a readiness to accept and glorify the will of God as preëminently just:

And he that high doth sit and all things see
With equall eye their merits to restore.

Compare also:

Resembling God in his imperial might
Whose souveraine power is herein most exprest
That both to good and bad he dealeth right

his being called a Puritan and believes him "too much a man of the Italian Renaissance to be a very fervent Christian." But we cannot overlook Harvey's genuine interest in religious matters, as expressed in his glowing praise of the Prayer Book: *Ecce elegans atque praeagnans tractatus in authentico Libro Precum publicarum in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana . . . cuius ignarus plane asinus ad lyram Ecclesiasticum. Certum mea, tuaque refert illum ediscere disertum praeagnantem tractatum De Anno et partibus eius. (Marginalia, p. 163).* Furthermore, he like Spenser, is enamoured of the Apocalypse as "the verie notablest and most wonderful Propheticall or Poetical Vision" that he had ever read." (See *A New Yeres Gift*, Osford edition of Spenser, p. 628), His marginal comments in general show decided biblical impress. Is it, in fact, quite possible that his eagerness "to avoid all semblance of being a Puritan," to quote Long ("Spenser and the Bishop of Rochester," *P.M.L.A.* XXXI, 730), arose because he was really marked, by more than one "od point of puritanism or praecisionism," though he disclaimed it?

⁴³ *F Q I* x 19

⁴⁴ *F Q I* XI 47 8, 9

⁴⁵ Padelford, "Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *Mod. Philol.* VII, 5.

And all his workes with justice hath bedight (*F Q* Introd.
to Book V, 10, 3-6).

Linked with the thought of justice is that of providence:

Providence heavenly passeth living thought
And doth for wretched mens relief make way
(*F Q* III v 27, 1, 2).

A similar expression is found here:

Eternal providence exceeding thought
Where none appears can make herself a way
(*F Q* I vi 7 1, 2).

To Spenser's mind the doctrine of Divine Justice, which he thus emphatically accepts, is in harmony with that of foreknowledge. Miss Winstanley remarks, apropos of

Faire Knight, borne under happy starre (*F Q* I i 27 3):

"Spenser was really a Calvinist . . . but he put his belief in predestination in classical language."⁴⁶ Yet he is really quite dogmatic in regard to election:

Faire Knight (quoth he) Hierusalem that is . . .
The new Hierusalem that God hath built
For those to dwell in, that are chosen his,
His chosen people purg'd from sinfull guilt" (*F Q* I x 57 1-4)

Just as clear is Una's belief that

Where justice grows, there grows the greater grace (*F Q* I ix 53 6).

But the most interesting declaration of Spenser's belief in election occurs in the Sapiaentia passage:⁴⁷

For she out of her secret treasury
Plentie of riches forth on him will poure,
Even heavenly riches . . .
Which mighty God hath given to her free
And to all those which therof worthy bee.

None thereof worthy be, but those whom shee
Vouchsafeth to her presence to receave
And letteth them her lovely face to see
(*Heavenly Beautie* 246-248; 253-255).

⁴⁶ *The Faerie Queene*, Book I, p. 237.

⁴⁷ See in general the discussion by Padelford, "Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *Mod. Phil.* XII, 8; "Spenser's Four Hymnes," *J.E.G. Pk.* XIII, 429

Furthermore, the doctrine of election runs in proper Calvinistic fashion into that of the final preservation of the saints.⁴⁸

To continue this credal test, let us examine Spenser's references to the sacraments. Padelford would have the poet rather mystical, and unlike Calvin in regarding the sacraments as more efficacious than the Word itself.⁴⁹ This inference rests on his interpretation of the box of diamond enclosing a "few drops of liquor pure" (*F Q I ix 19*), given by Arthur to the Red Crosse Knight, and the response of the other by the gift of a book

Wherein his Saviour's testament

Was writ with golden letters rich and brave.

The liquor represents communion wine; the volume the Book of Common Prayer. This interpretation is to me unacceptable, for the book is far more probably, if not even obviously, the New Testament itself. In any case, the "few drops of liquor pure" are less efficacious than the book, which is "able soules to save." Again Spenser is giving primacy to the Word, in true Calvinistic fashion.

But if we accept him as a Calvinist shall we necessarily consider him a Puritan? In all discussions of Spenser's religious and ecclesiastical predilections, Calvinism and Puritanism have been practically interchangeable terms. But the Puritans had no monopoly of Calvinistic doctrine. It was accepted by the majority of loyal Anglicans.⁵⁰ The time has come for a fresh evaluation of the term Puritan as applied to Spenser. We have read history backward and colored the sixteenth century with connotations of the seventeenth. By way of illustration note the tests applied by G. C. Moore Smith to determine Harvey's religious position: a strong sense of personal religion; a spirit of self-humiliation; a disposition to despise this life in comparison with that which is to come; and a fanatical intolerance of ceremonial in religion.⁵¹ The tendencies suggested here belong rather to the Cromwellian Puritan. On the other hand, we have underestimated the trend of many orthodox Churchmen toward Puritanism in Spenser's first three decades. In 1563 the Conven-

⁴⁸ *F Q I viii I*.

⁴⁹ "Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *Mod. Philol.* XII, 7.

⁵⁰ Klein, *Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 136.

⁵¹ Gabriel Harvey's *Marginalia*, p. 54.

tion of Bishops heard the following proposals: that saints' days be abolished; that the use of the cross in baptism be omitted; that kneeling at the communion table be left to the ordinary's discretion; that organs be removed from the churches; and that the minister should use the surplice only in saying service and administering the sacraments.⁵² These proposals were *rejected by a majority of one*.⁵³ Though the vestiarian controversy was destined to run hotly, even Parker did not regard vestments as essential matters, but "worthy of observation because of order and decency even if Parliament and sovereign had not ordained that within the English Church such habits and such ritual should be observed." Still more important was this declaration: "That any kind of government is so necessary that without it the church cannot be saved or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought more expedient, I utterly deny."⁵⁴ It seems clear that neither the conservative nor the radical wing of English Protestantism was marked in Spenser's youth by unalterable fixedness of views. By the time of his maturity Cartwright had written both of his Admonitions to Parliament. Thereafter essential interest in condemnation of abuses changed to concern for a particular form of church polity, the Presbyterian.⁵⁵ Many of those who refused to follow Cartwright "contented themselves with remaining in the church as churchmen with Precisionist tendencies." It is time to abandon the term Puritans for such a group and accept Precisionists as the name for such churchmen as declined to ally themselves with any distinct groups of dissenters and remained in favor of modified Anglicanism. The term may be defended as intelligible in Spenser's day: as the most definite expression possible for the moderate dissenter in Anglican ranks; and lastly, as free from the implication of an ultimate thorough going radicalism.

But to return to Spenser. His Calvinism will not serve as a shibboleth. Shall we be able to judge him Precisionist or Low

⁵² Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁵⁶ See the work of Higginson and Greenlaw in particular. Help may be expected from the forthcoming study by F. F. Covington, Jr., of Spenser's years in Ireland.

Anglican? The decision must be made in the light of his ecclesiastical and political rather than strictly credal views. Special students of his ecclesiasticism are still at variance.⁵⁶ When they agree, the matter may be settled once for all. In the meantime I wish, however, to emphasize two points not hitherto stressed. First, there is not the slightest indication in the *View of Ireland* of waning religious ardor. The sage and serious Spenser is concerned with the religious as well as the political affairs of a poor and bleeding country, using Old Testament parallels and New Testament precept, even Apocalyptic imagery, to illustrate his points. Secondly, the moderation of his earlier views, as critics have found them expressed in the *Shepherds Calender*, may be only apparent. Granted that he was once a Precisionist, as the weight of evidence inclines one to believe, the supposition of his change of view weakens when we realize that although the reforming party in England was moving in the last quarter of the century to a more pronounced position, Spenser was out of England almost all of this time and was therefore removed from the scene of conflict. He was more likely to remain *in statu quo* than to follow a somewhat distant radical movement. In a word, his views were probably unaltered rather than modified; therefore, though by comparison with *fin de siècle* Precisionists he may to us seem reactionary, in reality he may have been as radical as he had been in his youth. Accordingly, too much weight should not be attached to his remarks in the *View of Ireland* commendatory of the English ecclesiastical system.⁵⁷ Spenser is here of course opposing in general Protestantism to Catholicism. Furthermore there is no disparity between the Spenser, who, if Miss Winstanley is right, shows a touch of the Puritan in objecting to the altar carvings described in the castle of Orgoglio,⁵⁸ and the Spenser who condemns "our late too nice fooles" for saying "there is nothing in the seemly forme and comely order of the church." In fact, is it not significant that at this point Spenser refrains from an invective against religious radicals? If he had swung over to pronounced Anglicanism he could hardly have avoided an outburst.

GRACE WARREN LANDRUM

⁵⁷ *View of Ireland*, Todd's edition, p. 501 ff.

⁵⁸ *FQ*, I viii 36. See Miss Winstanley's edition of Book I, p. 267

APPENDIX

SPENSER'S BIBLICAL REFERENCES AND ALLUSIONS

Texts previously pointed out by Upton, Winstanley, Kitchin, Gough, Riedner, Osgood or Blakeney, are marked with an asterisk. In several cases I have substituted for one text another decidedly closer to Spenser's thought, in my judgment, but have marked such a text by an asterisk. Moreover, a few texts, so far-fetched as to be negligible, I have omitted altogether. A few others, chiefly from Upton, I have kept somewhat doubtfully. Parallel passages to a particular text selected as basal for Spenser I have disregarded. Accordingly, I have dropped some texts from Riedner's list, which includes parallels. But Osgood's parallels in his study of Sapience, I have retained (1) as drawn from Apocryphal material, and comparatively unfamiliar; (2) as affording a convenient means for re-examining the whole basis of Osgood's deductions.

References to the *View of Ireland* are from Todd's edition of the works; all others are from the Oxford edition of the Poetical Works.

<i>Sh Cal</i> Maye 45, 46	John 10:12	<i>Sh Cal</i> Nov. 186	1 Cor 15:31
<i>Sh Cal</i> Maye 51-54	Rom 14:10	<i>Astroph</i> 21, 22	2 Sam 15:6
<i>Sh Cal</i> Maye 54	*1 Pet 2:25	<i>Astroph</i> 59, 60	1 Chron. 29:15
<i>Sh Cal</i> Maye 74	Ecclus 13:1	<i>Daphn.</i> 41	*Heb. 11:21
<i>Sh Cal</i> Maye 103-7	Deut. 18:1	<i>Daphn.</i> 201, 202	Gen. 18:23
<i>Sh Cal</i> June 10	*Gen 3:23	<i>Daphn.</i> 267-9	Rev. 19:9
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 49, 50	1 Pet 2:25	<i>Daphn.</i> 274-5	Eccles 2:23
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 49, 50	Matt 21:1	<i>Daphn.</i> 285, 286	Rev. 7:9, 10
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 51, 52	Ezek 34:14	<i>Dapdn.</i> 295-7	*Luke 2:35
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 51-52	Num 1:38	<i>Daphn.</i> 372-6	Ps. 42:3
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 73	Ex. 19:2	<i>Daphn.</i> 395, 396	*Ps. 103:15
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 127-150	*Gen :3-4	<i>Daphn.</i> 411-3	Job 9:25
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 141, 142	*Gen 46	<i>Amoret</i> IX 13, 14	John 1:4
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 160	*Ex 33:11	<i>Amoret</i> XXVII 2	Eccles 1:2
<i>Sh Cal</i> Julye 161-4	Ex 31:1-4	<i>Amoret</i> LVIII 1,2,9,10	2 Cor 1:9
<i>Sh Cal</i> Sept. 96	1 Pet 2:25	<i>Amoret</i> LVIII 8	1 Pet 1:24
<i>Sh Cal</i> Sept. 96, 97	Matt 20:28	<i>Amoret</i> LVIII 11, 12	1 Cor 10:12
<i>Sh Cal</i> Sept. 112	*Rom 12:20	<i>Amoret</i> I.XVIII 1, 2	1 Cor 15:20
<i>Sh Cal</i> Sept. 184-192	Matt 7:15	<i>Amoret</i> LXVIII 3, 4	Ephes 4:8
<i>Sh Cal</i> Sept. 238	*Matt 26:41	<i>Amoret</i> LXVIII 7	Rev. 1:5
<i>Sh Cal</i> Nov. 163	Matt 16:18	<i>Amoret</i> LXVIII 11	1 Cor. 6:20

<i>Amoret</i> LXVIII 12,14	John 15:12	<i>FQ I VIII</i> 29 2	Rev. 17:4
<i>FQ I I</i> 2 4	*Rev. 1:18	<i>FQ I VIII</i> 36 1-3	*Rev. 6:9
<i>FQ I I</i> 4 2	*Matt. 21:7	<i>FQ I VIII</i> 36 6, 7	Luke 18:7
<i>FQ I I</i> 5 3-6	*Is. 49:23	<i>FQ I VIII</i> 44 8	*Job. 19:24
<i>FQ I I</i> 8 6	*Ezek. 17:22	<i>FQ I VIII</i> 45 9	Rev. 17:4
<i>FQ I I</i> 19 3	2 Pet. 1:5	<i>FQ I VIII</i> 45 9	Rev. 17:4
<i>FQ I I</i> 27 3	*Rom. 8:20	<i>FQ I VIII</i> 50 1-5	*Rev. 12:6
<i>FQ I II</i> 12 9	Luke 18:4	<i>FQ O IX</i> 19 7, 8	*Matt. 26:28
<i>FQ I II</i> 13 1-6	*Rev. 17:4	<i>FQ I IX</i> 42 2, 3	Ps. 78:15
<i>FQ I III</i> 4 6	*Rev. 19:8	<i>FQ I IX</i> 42 4	*Ps. 31:15
<i>FQ I III</i> 7	Judg. 14:18	<i>FQ I IX</i> 46 5	Job 20:28
<i>FQ I III</i> 7	3 Is. 31:4	<i>FQ I IX</i> 47 1, 2	Ps. 145:9
<i>FQ I IV</i> 2 8	8 *Matt. 7:13	<i>FQ I IX</i> 47 5, 6	*Ps. 104:35
<i>FQ I IV</i> 4 1	*Dan. 4:30	<i>FQ I IX</i> 47 5, 6	Ezek. 18:4
<i>FQ I IV</i> 5 3-6	*Matt. 7:26	<i>FQ I IX</i> 48 1, 2	Luke 2:35
<i>FQ I IV</i> 6 7	*Matt. 7:13, 14	<i>FQ I IX</i> 8, 9	Rev. 14:10
<i>FQ I IV</i> 9 4	*Acts 7:59	<i>FQ I IX</i> 54 9	Rev. 20:14
<i>FQ I IV</i> 12 1	*Is. 14:12	<i>FQ I X</i> 1 1, 2	Eph. 2:8(9
<i>FQ I IV</i> 21 4	*Ps. 73:7	<i>FQ I X</i> 1 5	Jer. 17:5
<i>FQ I V</i> 2 3, 4	*Ps. 19:5	<i>FQ I X</i> 38 6-9	Matt. 6:20
<i>FQ I V</i> 17 3, 4	*Luke 10:34	<i>FQ I X</i> 1 1, 2	Eph. 2:8-9
<i>FQ I V</i> 47 1-3	*Dan. 3:1-7	<i>FQ I X</i> 37 4-9	*Luke 14:13, 14
<i>FQ I V</i> 47 4, 5	*Dan. 4:30	<i>FQ I X</i> 1 5	Jer. 17:5
<i>FQ I V</i> 47 8	2 Mac. 9:8-10	<i>FQ I X</i> 2 7-9	*1Pet. 5:2
<i>FQ I V</i> 47 8, 9	2 Mac. 6:1-5	<i>FQ I X</i> 4 6-8	1Cor. 13:13
<i>FQ I V</i> 48 1	*Gen. 10:8, 9	<i>FQ I X</i> 5 3, 4	Matt. 7:7
<i>FQ I VI</i> 7 1, 2	Eph. 3:20	<i>FQ I X</i> 5 9	*Matt. 7:13
<i>FQ I VII</i> 7 1, 2	Matt. 19:26	<i>FQ I X</i> 10 3-8	*Matt. 7:13,14
<i>FQ I VI</i> 19 6	*Ex. 20:5	<i>FQ I X</i> 10 9	Gal. 3:1
<i>FQ I VI</i> 35 7	*Gen. 32:10	<i>FQ I X</i> 13 2-4	Mark 14:17
<i>FQ I VI</i> 35 7	*Gen. 32:10	<i>FQ I X</i> 13 8-9	Rev. 5:1
<i>FQ I VII</i> 6 3	Rev. 22:1	<i>FQ I X</i> 13 9	*2Pet. 3:16
<i>FQ I VII</i> 16 1, 8, 9	*Rev. 17:3	<i>FQ I X</i> 19 3-6	Rev. 22:10
<i>FQ I VII</i> 18 4	*Rev. 12:3, 4	<i>FQ I X</i> 19 5, 6	Eph. 2:8
<i>FQ I VII</i> 18 8, 9	*Rev. 12:3	<i>FQ I X</i> 19 6	Ps. 89:14
<i>FQ I VII</i> 21 2	*1 Sam 25:37	<i>FQ I X</i> 19 6	Rom. 3:24
<i>FQ I VII</i> 31 5, 6	Eccles 12:5	<i>FQ I X</i> 19 6	Eph. 2:5
<i>FQ I VII</i> 43 7-9	*Gen. 2:11-14	<i>FQ I X</i> 19 8, 9	*2Cor. 3:6
<i>FQ I VIII</i> 1 1, 2	Rom. 7:21	<i>FQ I X</i> 20 1, 2	*Josh. 10:12
<i>FQ I VIII</i> 1 4	2 Cor. 12:9	<i>FQ I X</i> 20 3	*2Kings 20:10
<i>FQ I VIII</i> 10 9	*Ex. 17:6	<i>FQ I X</i> 20 4	*Judges 7
<i>FQ I VIII</i> 13 1-3	*Rev. 17:3, 4	<i>FQ I X</i> 20 5	*Heb. 11:29
<i>FQ I VIII</i> 27 6, 7	Ps. 145:9	<i>FQ I X</i> 20 6-9	*Matt. 21:21

<i>F Q I x</i>	23 9	James 1:4	<i>F Q I xii</i>	23 1	*Rev. 12:1
<i>F Q I x</i>	26 1-3	Jonah 3:6	<i>F Q I xii</i>	24 1, 2	*Rev. 19:8
<i>F Q I x</i>	26 3	Dan. 9:3	<i>F Q I xii</i>	26 1	Gen. 2:8
<i>F Q I x</i>	27 3	*Ps. 11:2	<i>F Q I xii</i>	36 2	*Rev. 20:2
<i>F Q I x</i>	32-9	*Ps. 116:7	<i>F Q II ii</i>	34 7	*Ps. 39:11
<i>F Q I x</i>	37 4-9	*Luke 14:13, 14	<i>F Q II iii</i>	7 6	*2 Sam. 9:8
<i>F Q I x</i>	38 6-9	Matt. 6:20	<i>F Q II iii</i>	24 6-8	*Cant. 4:11
<i>F Q I x</i>	38	2Cor. 9:8	<i>F Q II iii</i>	28 1	*Cant. 5:15
<i>F Q I x</i>	39 7	Gen. 1:26	<i>F Q II iii</i>	29 7-8	*Cant. 7:7
<i>F Q I x</i>	40 8, 9	1Pet. 3:19	<i>F Q II iv</i>	36 3-5	*John 5:14
<i>F Q I x</i>	41 9	*Eccles. 11:3	<i>F Q II v</i>	10 2	*Job. 39:9, 10
<i>F Q I x</i>	42 3-5	Is. 62:5	<i>F Q II vi</i>	15 8	*Matt 6:26-29
<i>F Q I x</i>	42 6	*Gen. 1:26	<i>F Q II vi</i>	16 8-9	Matt 6:28
<i>F Q I x</i>	43 1-3	James 1:27	<i>F Q II vi</i>	24 6, 7	*Ps. 65:13
<i>F Q I x</i>	48 8, 9	Rom. 8:13	<i>F Q II vi</i>	36 3-6	*Prov. 15:1
<i>F Q I x</i>	50 2, 3	Ps. 27:4	<i>F Q II vii</i>	8 1	*Matt. 6:24
<i>F Q I x</i>	51 7	Gal. 3:16	<i>F Q II vi</i>	8 1	*John 12:31
<i>F Q I x</i>	51 7, 8	Rev. 8:3	<i>F Q II vii</i>	8 2	Luke 16:13
<i>F Q I x</i>	53 1	*Rev. 21:10	<i>F Q II vii</i>	9 1-2	Matt. 4:8,9
<i>F Q I x</i>	53 1,2,6,9	*Ex. 24:18	<i>F Q II vii</i>	12 1, 2	1Tim. 6:10
<i>F Q I x</i>	53 1-6	*Acts 7:30	<i>F Q II vii</i>	15 1-9	*Matt. 6:25
<i>F Q I x</i>	53 2-5	*Ex. 14:21	<i>F Q II vii</i>	16 7	*Jer. 5:8
<i>F Q I x</i>	53 8	Rom. 5:20	<i>F Q II vii</i>	61 2-9	Matt 27:24
<i>F Q I x</i>	53 6-9	Ex. 24:12,17	<i>F Q II vii</i>	61 2-9	Matt 27:24
<i>F Q I x</i>	54 1-4	*Matt. 24:3	<i>F Q II vii</i>	62 3-6	Matt. 20:19
<i>F Q I x</i>	55 3	Rev. 21:10	<i>F Q II vii</i>	62 3-6	*Rev. 22:14
<i>F Q I x</i>	55 5	Rev. 21:21	<i>F Q II vii</i>	62 3-9	Mark 15:11
<i>F Q I x</i>	55 8-9	Ps. 48:2	<i>F Q II vii</i>	62 8, 9	Matt. 27:24
<i>F Q I x</i>	56 1-5	Ex. 33:11	<i>F Q II viii</i>	1 8, 9	Heb. 11:14
<i>F Q I x</i>	57 1-4	Rev. 3:12	<i>F Q II viii</i>	2 5	*Heb. 1:14
<i>F Q I x</i>	57 2, 3	John 14:3	<i>F Q II viii</i>	28 1-3	Job. 9:33
<i>F Q I x</i>	57 5-7	Gal. 3:13	<i>F Q II viii</i>	29 1-6	*Ex. 20:5
<i>F Q I x</i>	57 7	1Pet. 1:19	<i>F Q II viii</i>	40 7, 8	Hos. 13:8
<i>F Q I x</i>	57 8, 9	Is. 66:14	<i>F Q II ix</i>	21 5-7	Gen. 11:4, 5
<i>F Q I xi</i>	30 2-5	*2Kings 5:14	<i>F Q II ix</i>	47 1-3	Gen. 1:2-6
<i>F Q I xi</i>	30 6-8	*John 9:7	<i>F Q II ix</i>	57 2	Gen. 5:27
<i>F Q I xi</i>	34 2, 3	Ps. 103:5	<i>F Q II x</i>	50 2-4	John 1:14
<i>F Q I xi</i>		*Gen. 2:2-9	<i>F Q II x</i>	50 3, 4	1Cor. 15:22
<i>F Q I xi</i>	47	Gen. 2:16-3:22	<i>F Q II xii</i>	3 9	*Ps. 114:3
<i>F Q I xi</i>	47 8, 9	1Cor. 15:22	<i>F Q II xii</i>	23 6	*Job. 41:1
<i>F Q I xi</i>	52	*Ps. 16:10	<i>F Q II xii</i>	52 9	*Gen. 2:8
<i>F Q I xii</i>	21 5-8	*Cant. 6:10	<i>F Q II xii</i>	87 6-8	2Pet 2:22
<i>F Q I xii</i>	22 7-8	*Rev. 19:7, 8	<i>F Q II xii</i>	87 6-8	*Rev. 22:11

<i>FQ</i> III i 34 3	*Ex. 26:1	<i>FQ</i> V ii 42 5-9	Rom. 11:33
<i>FQ</i> III ii 11 6-9	*John 16:21	<i>FQ</i> V ii 43 1-4	*2Esdras 4:5-10
<i>FQ</i> III iii 24 3-5	*Ps. 37:5	<i>FQ</i> V ii 45 6-8	*Ps. 62:9
<i>FQ</i> III iii 30 1, 2	*Gen. 49:9	<i>FQ</i> V iii 37 5	Jer. 48:37
<i>FQ</i> III iv 2 7, 8	*Judg. 4:14	<i>FQ</i> V iv 2	*Matt. 16:28
<i>FQ</i> III iv 59 3, 4	Ps. 145:9	<i>FQ</i> V iv 22 9	*Judges 9:54
<i>FQ</i> III v 23 7, 8	Mark 9:44	<i>FQ</i> V v 39 3	Hos. 2:15
<i>FQ</i> III v 27 1, 2	Eph. 3:20	<i>FQ</i> V i 6, 7	*1Cor. 10:12
<i>FQ</i> III v 35 1, 4	Matt. 4:11	<i>FQ</i> V vi 27 1, 2	*Matt. 26:34
<i>FQ</i> III v 52 1-5	John 1:14	<i>FQ</i> V vii 1 6	2Chron. 9:8
<i>FQ</i> III vi 3 1	*Ps. 110:3	<i>FQ</i> V viii 2 1-3	*Judges 16:17
<i>FQ</i> III vi 34 4-6	*Gen. 1:28	<i>FQ</i> V ix 29 1, 2	Is. 6:3
<i>FQ</i> III ix 2 6-8	Is. 14:12	<i>FQ</i> V x 28 7	Gen. 1:26
<i>FQ</i> III ix 39 7-8	Ps. 90:6	<i>FQ</i> V xi 19 5-7	2Kings 23:10
<i>FQ</i> III x 52 1	*Job. 38:12	<i>FQ</i> V xii 1 3	James 2:19
<i>FQ</i> III x 55 2	2Sam 22:11	<i>FQ</i> Intro. to	
<i>FQ</i> III xi 9 2-7	Ps. 94:3	VI 5 4, 5	1Cor. 13:12
<i>FQ</i> III xi 3	Jude 14	<i>FQ</i> VI i 2 5, 6	*2Sam. 15:6
<i>FQ</i> IV i 20 1:6-7	Matt. 7:13	<i>FQ</i> VI i 41 5, 6	Matt. 7:5
<i>FQ</i> IV i 22 1	*Dan. 4:30	<i>FQ</i> VI i 42 1, 2	*James 2:13
<i>FQ</i> IV i 22 7	Gen. 10:9	<i>FQ</i> VI ii 23 7-9	*Prov. 26:27
<i>FQ</i> IV i 30 2-4	Ps. 145:9	<i>FQ</i> VI vi 7 6-8	1Pet. 3-10
<i>FQ</i> IV ii 2	1Sam. 16:22, 23	<i>FQ</i> VI vi 7 6-9	John 2:16
<i>FQ</i> IV iii 3 7	*Gen. 7:11	<i>FQ</i> VI vi 14 1-4	James 4:7
<i>FQ</i> IV vii 40 1-3	*1Sam. 4:12	<i>FQ</i> VI vi 14 7	1Cor. 7:5
<i>FQ</i> IV viii 1 3, 4	*Prov. 16:14	<i>FQ</i> VI viii 24 1-3	Ps. 56:8
<i>FQ</i> IV viii 31 1	Is. 11:6	<i>FQ</i> VI viii 49 6, 7	Matt. 25:46
<i>FQ</i> IV x 27	*1Sam. 18:1	<i>FQ</i> VI xi 25 5, 6	*Joel. 2:13
<i>FQ</i> IV X 30 6-7	1Kings 5	<i>FQ</i> VI xii 26 7	*Dan. 7:7
<i>FQ</i> IV xii 6 5	Ps. 145:9	<i>FQ</i> VII vi 2 7-9	Gen. 6:3
<i>FQ</i> Intro. to		<i>FQ</i> VII vii 7 3-9	Mark 9:2-6
V, 10 2-5	Matt. 5:45	<i>FQ</i> VII vii 41 4	Luke 2:10
<i>FQ</i> Intro. to		<i>FQ</i> VII vii 59 4, 5	*1Cor. 15:51
V 10 6	Jer. 23:5	<i>FQ</i> VII viii 2 1-7	*1Cor. 15:51
<i>FQ</i> V i 15 7	*Matt. 20:11	<i>FQ</i> VII viii 2 7-9	*Rom. 9:29
<i>FQ</i> V i 26 1	1Kings 3:16-27	<i>H L</i> 20	Ps. 36:7
<i>FQ</i> V ii 27 9	*Deut 9:21	<i>H L</i> 57-58, 70	Gen. 1:2
<i>FQ</i> V II 32	*2Esdras 4:13-21	<i>H L</i> 183	*Wis. 1:4, 5
<i>FQ</i> V ii 35 1-4	Is. 20:12	<i>H L</i> 195, 196	2Cor. 3:18
<i>FQ</i> V ii 41 5	Prov. 8:15	<i>H H L</i> 31	Heb. 1:3
<i>FQ</i> V ii 41 7	*Ps. 75:7	<i>H H L</i> 36-9	Heb. 1:3
<i>FQ</i> V ii 41 8	Job 1:21	<i>H H L</i> 37	John 14:26
<i>FQ</i> V ii 41 9	Matt. 20:15	<i>H H L</i> 61, 62	Matt. 25:21

<i>H H L</i> 71, 74	Rev. 21:25	<i>H H L</i> 235	2Cor 8:9
<i>H H L</i> 74	Is. 35:10	<i>H H L</i> 237	Matt. 4:23
<i>H H L</i> 83, 84	Jude 6	<i>H H L</i> 238	Is. 53:3
<i>H H L</i> 87, 91	Jude 6	<i>H H L</i> 239-245	*Matt. 27
<i>H H L</i> 87-89	Rev. 20:2	<i>H H L</i> 240	Matt. 26
<i>H H L</i> 99, 100	Zech. 13:1	<i>H H L</i> 241-242	Matt. 27:29
<i>H H L</i> 106	*Gen. 2:7	<i>H H L</i> 243	Matt. 27:29, 31
<i>H H L</i> 113-4	*Gen. 1:26	<i>H H L</i> 244	Matt. 27:38
<i>H H L</i> 113-4; 118-19	2 Cor 3:18	<i>H H L</i> 245	John 19:34
<i>H H L</i> 115	Gen. 1:29-30	<i>H H L</i> 246, 247	*Mark 15:25
<i>H H L</i> 120-125	Gen. 3	<i>H H L</i> 250, 251	1Cor. 15:2-3
<i>H H L</i> 132, 133	Rev. 5:9	<i>H H L</i> 260, 261	Matt. 22:37
<i>H H L</i> 133	1Cor. 6:20	<i>H B</i> 96, 98	Rev. 7:11
<i>H H L</i> 137	John 1:14	<i>H B</i> 106-9	*Ps. 89:6
<i>H H L</i> 138	*Rom. 6:23	<i>H B</i> 161	1Cor. 15
<i>H H L</i> 139, 140	Gen. 3	<i>H B</i> 206, 207	Matt 19:6
<i>H H L</i> 146, 147	Matt. 1:23	<i>H H B</i> 9, 10	Prov. 2:6
<i>H H L</i> 148, 149	Rev. 7:9, 10	<i>H H B</i> 10-12	Matt. 5:14, 16
<i>H H L</i> 148-151	1Pet. 1:19	<i>H H B</i> 10-14	Ps. 90:17
<i>H H L</i> 150-151	John 10:18	<i>H H B</i> 53, 61, 62	Wis. 13:3
<i>H H L</i> 152	Matt 27:39	<i>H H B</i> 59-60, 146-9	Ex. 33:20
<i>H H L</i> 153, 164	Acts. 3:14	<i>H H B</i> 69, 70	Rev. 22:5
<i>H H L</i> 154	Acts 7:52	<i>H H B</i> 78-81	Rev. 21:3
<i>H H L</i> 161	Rom. 5:10	<i>H H B</i> 92-95	*Is. 6:2
<i>H H L</i> 170	Rev. 22:16	<i>H H B</i> 93	1Kings 6:28
<i>H H L</i> 171	Heb. 1:3	<i>H H B</i> 96, 98	Rev. 7:11
<i>H H L</i> 172	Ps. 24:7	<i>H H B</i> 114, 115	Wis. 7:26
<i>H H L</i> 173-5	*John 1:29	<i>H H B</i> 152, 155	*Ps. 45:6
<i>H H L</i> 176-217	*John 15:9, 12	<i>H H B</i> 157, 158	Rev. 12:9
<i>H H L</i> 182-5	*Gal. 5:1	<i>H H B</i> 177	Wis. 9:4, 10
<i>H H L</i> 190-191	1John 4:19	<i>H H B</i> 183	*Wis. 1:4, 5
<i>H H L</i> 192, 193	Rev. 20:14	<i>H H B</i> 184, 185	*Prov. 8:30
<i>H H L</i> 194-6	Matt. 26:26	<i>H H B</i> 188	*Wis. 7:10
<i>H H L</i> 195	*John 6:35	<i>H H B</i> 188	*Wis. 8:1
<i>H H L</i> 205, 215	*Matt. 25:37-40	<i>H H B</i> 188, 207, 228	*Wis. 7:29
<i>H H L</i> 207, 208	John 13:34	<i>H H B</i> 200, 201	*Ecclus 24:3-7
<i>H H L</i> 207	*John 15:17	<i>H H B</i> 200	*Wis. 1:6, 7
<i>H H L</i> 209, 210	*Matt. 25:37-40	<i>H H B</i> 200	*Wis. 7:23-24
<i>H H L</i> 214-217	Luke 6:36	<i>H H B</i> 200-204	*Prov. 8:27
<i>H H L</i> 218-220	2Pet. 2:22	<i>H H B</i> 200-204	*Wis. 7:27
<i>H H L</i> 225-7	*Luke 2:7	<i>H H B</i> 200-204	*Wis. 9:9
<i>H H L</i> 228-30	Luke 2:7-18	<i>H H B</i> 207, 208	*Wis. 6:12
<i>H H L</i> 231	*Matt 2:1, 2	<i>H H B</i> 225, 226	Wis. 9:16

<i>H H B</i> 239-241	*Wis. 8:3, 4	<i>C C C H</i> 313	Matt. 9:20
<i>H H B</i> 239-241	*Wis. 8:21	<i>C C C H</i> 596, 597	Prov. 16:24
<i>H H B</i> 239-241	*Wis. 9:17	<i>C C C H</i> 605	*Gen. 7:11
<i>H H B</i> 244-252	*Prov. 8:17	<i>C C C H</i> 608, 9	1 Kings 7:50
<i>H H B</i> 244-252	*Prov. 8:21	<i>C C C H</i> 708, 9	Ex. 30:34
<i>H H B</i> 244-252	*Wis. 6:12-16	<i>C C C H</i> 719, 720	*Ps. 69:2
<i>H H B</i> 244-252	*Wis. 6:20-21	<i>C C C H</i> 839-848	John 1:3
<i>H H B</i> 244-252	*Baruch 3:15	<i>M H T</i> 109	*Gen. 7:11
<i>H H B</i> 244-252	*Wis. 7:10-11	<i>M H T</i> 438	*John 6:35
<i>H H B</i> 244-252	*Wis. 7:14	<i>M H T</i> 439	Is. 11:1
<i>H H B</i> 246, 247	*Wis. 10:10	<i>M H T</i> 440	Jer. 31:34
<i>H H B</i> 257-9	*Wis. 6:17-19	<i>M H T</i> 444	*1Pet 2:35
<i>H H B</i> 271-2; 198-301	*Wis. 16-18	<i>M H T</i> 463	Lev. 8
		<i>M H T</i> 465, 466	2Cor. 6:17
<i>H H B</i> 277-280	*Wis. 7:8, 9	<i>M H T</i> 471, 472	Rev. 8:3
<i>H H B</i> 288-295	*Prov. 9:5	<i>M H T</i> 478	Gal. 5:1
<i>H H B</i> 288-295	*Baruch 4:2	<i>M H T</i> 1329	1 Kings 11:11
<i>H H B</i> 295-7	John 1:9	<i>V W V</i> 2	2Cor. 5:1
<i>Epithal</i> 49	*Ps. 91:12	<i>V W V</i> 69, 70	Zech. 4:10
<i>Epithal</i> 148-150	Ps. 19:5	<i>V W V</i> 88	1 Kings 7:2
<i>Epithal</i> 177	Cant. 7:4	<i>V W V</i> 88	Cant. 3:11
<i>Epithal</i> 229, 230	Rev. 7:11	<i>V W V</i> 167(8)	1 Cor. 10:12
<i>Epithal</i> 240	Rev. 19:1	<i>R T</i> 55, 56	James 4:14
<i>Epithal</i> 422, 423	2Cor. 5:1	<i>R T</i> 71	Rev. 13:1
<i>I saw a Woman</i> 1, 2	Rev. 17:4	<i>R T</i> 206	Ps. 102:26
<i>I saw a Woman</i> 9, 10	Rev. 17:5, 6	<i>R T</i> 296	Rom. 12:1
<i>I saw a Woman</i> 14	Jer. 50:15	<i>R T</i> 351-7	Ps. 49:12
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 1	Rev. 21:1	<i>R T</i> 496, 197	Dan. 3:13, 14
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 1,4,5,6,8	Rev. 17:4, 5	<i>R T</i> 505-8	*Matt. 7:26
		<i>R T</i> 509, 510	*Gen. 11:4, 5
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 5-8	Rev. 7:17	<i>R T</i> 519-522	*Gen. 2:8
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 9	Rev. 21:16	<i>R T</i> 537-540	*1Sam. 17:4
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 9	Rev. 21:21	<i>R T</i> 583	Eccles 1:2
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 10	Rev. 21:12	Letter to Raleigh, Oxf. ed.	
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 11	Rev. 21:19	p. 408 50	Ephes. 6.11
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 11	Rev. 21:19,20	<i>V I</i> p. 365	*2 Kings 2.8
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 12, 13	*Rev.21:1	<i>V I</i> p. 373	Gen. 50:4
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 12, 13	*Rev.22:1	<i>V I</i> p. 388	Matt. 12:34
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 13, 14	Rev.21:12	<i>V I</i> p. 401	*Josh 4:3
<i>I saw New Earth</i> 14	Rev. 22:2	<i>V I</i> p. 408	1Pet. 4:17
<i>T M</i> 388-390	1John 4:7	<i>V I</i> p. 479	*Ex. 18:21
<i>T M</i> 511-516	Ps. 27:4	<i>V I</i> p. 480	Gal. 3:9
<i>C C C H</i> 313	Lev. 13:7	<i>V I</i> p. 498	*Matt. 6:33

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Argument, Oxf. ed., p. 420, ll, 17-22.

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Ex. 2

Februarie,

Emblem, 3

Ps. 90 1-4

Aprill,

Gloss on l. 51

Heb. 13:20

Maye,

Gloss on l. 111

Deut. 18:2

Maye,

Gloss on l. 171

Matt. 7:15

June,

Gloss on l. 10

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Julye,

Gloss on l. 1

Matt. 25:33

Julye,

Gloss on l. 52

Josh. 19:40

Julye,

Gloss on l. 127

Gen. 4

Julye,

Gloss on l. 142

Ex. 1:1-4

Julye,

Gloss on ll. 157-159

Ex. 34:35

November,

Emblem 8-10

1 Cor. 15:21

Translations

Visions of Bellay

11

Eccles. 1:2

Visions of Bellay

12, 13.

Ps. 90:1

R R

15

Daniel 4:30

R R

407, 408

Mark 4:28

Apocryphal Work

Thestylis

70, 71

1 Pet. 1:19

Thestylis

173, 4

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XXX

BURTON ON SPENSER*

ROBERT BURTON has never been known as a commentator on *The Faerie Queene* and he certainly did not aspire to that honor, but it is my purpose in this article to show that unconsciously he left a valuable set of notes on Spenser's work. Burton was not a critic and his one critical remark about *The Faerie Queene* sounds oddly to-day, although readers of M. Jusserand's remarks in his *Literary History of the English People* on Spenser's borrowings from Ariosto will remember some ideas that chime with what Burton says in the passage in question. In his analysis of love-melancholy in the Third Part of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* he remarked casually:

Our new Ariostoes, Boyards, Authors of Arcadia, Urania, Faerie Queene, &c., Marullus, Leotichius, Angerianus, Stroza, Secundus, Capellanus, &c., with the best of these facete modern poets have written in this kind, are but so many symptoms of love. Their whole books are a synopsis or breviary of love, the portuous of love, legends of lovers' lives and deaths, and of their memorable adventures, nay more, *quod leguntur, quod laudantur, amori debent*.¹

Burton knew his *Faerie Queene* and quoted Spenser at length on three distinct occasions,² each time betraying his membership in that select band of madmen whose reading has led them further into Spenser than the limit set by Macaulay for persons in their senses. Burton's study windows were some light-years from Lowell's. His interest in Spenser, like his perhaps greater interest in Chaucer, was very naively enthusiastic because both

* The edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* used is that published by J. W. Moore, Philadelphia, 1847. References are given first to Burton's divisions; the Parts are indicated by capital Roman numerals, the sections by small Roman numerals, the members by Arabic figures and the subdivisions, where they occur, by Arabic. Page references follow.

¹ III, ii, 3, 1, p. 522.

² (a) In II, i, 3, *F. Q.*, IV, ix, 1-2 is quoted. The reference is wrongly given as *F. Q.*, V., ix, 1-2.

(b) In III, ii, 2, 2, *F. Q.*, V, viii, 1, is quoted.

(c) In III, ii, 3, 1, *F. Q.*, IV, ii, 17, 7-18, 9, is quoted.

poets seemed to him to have written brilliant criticism of life. This feeling that Spenser is relevant to life, we have lost, thanks more to Lowell than to any other critic, but thanks mainly to time. In the nineteenth century readers of Spenser perhaps did best to take Lowell's advice and forget the allegory. To Burton such advice would have seemed as ridiculous as the counsel to neglect the allegory of *Jurgen* seems to our intelligent contemporaries.

The Anatomy of Melancholy is primarily, as Sir William Osler³ has said, "a medical treatise," but under their scientific disguise many of its themes are just those morbid and negative aspects of the virtues which furnish the titles to the several books of *The Faerie Queene*. Burton was aware of this and took it for granted. "Thou thyself art the subject of my discourse," he said to his readers, to whom he was offering a cure for the *mal de siècle*. The subject and the audience of both Burton and Spenser consisted of those English gentlemen to the perfection of whose manners and morals they both dedicated their work. There is, of course, not a jot of literary parallelism between Burton and Spenser, but they had a common fund of reading and ideas and a common desire to edify their contemporaries. It would be strange if the scientist, who was both a doctor and a divine, had not much light to throw upon the psychology, the ethics and the theology behind the poet's allegory. An attempt to trace all the beams of that light would lead to exaggeration and futility, but some of its main shafts enable the modern reader to see a side of *The Faerie Queene* which remained in darkness from the death of the last of the "Cambridge Platonists" until recent scholarship began to play upon Spenser, and which is still imperfectly appreciated even by scholars.

Burton was the first doctor to look at literature, although, as Professor Lowes⁴ has shown, much medical lore anent the morbid exaggerations of sexual love filtered into poetry from Chaucer to Shakespeare and "the whole medieval literature of love must be reread in its light."⁵ But Burton was a physician of the soul as well as of the body, and he agreed with the modern

³ *Yale Review*, January, 1914.

⁴ "The Lovers Maladye of Hereos," *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 491-546.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

psychiatrists that "complexes," "phobias" and "perversions" are the root of many physical ills. He was a philosopher also—by which I mean that he was not primarily a Pyrrhonist—and happened to be an orthodox Christian and Platonist of the school to which Spenser had also belonged and whose philosophy—or theology—Spenser stated very succinctly in his *Four Hymnes*.⁶

The object of Christian charity—the chief end of man—Burton agreed with Spenser and all the Platonists who tried to reconcile Christian mysticism with their philosophic faith, was God's beauty, and from deviations from that æsthetic passion came melancholy and all the ills to which flesh is heir.

Amongst those other attributes that God doth vindicate to himself, eternity, omnipotency, immutability, wisdom, majesty, justice, mercy, &c., his beauty is not the least; one thing, saith David, I have desired of the Lord, and that I will still desire, to behold the beauty of the Lord, *Psal.* xxvii, 4.⁷

And to make it sure that he speaks as an initiate of the Platonic mystery Burton adds in a footnote, "*deus bonus, justus, pulcher juxta Platonem*."⁸ He knew the whole Platonic literature of the Renaissance and elsewhere⁹ he quotes Piccolomini and Ficino as interpreters of the doctrine of love derived from the *Symposium* and traces their thought back to Plotinus. No greater adept of Platonism—the poetic gift aside—than Burton ever lived. In a passage of lyric improvisation and quotation intertwined he celebrates the *visio præcellens*,

... as Austin calls it (*In Psal.* 85), the quintessence of beauty this, "which far exceeds the beauty of heavens, sun, moon, stars, angels, gold and silver, woods, fair fields, and whatsoever is pleasant to behold." All those other beauties fail, vary, are subject to corruption, to loathing; "But this is an immortal vision, a divine beauty, an immortal love, an indefatigable love and beauty, with sight of which we shall never be tired nor weary, but still the more we see the more we shall covet him." . . . In this life we have but a glimpse of this beauty and

⁶ Vide Professor J. B. Fletcher's "Study in Renaissance Mysticism: Spenser's *Four Hymnes*," *P. M. L. A.*, XXVI, 452-475.

⁷ III, iv, 1, 1, p. 594.

⁸ Cf. *Hymne of Love*, 112-140, 169-175, *Hymne of Beauty*, 99-137, *Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 29-35, 113-119, 176-182.

⁹ III, i, 1, 2.

happiness: we shall hereafter as John saith, see him as he is: thine eyes, as Isaiah promiseth, xxxiii. 17, "shall behold the king in his glory," then shall we be perfectly enamoured, have a full fruition of it, desire, behold and love him alone as the most amiable and fairest object, or *summum bonum*, or chiefest good.¹⁰

This entire subsection¹¹ of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, if it had not been read for its own sake, might have been studied by humanists and divines contemporary with Burton as a vindication of the philosophical and theological orthodoxy of *The Fowre Hymnes*. For modern humanists it is a very suggestive bibliography of Spenser's sources and for his ideas a foreground which gives them vital perspective. With the passage from *The Anatomy* quoted in the preceding paragraph compare Spenser's far more labored exposition of the same thought in *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*:

But we fraile wights, whose sight cannot sustaine
The suns bright beames, when he on us doth shyne,
But that their points rebutted back againe
Are duld, how can we see with feeble eyne
The glory of that Majestie Divine,
In sight of whom both sun and moone are darke,
Compared to his least resplendent sparke?

The meanes, therefore, which unto us is lent,
Him to behold, is on his workes to looke,
Which he hath made in beauty excellent,
And in the same, as in a brasen booke,
To reade enregistred in every nooke
His goodnesse, which his beautie doth declare,
For all thats good is beautifull and faire.

Thence gathering plumes of perfect speculation,
To impe the wings of thy high-flying minde,
Mount up aloft, through heavenly contemplation,
From this darke world, whose damps the soule do blynd,
And like the native brood of eagles kynd,
On that bright Sunne of Glorie fixe thine eyes,
Clear'd from grosse mists of fraile infirmities.¹²

¹⁰ III, iv, 1, 1, p. 595.

¹¹ III, iv, 1, 1.

¹² *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, 120-140.

II

About the "heavenly contemplation" through which Spenser invites us "to mount up aloft" Burton furnishes much illumination.

It is the eye of contemplation by which we must behold it, the wing of meditation which lifts us up, and lifts our souls with the motion of our hearts and sweetness of contemplation: "so saith Gregory, cited by Bonaventura"¹³

Burton says that "this beauty and 'splendor of the divine Majesty', (Fulgor divinae majestatis, Aug.)¹⁴ is it which draws all creatures to it to seek it, love, admire and adore it".¹⁵

Burton himself was no stranger to this discipline, as he tells us with more than a dash of Montaigne's humor mingled with his own piety in the introduction of *Democritus Junior to the Reader*.

In a word [he says] Democritus was *omnifariam doctus*, a general scholar, a great student; and to the intent that he might better contemplate . . . he put out his eyes . . . and was in his old age voluntarily blind, yet saw more than all Greece besides, and writ of every subject

I [he continues] am not poor, I am not rich; *nihil est, nihil deest*; I have little; I want nothing; all my treasure is in Minerva's tower . . . though I live still a collegiate student as Democritus in his garden, and lead a monastic life; *ipse mihi theatrum*, sequestered from those tumults and troubles of the world, *et tanquam in spectacula positus*,¹⁶ in some high place above you all, like *Stoicus Sapiens*, *omnia saecula, praeterita, praesentiaque videns, uno velut intuitu*, I hear and see what is abroad, how others run, ride, turmoil and macerate themselves in court and country.¹⁷

So the "high, lonely tower" where Democritus Junior cultivated the Cherub Contemplation was no stranger to the Epicurean calm of Montaigne's study, and though Burton spoke of himself as a sapient Stoic, he did so in language echoing Lucretius' pleasure in watching from his philosophic rock the miseries of life's storm-tossed mariners.

¹³ III, iv, 1, 1, p. 596.

¹⁴ Attributed to Heinsius.

¹⁵ Augustine

¹⁷ *Democritus to the Reader*, pp. 15-17, passim.

¹⁶ III, iv, 1, 1, p. 594.

Burton knew his Church Fathers and was aware that Contemplation is a myriad-minded Cherub. He recalled that Cyprian¹⁸ "adviseeth Donat, 'supposing himself to be transported to 'the top of some high mountain and thence to behold the tumults and chances of this wavering world, he cannot chuse but either laugh at or pity it.'"¹⁹ Burton was in several minds about the contemplative life. He exemplified it as well as any man in England by living "retired, a collegiate scholar" in Brasenose College, and taking "something like fifty years to provide himself with the great and extraordinary learning that appears everywhere in . . . *The Anatomy of Melancholy*."²⁰ Avowing Aristotle and Montaigne as his exemplars, he modestly followed Bacon in taking all knowledge to be his province and set out to be "*centum puer artium*," as he modestly phrased it.²¹ Contemplation meant for him infinite delving in libraries, and if he had had laboratories at hand, it would undoubtedly have meant much curious dissecting and classifying after the manner of Democritus Senior and of Aristotle.

This scientific and Aristotelian contemplative ideal is inter-fused with a touch of mysticism.

Democritus was blind; yet as Laertius writes of him, he saw more than all Greece besides; as Plato concludes, *Tum sane mentis oculis acule incipit cernere, cum primum corporis oculus deflorescit*, when our bodily eyes are at worst, then the eyes of our soul see best.²²

We are reminded of Milton's

The hairy gown, the mossy cell
Where I may sit and rightly spell
Of every star that Heaven doth shew,
And every herb that sips the dew;
Till old experience doth attain
To something like prophetic strain.²³

The contemplative ideals of the medieval hermit and of the seventeenth century scholar, fused, were balanced in the Milton

¹⁸ "Ep. 21. 2. ad Donatum." Burton's reference.

¹⁹ *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 28.

²⁰ *A Short History of English Literature* by George Saintsbury, p. 378.

²¹ *Democritus to the Reader*, p. 16.

²² II, iii, 2, p. 345.

²³ *Il Penseroso*, lines 169-175.

of the Horton period, but they were never quite reconciled in Democritus Junior. In Part I of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, where the "World's Illusion" is his theme and he is full of Christian disillusion with life, Burton seems almost ready to accept the simple, eremitical ideal of contemplation that Spenser presents in the First Book of *The Faerie Queene*. There Spenser personifies Contemplation as an old man living in the House of Holiness and healing the Red Cross Knight of the wounds that he has suffered in the dungeons of Orgoglio. Red-cross visited

. . . . an aged holy man
That day and night said his devotion,
Ne other worldly business did apply:
His name was Heavenly Contemplation;
Of God and goodnes was his meditation.

Great grace that old man to him given had;
For God he often saw from heavens hight,
All were his earthly eyen both blunt and bad,
And through great age had lost their kindly sight,
Yet wondrous quick and persaunt was his spright,
As eagles eie, that can behold the sunne.²⁴

In Part III of *The Anatomy*, where Burton is discussing Religious Melancholy, he writes about the eremitical ideal of contemplation almost in the spirit in which Flaubert wrote *La Tentation de saint Antoine*.

Not that those things (contemplation, solitariness and meditation) are to be discommended of themselves, but very behoveful in some cases and good; sobriety and contemplation join our souls unto God, as that heathen Porphyry can tell us. "Ecstasy is a taste of future happiness, by which we are united unto God, a divine melancholy," a spiritual wing Bonaventura terms it, to lift us up to heaven; but as it is abused, a mere dotage, madness, a cause and symptom of religious melancholy Lavator, *de spec. cap.* 19, *part* 1, *cap.* 10, puts solitariness a main cause of such spectrums and apparations; none, saith he, so melancholy as monks and hermits; "none so subject to visions and dotage in this kind, as such as live solitary lives, they hear and act strange things in their dotage."²⁵

²⁴ *F. Q.*, I, x, 46, 5—47, 6.

²⁵ III, iv, 1 2, p. 611.

In the thirty years between the publication of the first three books of *The Faerie Queen* in 1590 and the first publication of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* in 1621 the ideal of the contemplative life came of age. The child was recognizably father to the man, but it had lost its innocence to the *libido sciendi*. The meditations of Democritus Junior, though he was a cloistered divine and was even capable of talking of plucking out his eyes to sharpen his spirit's sight, busied themselves with many other themes than "God and His goodness."

It is hard to tell how seriously Spenser took his idealization of Heavenly Contemplation. He was not so well read as Burton yet Professor Greenlaw has shown that he was, for æsthetic purposes at least, an enthusiastic disciple of the materialistic thought of Lucretius.²⁶ In general, the First Book of *The Faerie Queene* seems to be built upon lines traced by a conception of the Christian virtue of holiness which conforms to the Aristotelian dogma that every genuine virtue must be a mean subtly maintained between two extremes. The principle enjoyed Procrustean prestige in the Renaissance and Burton conceived the religious life in no other terms. Superstition and atheism were for him the extremes between which holiness, by the grace of God, oscillated, and he began his discussion of religious melancholy by stating that theory. Following Hercules de Saxonia²⁷ he says,

Love melancholy is two-fold; the first is that (to which peradventure some will not vouchsafe this name or species of melancholy) affection of those which put God for their object, and are altogether about prayer, fasting, &c., the other about women.²⁸

Burton then goes on, "for method's sake," to divide religious melancholy into "two extremes, of defect and excess, impiety and superstition, idolatry and atheism."²⁹ In the first class are

all superstitious idolaters, ethnics, Mahometans, Jews, heretics, enthusiasts, diviners, prophets, sectaries, and schismatics; . . . all which, with many other curious persons, monks and hermits, &c., may be ranged in this extreme, and fight under the superstitious

²⁶ "Spenser and Lucretious" *Studies in Philol.*, April, 1921.

²⁷ "Lib. 1, pract. med. cap. 16. cap de malanch." Burton's reference.

²⁸ III, iii, 1, 1, p. 593.

²⁹ III, iii, 1, 1, p. 598.

banner, with those rude idiots and infinite swarms of people seduced by them. In the other extreme or defect march those impious epicures, libertines, atheists, hypocrites, infidels, worldly, secure impenitent, unthankful, and carnal-minded men, that attribute all to natural causes, that will acknowledge no supreme power; that have cauterized consciences or live in a reprobate sense; or such desperate persons as are too distrustful of his mercies.³⁰

The First Book of *The Faerie Queene* might be read as a fanciful allegorization of the ideas given us by Burton here, and in a very real sense Spenser's Legend of Holiness was a great tapestry illustrating the best liberal religious thought of the English Reformation. It is not fanciful to see in his Saracens and Paynims, in the name of one of whom, Sansjoy,³¹ we seem to have a hint of the melancholy that is the penalty of loss of religious faith, figures which illustrate Burton's extreme of defective love of God, and in Abessa, Corcecca³² and Ignaro³³ we have embodiments of the superstitious extreme. Burton's treatment of orthodox Christianity as a mean between superstition and atheism was an inevitable outcome of the *via media* in theology pursued by Elizabeth and it is the very essence of the English Reformation. It began with Erasmus and culminated with the Latitudinarianism of the seventeenth century. Bacon gave it classic expression in the *sayEss*. Spenser's ideas about religion were inevitably shaped in accordance with it, though he may not have been so explicitly aware of it as he was of the philosophical ideas upon which two later books of *The Faerie Queene* were based.

"That grand sin of atheism or impiety" Burton makes the utmost pole of the extreme of defective love toward God.

Melancthon [he says] calls it *monstlosam melancholicam*, monstrous melancholy; or *venenatam melancholicam*, poisoned melancholy. A company of cyclops or giants, that war with the gods, as the poets feign, antipodes to Christians, that scoff at all religion, at God himself. . . . Ask one of them what religion he is, he scoffingly replies, a

³⁰ III, iii, 1, p. 598.

³¹ Professor Padelford in *The Allegory of the First Book of the Faerie Queene*, p. 30, speculatively identifies Sansjoy with the melancholy Cardinal Pole. His evidence and reasoning are persuasive and, if correct, make against the interpretation which I offer.

³² *F. Q.*, I, iii, 18.

³³ *F. Q.*, I, viii, 31.

philosopher, a Galenist, an Averroist, and with Rabelais a physician, a peripatetic, an epicure. In spiritual things God must demonstrate all to sense, leave a pawn with them, or else seek some other creditor. They will acknowledge Nature and Fortune, yet not God; though in effect they grant both, for as Scaliger defines, Nature signifies God's ordinary power; or, as Calvin writes, Nature is God's order. . . . To this purpose Minutius in *Octavio*, and Seneca well discourseth with them, *lib. 4, de beneficiis*, cap. 5, 6, 7. "They do not understand what they say; what is Nature but God? call him what thou wilt, Nature, Jupiter, he hath as many names as offices; it all comes to one pass, God is the fountain of all, the first Giver and Preserver from whom all things depend, *a quo, et per quem omnia, Nam quacunq; vides deus est, quocunq; moveris* (Austin), God is all and in all."²⁴

Burton acknowledges that he owes to the feigning of the poets his metaphor that calls God's enemies, the skeptics, "cyclops or giants." He owed it to no one more than to Spenser, though the idea was so prevalent in the Renaissance as to be almost a convention. All of Spenser's capital villains are of the brood of the giants. Orgoglio is the first of them.

The greatest Earth his uncouth mother was,
And blustering Æolus his boasted sire.²⁵

The Squire of Dames traces the whole genealogy of Argante and Ollyphant from their Cyclopean forbears:

That geauntesse Argante is behight,
A daughter of the Titans which did make
Warre against heven, and heaped hills on hight,
To scale the skyes, and put Jove from his right:
Her syre Typhoeus was, who, mad through merth,
And dronke with blood of men, slaine by his might,
Through incest her of his owne mother Earth
Whylome begot, being but halfe twin of that berth.

For at that berth another babe she bore,
To weet, the mightie Ollyphant, that wrought
Great wreake to many errant knights of yore.²⁶

The Blatant Beast is the offspring of Typhaon and Echidna²⁷.
And finally Mutabilitie herself

²⁴ III, iv, 2, 1, pp. 631-632.

²⁵ *F. Q.*, III, vii, 47, 1-48, 3.

²⁶ *F. Q.*, I, vii, 9.

²⁷ *F. Q.*, VI, vi, 9-12.

.... was, to weet, a daughter by descent
 Of those old Titans that did whylome strive
 With Saturnes sonne for heavens regiment;
 Whom though high Jove of kingdome did deprive,
 Yet many of their stemme long after did survive.³⁸

Mutabilitie is the goddess of the scoffers for whom "in spiritual things God must demonstrate all to sense" and who "will acknowledge Nature and Fortune, yet not God." Mutabilitie appeals

.... to the highest him, that is beight
 Father of gods and men by equall might,
 To weet, the god of Nature.³⁹

In this appeal she was echoing the whole conscious movement of thought in Spenser's century from Grotius' resort to the idea of natural law in the field of jurisprudence to Hooker's frank dependence upon the same principle in *The Ecclesiastical Polity*.⁴⁰ The issue was as old as Democritus and Epicurus. Boethius offered one of the first religious solutions.⁴¹ Spenser's conclusion is less unequivocal than Burton's. Spenser has the "god of Nature" say,

I well consider all that ye have sayd,
 And find that all things stedfastnes doe hate
 And changed be; yet being rightly wayd,
 They are not changed from their first estate;
 But by their change their being doe dilate:
 And turning to themselves at length againe,
 Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate:
 That over them Change doth not rule and raigne;
 But they raigne over Change, and doe their states maintaine.⁴²

The key to Spenser's statement that things by changing dilate their being and work their own perfection and ultimately "raigne over Change, and doe their states maintaine" is probably furnished on a chance reference by Burton⁴³ to the *ewig Weibliche* as *varium et mutabile* and as "capable of any impression as *materia prima* itself that still desires new forms."

³⁸ *F. Q.*, VII, vi, 2.

³⁹ *F. Q.*, VII, vii, 58.

⁴⁰ *F. Q.*, VII, vi, 35.

⁴¹ III, ii, 5, 3, p. 543.

⁴² *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I, iii, 2.

⁴³ *De consolatione Philosophiae*, IV, meter 6, and II, meter 8.

In his description of the Gardens of Adonis Spenser himself states the theory that the *materia prima* remains forever perdurable through all mutations:

The substaunce is not chaungd nor altered,
But th' only forme and outward fashion;
For every substaunce is conditioned
To chaunge her hew, and sondry formes to don,
Meet for her temper and complexion:
For formes are variable, and decay
By course of kinde and by occasion.⁴⁴

What is the *materia prima* but Nature or God? "Call him what thou wilt, Nature, Jupiter, he hath as many names as offices; it all comes to one pass. God is the fountain of all, . . . God is all and in all."

Burton's study of the varieties of defective love toward God ends with "such desperate persons as are too distrustful of his mercies" and to them he devoted the five last sections of his book.⁴⁵ Theirs is a specific form of melancholy.

This pernicious kind of despair is . . . *homicida animae*, the murderer of the soul, as Austin terms it, a fearful passion, wherein the party oppressed thinks he can get no ease but by death and is fully resolved to offer violence to himself; so sensible of his burden and so impatient of his cross, that he hopes by death alone to be freed of his calamity.⁴⁶

Its main causes are weakness of faith, guilty consciences and the devil,

but the greatest harm of all proceeds from those thundering ministers, a most frequent cause of this malady, [who] make all their auditors desperate. "These bitter potions (saith Erasmus) are still in their mouths, nothing but gall and horror, and a mad noise, they make all their auditors desperate: many are wounded by this means, and they commonly that were most devout and precise, have been formerly presumptuous and certain of their salvation."⁴⁷

Through all of these predisposing causes of despair, a bad conscience, weakness of faith following spiritual confidence, and the preachments of a fiend with a mouth full of bitter—though very poetical—preachments, the Redcross Knight passes as the

⁴⁴ *F. Q.*, III, vi, 38, 1-7.

⁴⁵ III, iv, 2, 2-6 inclusive.

⁴⁶ III, iv, 2, 2, p. 640.

⁴⁷ III, iv, 2, 3, p. 643.

last step in his experience of loss of faith and he displays all of the symptoms that grieved intelligent Christians from Erasmus to Burton in that age of religious excitement. Despair sows his seed in an eloquent appeal:

The knight was much enmoved with his speach,
That as a swords poynt through his hart did perse,
And in his conscience made a secret breach,
Well knowing trew all that he did rehearse;
And to his fresh remembraunce did reverse
The ugly vew of his deformed crimes,
That all his manly powers it did disperse,
As he were charmed with enchaunted rimes,
That oftentimes he quakt, and fainted oftentimes.⁴⁸

The thought of this stanza was a familiar commonplace and elsewhere Burton traces a strand of its history. "—the longer he had lived," he writes of a boy whose death was untimely, "the worse he would have been; et *quo vita longior* (Ambrose thinks) *culpa numerosior*, more sinful, more to answer he would have had."⁴⁹

Despair understood the evil hypnosis that he was practicing upon Redcross and when in

.... amazement the miscreant
Perceived him waver, weake and fraile,
Whiles trembling horror did his conscience daunt,
And hellish anguish did his soule assaile,
And drive him to despaire, and quite to quaile,
Hee shewd him, painted in a table plaine,
The damned ghosts, that doe in torments waile,
And thousand feends, that doe them endlesse paine
With fire and brimstone, which for ever shal remaine.⁵⁰

Burton knew these symptoms only too well and his strange treatise ends with their description.

A most intolerable pain and grief of heart, he tells us, "seizeth on" the victims of religious melancholy. "To their thinking they are already damned, they suffer the pains of hell, and more than possibly can be expressed they smell brimstone, talk familiarly with devils, hear and see chimæras, prodigious uncouth shapes, bears, owls, antiques, black

⁴⁸ *F. Q.*, I, ix, 48.

⁴⁹ *F. Q.*, I, ix, 49.

⁵⁰ II, iii, 5, p. 373.

dogs, fiends, hideous outcries, fearful noises, shrieks, lamentable complaints, they are possessed, through impatience they roar and howl, curse, blaspheme, deny God, call his power in question, abjure religion, and are still ready to do violence unto themselves, by hanging, drowning, &c.⁴¹

Spenser's Despair urges hanging upon Redcross as the readiest mode of suicide, but has a laboratory of all the tools of self-slaughter at hand. For this disease of the soul Burton knew only one sovereign remedy:

His mercy is a panacea, a balsam for the afflicted soul, a sovereign medicine, an alexipharmacum for all sins, a charm for the devil.⁴²

And in an eloquent passage he "confers the debt and the payment; Christ and Adam, sin, and the cure of it, the disease and the medicine." Una works Redcross's cure by the same charm and dissolves away all his doubts by a single sentence:

In heavenly mercies hast thou not a part?
Why shouldst thou then despeire, that chosen art?
Where justice growes, there grows eke greater grace,
The which doth quench the brond of hellish smart.⁴³

III

To Hercules de Saxonia's second kind of Love Melancholy, that "about women," Burton devotes the First Section of Part III of *The Anatomy*. The section is not rich in illumination of Spenser's Legends of Chastity and Friendship, as we might hope, but it does illustrate one feature of his Platonizing thought; it furnishes a background for his incarnation of jealousy in Malbecco; and, in general, it vaguely justifies his mythical caricatures of exaggerated passion in figures like Corflambo and Busyrane.

Like Spenser, Burton thought of Love, Eros, variously as the founder of the cosmic order, the creator and preserver of life, the source of a harmony of souls by rising to which men make themselves fit for the communion of saints, or, as Professor Erskine has explained in his brilliant exegesis of the Fourth Book of *The Faerie Queene*,⁴⁴ for the Platonic virtue of Friendship. "Love indeed," he writes, "first united provinces, built cities, and by a perpetual generation, makes and preserves

⁴¹ III, iv, 2. 6. p. 657.

⁴² *F. Q.*, I, ix, 53.

⁴³ III, iv, 2, 6, p. 649.

⁴⁴ *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 830-850.

mankind, propagates the church."⁵⁵ Burton felt toward Alma Venus an adoration as passionate as did Lucretius, and he quotes Lucretius' opening lines with what seems to the modern reader almost blasphemous inaptness in a rhapsody about wedded love. "There is no pleasure in this world compared to it; 'tis *summum mortalitatis bonum . . . Hominum divumque voluptas, alma Venus*," he writes, and then, unable to check his discreetly Latin enthusiasm, he continues, "*Latet enim in muliere aliquid majus potentiusque omnibus aliis humanis voluptatibus*."⁵⁶ Burton's recollection of Lucretius' invocation to the *De rerum natura* in his rhapsody on the Christian sacrament of marriage helps to explain Spenser's introduction, with very little justification either logical or artistic, of a literal translation of Lucretius' invocation in his description of the Temple of Venus,⁵⁷ a passage where, as Miss Winstanley has pointed out,⁵⁸ the ideals expressed are chivalric and the attitude towards women is thoroughly Puritan.⁵⁹

Burton's anatomizing of lovers' melancholy deals only with the excess of the passion, "the loveres malady of hereos." It treats systematically all the exaggerations of the passion illustrated by the abstract horrors of the Masque of Cupid, but the use made of them throughout *The Faerie Queene* is very much better regarded as an inheritance from the literature of the Courts of Love⁶⁰ than as a branch of the medical lore of the Middle Ages. His handling of jealousy, however, Burton lets us see is a genuine example of the "osmosis" of medical ideas into literature of which Professor Lowes speaks.⁶¹

Wrath is a fire and jealousy a weed,⁶² says Spenser, and implies a bit of psychology to which medieval medicine attached great importance.

Of all the passions, [Burton writes,] love is the most violent, and of those bitter potions which this love melancholy affords, this bastard

⁵⁵ III, ii, 1, 2, p. 448.

⁵⁶ III, ii, 1, 2, p. 450.

⁵⁷ *F. Q.*, IV, x, 45-48.

⁵⁸ Introduction to her edition of Book IV.

⁵⁹ A curious evidence of the vogue of the Lucretian passage in literature is furnished by the play upon its phrases which Guarini put into the mouths of his shepherds; *Il Pastor Fido*, edited by Gioachino Brognolino, Bari, 1914, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁰ Vide E. B. Fowler's Chicago dissertation, *Spenser and the Courts of Love*, Menasha, Wis., 1921.

⁶¹ *Mod. Philol.* XI, 543.

⁶² *F. Q.*, II, iv, 35, 2.

jealousy is the greatest. . . . 'Tis a more vehement passion, a more furious perturbation, a bitter pain, a fire, a pernicious curiosity, a gall corrupting the honey of our life, madness, vertigo, plague, hell.⁶³

He specifies the causes of jealousy as "Idleness, Melancholy, Impotency, Beauty, wantonness, Allurements of Time, Place, Persons, bad Usage"⁶⁴ and deformity. No one need read either Spenser or Burton to know that old men are likely to be jealous with cause of young wives, but no one can read Burton's analysis of the causes and circumstances that produce jealousy⁶⁵ and then read Spenser's story of the rape of Malbecco's young bride, Hellenore, by Sir Paridel⁶⁶ without realizing that Spenser was embodying in that situation and in the character of Malbecco a group of ideas to which the prestige of convention had been given by a host of casuists and physicians as well as by story-tellers and playwrights. Paridell, the "learned lover," takes advantage of the opportunity of idleness, of "the allurements of time, place, persons," and of Malbecco's "impotence" and his "bad usage" of Hellenore. Malbecco himself is an epitome of the husband destined to the "furious perturbation" of jealousy.

But he is old, and withered like hay,
Unfit faire ladies service to supply,
The privie guilt whereof makes him alway
Suspect her truth, and keepe continuall spy
Upon her with his other blinked eye;
Ne suffereth he resort of living wight
Approch to her, ne keepe her company,
But in close bowre her mewes from all mens sight,
Depriv'd of kindly joy and naturall delight.⁶⁷

IV

Burton classified love and jealousy as perturbations because for him they were only two of many passions which threaten self-control, the ideal which both he and Spenser, following an army of examples in the literature of the Renaissance and even of the Church fathers, derived ultimately from Aristotle,

⁶³ III, iii, 2, 1, p. 535.

⁶⁴ *F. Q.*, III, ix-x.

⁶⁵ III, iii, 1, 2, p. 566.

⁶⁷ *F. Q.*, III, ix, 5.

⁶⁶ III, iii, 3.

Plato and the Stoics. Melancholy itself Burton conceived as a disease resulting from psychological disturbances which could all be conveniently grouped under the technical name, inherited from Roman Stoicism, of perturbations.

Tully maintains in the second of his Tusculans *omnium insipientium animi in morbo sunt, et perturbatorum*, fools are sick and all that are troubled in mind: for what is sickness but as Gregory Tholosanus defines it, "A dissolution or perturbation of the bodily league, which health combines;" and who is not sick or ill-disposed? in whom doth not passion, anger, envy, discontent, fear, sorrow reign?⁶⁸

For Spenser also the great enemies of the harmony or league which is psychic health were the perturbations:

Who ever doth to temperaunce apply
His stedfast life, and all his actions frame,
Trust me, shal find no greater enemy,
Then stubborne perturbation, to the same:
To which right well the wise doe give that name;
For it the goodly peace of staied mindes
Does overthrow, and troublous warre proclaime.⁶⁹

In this concept of Temperance as self-mastered calm encircled, like Alma's House of Temperance,⁷⁰ by a thousand beleaguering passions we have, I believe, the essence of Spenser's psychological theory of that virtue as well as of the structural principle of the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene*. Upton, in his notes to his edition of 1758, took this for granted and found most of his parallels to Spenser's thought in Cicero's philosophical writings and in Plutarch. Recent scholarship has taken a narrower view. Mr. De Moss argues that Spenser is a strict and loyal Aristotelian and attacks M. Jusserand and Professor Erskine for their suggestions about his debts to the Italian syncretists of Platonic and Aristotelian thought, Giraldi Cinthio and Alessandro Piccolomini⁷¹. Miss Winstanley⁷²

⁶⁸ *Democritus to the Reader*, pp. 28-29.

⁶⁹ *F. Q.*, II, v, 1.

⁷⁰ *F. Q.*, II, ix.

⁷¹ "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues according to Aristotle," *Mod. Philol.*, May, 1918.

⁷² "Spenser's Twelve Private Virtues as Aristotle hath Devised," *Mod. Philol.*, Jan., 1906 (i) and "The Virtue of Friendship in *The Faerie Queene*," *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 831.

⁷³ Ed. of *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, p. liv. 74 *F. Q.*, II, 1, 57-58.

sees in Spenser's Temperance a combination of Aristotle's *εγκράτεια* and *σωφροσύνη* with Plato's *ἀνδρεία*, and she concludes that "it is in this wider, Platonic sense that Spenser interprets the virtue." Both she and Mr. De Moss limit their discussions to the question whether or not the origins of Spenser's thought were Hellenic and inevitably arrive at an emphatic affirmative, but they take no account of the problems of transmission and modification.

For the reader with no axe to grind other than a wish to understand Spenser, Burton is the best commentator. In the First Part of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* he devotes his longest "Member" to an analysis of the perturbations which destroy happiness and self-control. He reduces them all to two inclinations, the "irascible and concupiscible." So Spenser:

When raging passion with fierce tyranny
 Robs reason of her dew regalitie,
 And makes it servaunt to her basest part,
 The strong it weakens with infirmitie,
 And with bold furie armes the weakest hart:
 The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake
 through smart.

'But Temperaunce' said he [i.e. Guyon] 'with golden squire
 Betwixt them both can measure out a meane,
 Nether to melt in pleasures whott desyre,
 Nor frye in hartless grieffe and dolefull tene.'⁷⁴

Burton lets us see that this division of the perturbations had been a commonplace for centuries.

The Thomists [he recalls] subdivide them into eleven, six in the coveting, and five in the invading. Aristotle reduceth all to pleasure and pain, Plato to love and hatred, Vives to good and bad. . . . All other passions are subordinate to these: love, joy, desire, hatred, sorrow, fear; the rest, as anger, envy, emulation, pride, jealousy, anxiety, mercy, shame, discontent, despair, ambition, avarice, &c., are reducible unto the first; and if they be immoderate, they consume the spirits and melancholy is caused by them.⁷⁵

Burton's list of perturbations recalls many of the topics of Spenser's allegory. He immediately plunges into a systematic discussion of them all,⁷⁶ some features of which throw light upon Spenser's Legend of Temperance.

⁷⁴ I, ii, 3, 3, p. 161-162.

⁷⁵ I, ii, 3, 4-15.

Burton's list begins with sorrow and proceeds as follows, devoting a subsection to the discussion of each: fear, shame and disgrace; envy, malice and hatred (treated together), emulation, hatred, faction and desire of revenge (treated together); anger; discontents; concupiscible appetite, as desires, ambition (under which he includes "love of women which will require a just volume by itself"), covetousness; love of gaming and pleasures immoderate; philautia or self-love; love of learning. Spenser agrees with Burton that sorrow may justly challenge first place in "this irascible appetite." His first canto⁷⁷ tells the story of a woman, Amavia, whose grief for her husband is so immoderate that it kills her and her fate prompts Sir Guyon to remark that "Temperaunce, with golden squire, . . . can measure out a meane, Nether to melt in pleasures whott desyre, Nor Frye in hartless grief and dolefull tene." Burton, characteristically, makes allowance "with Plutarch," Seneca and Solomon, for indulgence of grief, but concludes with

. . . Germanicus' advice, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievers, to let them tyrannize, there's *indolentiae ars*, a medium to be kept: we do not (saith Austin, lib. 9. cap. 9, *De Civitate Dei*) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch. . . .

Though Aristotle deny any part of temperance to be conversant with sorrow, I am of Seneca's mind, (Epist. 85) "he that is wise is temperate and he that is temperate is constant, free from passion" and he that is such a one is without sorrow; as all wise men should be."⁷⁸

Elizabethan literature might be made to furnish many instances of the prestige of the Stoic principle that grief for dear ones ought to be kept within a mean, and akin to it is the idea that makes pity a vice as the Palmer calls it in two of his admonitions to Guyon.⁷⁹ Claudius takes advantage of it to deprecate Hamlet's grief for his father,⁸⁰ and the Duke in Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* appeals to it:

Yet 'tis a sin against
The state of princess to exceed a mean
In mourning for the dead.⁸¹

⁷⁷ *F. Q.*, II, i, 35-61.

⁷⁸ II, iii, 5, p. 374.

⁷⁹ *F. Q.*, II, v, 24, 6 and II, xii, 29, 2.

⁸⁰ Act I, scene 2, 11. 87-108.

⁸¹ Act I, scene 1.

Spenser makes Aldus vindicate the ideal mean in grief with conventional Stoico-Christian reasoning as he stands beside his supposedly dying son, Aladine.

Such is the weaknesse of all mortall hope;
 So tickle is the state of earthly things,
 That ere they come unto their aymed scope,
 They fall to short of our fraile reckonings,
 And bring us bale and bitter sorrowings,
 Instead of comfort, which we should embrace:
 This is the state of kesars and of kings.
 Let none then therefore, that is in meaner place,
 Too greatly grieve at any his unlucky case.⁸²

About the perturbation of fear Spenser has nothing to say and in the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene* his only allusion to envy is in the serio-comic story of the entertainment of Sansloy and Hudibras by Medina. Envy makes both of those ill-balanced gentlemen socially impossible.⁸³ But in Book I⁸⁴ and in Book V⁸⁵ he has tremendous allegorizations of envy based upon the definition of that deadly sin which Burton quotes, *Tristia de bonis alienis*. Freedom from envy is a main character of all Spenser's Utopias, the Temple of Venus⁸⁶ and the Garden of Acrasia,⁸⁷ and the golden age described in the prologue to Book V. The idea in the first two cases is probably a convention of the literature of courtly love.⁸⁸

Anger Burton defines as *furor brevis*,⁸⁹ calls it a main cause of insanity, and says that its victims often *irascuntur de levibus causis*, and that it is a habit which must be checked in its beginnings. Spenser's allegory of Pyrochles and Occasion reflects all these commonplaces, and Guyon's exhortation to Pyrochles implies that his chronic wrath is a form of insipient insanity.

"Fly, O Pyrochles, fly the dreadfull warre,
 That in thy selfe thy lesser partes doe move,
 Outrageous anger, and woe-working jarre,

⁸² *F. Q.*, VI, iii, 5.

⁸³ *F. Q.*, II, ii, 19.

⁸⁴ *F. Q.*, I, iv, 30-32.

⁸⁵ *F. Q.*, V, xii, 28-42.

⁸⁶ *F. Q.*, IV, x, 28.

⁸⁷ *F. Q.*, II, xii, 58.

⁸⁸ Cf. *An Hymne of Love*, vv. 259-267.

⁸⁹ I, ii, 3, 9, p. 169.

Direful impatience, and hartmurdring love;
 Those, those, thy foes, those warriors far remove,
 With thee to endlesse bale captived leads.⁹⁰

Three of Burton's remaining perturbations, "love of gaming and pleasures immoderate," "philautia or vain-glory" and "love of learning" Spenser neglects. Covetousness and concupiscible appetite he treats in succession as Burton does, but in reverse order.⁹¹ The ideas in Burton's subsection on *Φιλαργυρία* advance *pari passu* with those in Spenser's debate between Sir Guyon and Mammon.

"From whence," St. James asks [Burton's passage begins] "are wars and contentions amongst you?" I will add usury, fraud, rapine, simony, oppression, lying, swearing, bearing false witness, &c., are they not from this foundation of covetousness, that greediness in getting, tenacity in keeping, sordidity in spending; that they are so wicked; "unjust against God, their neighbor, themselves"; all comes hence.⁹²

Guyon's exordium in his debate with Mammon phrases the same commonplaces:

'All otherwise', saide he, 'I riches read,
 And deeme them roote of all disquietnesse;
 First got with guile, and then preserv'd with dread,
 And after spent with pride and lavishnesse,
 Leaving behind them grieffe and heavinesse.
 Infinite mischiefes of them doe arize,
 Strife and debate, bloodshed and bitternesse,
 Outrageous wrong and hellish covetize,
 That noble heart, as great dishonour, doth despize.'⁹³

Burton, who had the root of the economic interpretation of history in him, goes on to inveigh against avarice as "a plague subverting kingdoms" as Guyon does against the "realmes and rulers both" confounded by Mammon.⁹⁴ Finally Spenser ends his story of the adventure in Mammon's delve with the vision of Philotime,⁹⁵ "that was Ambition, rash desire to sty."⁹⁶ His crowned woman with the rout of idolators about her has long been suspected of Kinship with

⁹⁰ *F. Q.*, II, v, 16.

⁹¹ I, ii, 3, 11-12.

⁹² I, ii, 3, 12, pp. 176-177.

⁹³ *F. Q.*, II, vii, 12.

⁹⁴ *F. Q.*, II, vii, 13, 2.

⁹⁵ *F. Q.*, II, vii, 44-51.

⁹⁶ *F. Q.*, II, vii, 46, 8.

Our own gentil lady Fame.⁹⁷

of whom a glimpse was once vouchsafed to Chaucer. Burton suggests that she belongs to a far-flung sisterhood.

Cebes in his table, St. Ambrose in his second book of Abel and Cain, and Lucian in his tract *de mercede conductis*, hath [sic] excellent well deciphered [ambitious] men's proceedings in his picture of Opulencia, whom he feigns to dwell on the top of a high mount, much sought after by many suitors.⁹⁸

Burton grounds his ideas of the perturbations upon a psychology which, though simple as he explains it, went back through a long and complex history ultimately to Aristotle's *De Anima*. He explains in his "Anatomy of the soul" that there are three souls; the vegetative, sensible and rational, and that between the sensible soul, which we have in common with the beast, and the rational soul, which makes us human, there is ceaseless war. Where sense is there are pleasure and pain, [and the two] powers or inclinations, concupiscible or irascible: Concupiscible covets always pleasant and delightful things and abhors that which is distasteful, harsh, unpleasant. Irascible, *quasi aversans per iram et odium*, as avoiding it with anger and indignation.⁹⁹ [From the sensible powers] come all those headstrong passions, violent perturbations of the mind; and many times vicious habits, customs, feral diseases; because we give so much way to our appetite and follow our inclination, like so many beasts.¹⁰⁰

The "intellective faculty" of the soul "commands the other two in men, and is a curb unto them; and men are like beasts by sense, giving rein to their concupiscence and several lusts."¹⁰¹

This is the psychological basis of that warfare of Reason with Passion throughout the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene* and of its final allegorization in Spenser's version of the Circe story. Acrasia's victims in the Bower of Bliss had all been transformed into beasts and when the Palmer reversed the charm

. . . .one above the rest in speciall,
That had an hog beene late, hight Grylle by name,
Repynded greatly, and did him miscall,
That had from hoggish forme him brought to naturall.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ *Hous of Fame*, Part III, 221.

¹⁰⁰ I, i, 2, 11, p. 108.

⁹⁸ I, ii, 3, 13, p. 179.

¹⁰¹ I, i, 2, 8, p. 103.

⁹⁹ I, i, 2, 8, p. 103.

¹⁰² *F. Q.*, II, xii, 86.

Spenser's *Legend of Temperance* and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* are both, in very different ways, studies of the seige laid to the human by the non-human part of man. "Feral diseases" is Burton's favorite synonym for those "stubborn perturbations" which served both him and Spenser as the general terms of modern psychiatry serve us. And this is one reason, among many others which are better appreciated, for calling both men by the much-abused name of humanist.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

XXXI.

DATING A SPENSER-HARVEY LETTER

THE FIRST of the "Two other very commendable letters" in the correspondence between Spenser and Harvey has been reprinted in every complete edition of the poet's works since it was first printed by Hughes in 1715 and has been frequently cited by scholars during the past century, either because of the general light which it throws on this oddly assorted pair, or because of its famous reference to the *απελω παγω* the "surceasing and silence of balde Rymers," or because of the evidence which it supplies of a close relationship at this time between Spenser and the Earl of Leicester. Nevertheless, there seems to be no general agreement among editors and scholars as to the precise date at which this letter was written; and as a result, every one who has quoted it has put forward his own assumption as its proper interpretation. It is the object of this paper to discuss these assumptions, and to determine, if possible, the true explanation of the date at which this letter was composed.

The question involved arises from the fact that there are in the letter three different dates, and its solution depends upon an exact fitting of parts to dates. The matter is not as simple as it has been made to appear by some.

The letter as printed by Grosart¹ is divided into eight paragraphs, exclusive of the two poems, one English and one Latin. At the beginning of the fourth paragraph occurs this statement:

Thus much was written at Westminster yesternight: but coming this morning, beeyng the sixteenth of October, to Mystresse Kerkes, to haue it deliuered to the Carrier, I receyued youre letter, sente me the laste weeke:

Then follow two more paragraphs of text and the *Iambicum Trimetrum*.

¹ *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, D.C.L. vol. I, Huth Library. 1884.

Thus far everything is perfectly clear. Spenser had written a letter, taken it to post, and then finding one waiting from his correspondent, has added a postscript. Still another postscript, however, was appended to the letter and it is this second postscript which has made the trouble. It stands at the end of the *Iambicum Trimetrum* and runs thus:

I thought once agayne here to haue made an ende, with a heartie *Vale* of the best fashion: but loe, an ylfavoured myschance. My last farewell, whereof I made great accompt, and muche marvelled you shoulde make no mention thereof, I am nowe tolde (in the *Diuels* name) was thorough one mans negligence quite forgotten, but shoulde nowe vndoubtedly haue beene sent, whether I hadde come, or no. Seeing it can now be no otherwise, I pray you take all together, wyth all their faultes:

Then follows the Latin farewell and a final very significant paragraph (to be discussed presently) in which Spenser explains the absence of some intended English verses on the grounds of being deeply occupied with preparation for a journey abroad in Leicester's service, on which he expects to start the next week. And finally the date line: "Leycester House, this 5 of October, 1579."

Now the question at issue, and the point on which scholars and editors have differed either tacitly or explicitly, is this: Is this date, 5 of October, correct, or is it an error? If it is correct, does it apply only to the last concluding paragraph of the letter or to the Latin poem which immediately preceded, or to both? In other words, was the last paragraph part of the letter of October 5th, or was it written together with the rest, on October 16th?

The tradition that this date is to be regarded as an error for Oct. 16 seems to have been begun by Todd in a footnote which he appended to the letter in his edition: "He says in a former part of his letter that it was the 16th day of month. . . . The date 5 at this conclusion is therefore a mistake."² Haslewood adds a similar footnote in his introduction: "That [letter] by Spenser, dated 5 October 1579 is in a former part of the letter expressly said to be written on the sixteenth of October 1579"³

² *Spenser's Works*, ed. Todd, 1805, I, 29.

³ *Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poetry* (London, 1815) II, 20.

Grosart, in his edition of Spenser⁴ qualifies this opinion, remarking in his note as the letter: "It is to be noted that in the first letter the date is 5 October, which may be queried '16th'. . . ." Accordingly Morriss, in the Globe Edition, and Prof. R. E. N. Dodge, in the Cambridge, print the date line thus:

"Leicester House, this 5 (? 16) of October 1579."

In the opinion of these scholars, therefore, all of the letter, except of course, the Latin poem, was written on the fifteenth and sixteenth of October. The date, 5 of October, being, as they think, an error, can not be applied even to the Latin poem, although it is expressly stated that this was written earlier, —a part of the previous letter, which was "thorough one man's negligence quite forgotten." Other scholars, with a single exception which will be mentioned later, are less explicit as to the authenticity of this date.

In the one-volume "Oxford" Spenser, edited by Selincourt and Smith, the date-line of the letter is printed without the query of the Cambridge and Globe editions; but to the Latin hexameters is appended the following footnote:

An enclosure with the previous letter. This is the "last farewell" there referred to, written on 5 October, 1579, but not forwarded owing to someones negligence, now recovered by Spenser and enclosed with his *later* letter of 15th and 16th October.

According to this opinion, then, the date, 5 October, is valid as applied to the hexameters, though we are not told whether it applies also to the significant last paragraph. In his introduction, Professor Selincourt refers to the letter simply as "of October 1579," and in commenting on the hopes and ambitions of the poet evidenced therein he takes no account of any lapse of time within the text of the letter itself.

Berli is no more definite: he refers to the letter as "in Leicester House am 5., nach einer Stelle in Text am 16 October geschrieben."⁵

Professor Moore Smith seems definitely to apply the date 5 October to the last paragraph as well as to the Latin poem. "This letter," he says, "was begun at Westminster on October 15th and ended on the 16th. With it, however, were enclosed a

⁴ I, 29.

⁵ Hans Berli, *Gabriel Harvey, Dichterfreund und Kritiker*, Zurich diss., 1913.

Latin poem of farewell to Harvey before Spenser's expected voyage to France, and a *postscript* dated '*Leicester House this 5 of October 1579*'. These additions had by mistake not been sent earlier."⁶ A footnote adds that the point was made clear to him by Dr. McKerrow.

It is in Professor Greenlaw's discussion of the relations of Spenser and the Earl of Leicester that we first become aware of the important implications which are involved in the question of the exact date of this letter. Professor Greenlaw refers to it as the "letter to Harvey dated October 5," but he does not state definitely whether this date is applicable to the vital concluding paragraph or whether this was written on the sixteenth. Nevertheless, the implications of his argument do not seem to allow for any lapse of time in the writing of the text. He views the letter as indicating a high state of hope on the part of Spenser for worldly advancement, and he points to the contrast between the spirit of this letter and the letter of April:

The true significance of this letter consists not in its discussion of Areopagus and reformed versifying, or even in the list of poems which Spenser had ready for publication, but rather in the tone of hope, in the sense of his having established important relations with men who could advance him, in the extreme caution naturally felt by a young man who does not wish to make a nuisance of himself; in short, in the very clear impression which it gives that, for the moment at least, his head was full of more important matters than verse-making, and that his poetry was mainly valuable as a means to worldly preferment.

If we turn, now, to the third of these "Three Proper wittie familiar letters," dated in April, 1580, the change in tone is marked. The letter is purely literary. Spenser treats of quantity and accent, giving illustrations; seeks to compare Harvey's theories with Drant's; speaks of his literary undertakings, naming several poems. Evidently Harvey's prophecy⁷ had come true: something had occurred to turn the poet back to his visions and his books. In August he was in Ireland, beginning the long period of exile, and deprived of his hopes of rising in the councils of state. I wish to stress these points, even at the expense of repetition: In October, Spenser was at Leicester House

⁶ G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, Straftord-upon-Avon,, 1913, p. 28; italics mine.

⁷ That he should be gone over sea "neither the next nor the nexte weeks." (See Harvey's reply of Oct. 23, 1579.)

intimate with the powerful group of men about the great earl, confident of preferment; by the following April, he had turned once more to literature. In August he was in Ireland, the dream over.⁶

Commenting on Professor Greenlaw's discussion, Dr. Long remarks that in neither of the two postscripts added on Oct. 16 "does he [Spenser] at all allude to this journey or any other participation in political matters If, therefore, Spenser really entertained such hope [of going abroad in Leicester's service] and was disappointed, the rebuff would seem to have been immediate, not postponed until after his publication of the *Calendar*."⁷

This view will be confirmed if we suppose that the Latin verses and also the last paragraph of the text (in which Spenser has no time "to thinke on such Toyes" as poetry) were written on Oct. 5, eleven days before the dispatching of the complete letter. Greenlaw refers to the "purely literary" character of Spenser's letter of the following April as showing a marked change of tone. But is not this already apparent in the rest of this same letter, written ten days later, in which Spenser makes no allusion to political matters but treats entirely of poetical concerns?

To turn to the letter itself: First of all it may be fairly held that the burden of proof rests upon those who call in question the date "5 of October." Spenser tells us he is enclosing on Oct. 16th, a previous letter which was forgotten "thorough one mans negligence." It was written long enough before to have permitted a reply. Now as regards content the whole letter—taking it for the moment *as a whole*—falls plainly into two parts, the line of division coming at the beginning of the Latin hexameters. One part is full of politics, plans for a journey and farewells, English and Latin; the other is concerned chiefly with literary gossip. In one part occur the dates, 15 and 16 of October; at the end of the other part is the date Oct. 5. Unless the text of the letter shows some evidence to the contrary, we would seem to be justified, therefore, in regarding the whole of the last section, that is, both Latin poem and paragraph of text as

⁶ Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," *P.M.L.A.*, XXV, 537-8.

⁷ P. W. Long, "Spenser and the Bishop of Rochester," *P.M.L.A.* XXXI, 721.

the miscarried enclosure. And in fact such evidence as there is tends to support this interpretation.

"Thus with many superhartie Commendations and Recommendations to your selfe, and all my friendes with you, I ende my last Farewell" writes Spenser in the last paragraph. "*My last farewell*, whereof I made great accompt and muche marvelled you shoulde make no mention thereof" is his way of referring to the forgotten and enclosed letter.

"Seeing it can now be no otherwise, I pray you take all together, wyth all their faultes: and nowe I hope, you will vouchsafe mee an answeare of the largest size, or else I tell you true you shall bee verye deepe in my debte. . . ." Is it straining a point to say that this suggests a combination of the letters *in toto* rather than the enclosure of only a part of the forgotten letter, namely the Latin poem?

If, further, the letter, with the exception of the Latin poem, was written in two sittings, only a day apart, we should expect the ideas in the two parts to show a fair consistency. On the other hand, if ten days elapsed between the inception and the completion of the letter, there is less reason for surprise if evidence appears that the writer has changed his mind in the interval. (Spenser after all was a poet, and Harvey was skeptical from the first.) "I was minded also to haue sent you some English verses: or Rymes, for a farewell: but by my Troth, I haue no spare time in the world to thinke on such Toyes, that you know will demaund a freer head, than mine is presently." Thus, Spenser in the final paragraph. But in the paragraph immediately preceding the "*Iambicum Trimetrum*": (of Oct. 16th): "And nowe requite I you with the like, not with the verye best, but with the verye shortest, namely, with a fewe *Iambickes*:" He follows with twenty-one lines of those very English verses for the absence of which he is apologizing in another place. Does this sound as though the two parts were written at the same time? On the other hand, the inconsistency is not difficult to explain if we suppose that on October 5th Spenser was too busy "to thinke on such Toyes" but had found time for them by the sixteenth.

Again, in the final paragraph he is going abroad he hopes, he thinks, he fears, the next week. But in the fifth paragraph from the beginning of the letter (as printed by Grosart) he is looking forward to meeting Harvey in London: "You shall see when we

meete in London (whiche, when it shall be, certifye vs) howe fast I haue followed after you in that Course:" This statement not only lacks any suggestion of the departing bustle of the last paragraph, but suggests that the projected trip abroad was quite out of mind, so as to permit the making of engagements in London at Harvey's convenience.

Nor is there certainly any suggestion of immediate departure in the next paragraph, where the poet refers in a matter of course way to his next visit to court. "I will imparte yours to Maister *Sidney* and Maister *Dyer* at my nexte going to the Courte." How again, is all of this to be reconciled with the hurried last paragraph, in which Spenser, figuratively speaking, already has one foot aboard?

To conclude, then, against the view of those scholars who regard the letter as having been written entirely on Oct. 15th and 16th there appear the following considerations:

1. The content of "the letter" falls into two evidently separate parts, with a naturally corresponding separation of dates.

2. One part Spenser calls his last farewell; in the other he refers to a previous miscarried (and now enclosed) letter by this identical term.

3. The enclosure of the letter, *faute de mieux*, at least seems to be entire.

4. In one part he apologizes for the omission of some English verses for a farewell; in another twenty-one lines of English verse are included.

5. In one part he is in a rush of departure; in another, he is making engagements at Harvey's leisure.

In view of these considerations, then, we must regard the editorial query as to the authenticity of 5 October only as gratuitous. And, by consequence, we may conclude Spenser's hopes for going abroad on the Earl of Leicester's business to have been of but ten days' duration. Possibly we might even raise a question as to the seriousness of expectations for the collapse of which Spenser neither expresses his regret nor vouchsafes explanation—for on Oct. 5, it will be remembered, Spenser expected to start "the next week," but Oct. 16 found him still at Mistress Kerkes.

JAMES RALSTON CALDWELL

XXXII

RENAISSANCE CRITICISM AND THE DICTION OF THE FAERIE QUEENE

FOREWORD

THREE and a half centuries of criticism confront the student of today who attacks the problem of Spenser's diction. The purpose of the following study is not so much to present new material in the field of Spenserian scholarship as to effect a synthesis of the many theories which have been put forward and thus to present the whole subject more comprehensively.¹

The problem was first projected by the publication of the *Shepherd's Calender* and the accompanying *Glosse* of E.K.; this fact, and an undeniable exaggeration of diction, have caused criticism to centre around the Eclogues. The *Glosse*—cited so often that its significance has been almost lost—was regarded in its own age as a "Defense" or "Apologie;" only recently has it definitely assumed its true character as a commentary for the uninformed. The temper of criticism has likewise experienced a change. Spenser's diction, at first condemned, was next tolerated, and is now acclaimed. Progress to this point, however, has not been made by regular gradations, for critics have differed widely. Despite the enthusiasm with which the new poet and his work were received,² Spenser's experimental diction was largely condemned,³ or but cautiously commended,⁴

¹ This article is an excerpt from an unpublished study, *The Reflection of Renaissance Criticism in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, deposited in the library of the University of Chicago in 1920; see F. I. Carpenter, *A Reference Guide to Spenser* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 294. In revising for publication I have added references to articles published since 1920.

² See C. R. Baskervill, "The Early Fame of *The Shepherd's Calender*," *P.M.L.A.*, XXVIII, 291-313.

³ Sir Philip Sidney, *The Defense of Poesy* (1581) (ed. A. S. Cook, New York, 1890), p. 47; G. Harvey, *Three Proper and wittie familiar Letters* (1580), *Works* (ed. Grosart, Huth Library), I, 76, 95, 100-103. This criticism, ostensibly directed toward quantitative verse, shows Harvey's fear of Spenser's excesses. He condemns the *Faerie Queene* for deficiency in "the finenesse of plausible Elocution" (p. 195). He warns that "to bring our language in Arte" it is necessary "first of all universally to agree upon one and the same Ortographie" and

and at the turn of the seventeenth century Davenant asserts that his use of obsolete language is "grown the most vulgar accusation that is laid to his charge." Criticism centred upon the use of archaisms either as a defect, or as sanctioned by the precepts of Horace, Cicero, and Quintilian, by the example of Theocritus, Virgil, Mantuan, and Sannazzarro, and by the principle of decorum. This criticism was chiefly impressionistic, but as early as 1621 Alexander Gill,⁵ in an interesting study of language, used lines from the *Faerie Queene* to illustrate his exposition of rhetorical figures. The phonetic spelling which Gill employs in quoting the Spenserian text clearly indicates his recognition that Spenser used dialect, or orthographic modifications to aid his rhymes.

The comments of Dryden and Pope are discriminating. The former claims Spenser as his master,⁶ declaring that he is inferior neither to Theocritus nor Virgil,⁷ that his language though

that "we are not to goe a little farther, either for *Prosody* or the *Orthography* . . . then we are licenced and authorized by the ordinarie use and custome, and proprietic, and Idiom, and, as it were Maiestie of our Speech: which I accounte the only infallible and souveraine Rule of all Rules." "Corrupte Orthography," he says, is the principal cause of "corrupte Prosodye" and he illustrates his meaning by examples showing the difference in pronunciation and in syllable number induced by variant spelling; Puttenham, *The Arte of Poesie*, Bk. II, Chap IX; Bk. III, Chap IV. The critic, in detail, condemns methods employed by Spenser but does not name the poet. S. Daniel, *Delia* (1591), Sonnet LII; Edmund Bolton, *Hypercritica, Ancient Critical Essays* (ed. Jos. Haslewood, London, 1815), II, 249; Ben Jonson, *Discoveries* (1620-1635) (ed. F. Schelling, Boston, 1892), p. 57; Sir William Davenant, "Preface to *Gondibert*" (1650), *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (ed. J. Spingarn, Oxford, 1908), II, 6.

⁵ William Webbe, *Of English Poetry, Elizabethan Critical Essays* (ed. G. Smith, Oxford, 1904), I, 263: Webbe declares Spenser equal to "Theocritus or Virgill, whom in mine opinion, if the courses of our speech (. . . .) had been no more let [hindrance] unto him then theyr pure native tongues were unto them, he would have (if it might be) surpassed them." He then cites E. K. in praise of the "framing hys wordes." Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), ed. J. Nichols (London, 1812), II, 80; Edward Phillips, Preface to *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), *Crit. Ess. of the 17th Cent.*, op. cit., p. 271: Fuller states that Spenser's "energie" "shines through the roughest, most unpolish't and antiquated language," and that he has "majesty" despite "his Rustie obsolete words, with all his rough-hewn, clowtly Verses."

⁶ *Logonomia Anglica*, ed. Jiriczek, *Quellen und Forschungen*, XC, 103-29, 145. Note on p. 107 a brief discussion of foreign and old words.

⁷ *Works* (ed. Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1889), XIV, 227.

⁸ *Ibid.*, "Dedication Prefixed to Works of Virgil," XIII, 324.

obsolete "is still intelligible, at least after a little practice,"⁸ that through his knowledge of the "northern dialect" and "Chaucer's English" he has admirably imitated the Doric,⁹ and finally that the "*Kalendar*" is not to be matched in any modern language, not even by Tasso's *Aminta*.¹⁰ He qualifies his praise, however, by an application of Horace's principles of diction to Spenser's method, and implies that Spenser, through love of his master, Chaucer, has been led into excesses, and has run into affectation.¹¹ Pope states that in "manners, thoughts, and characters he [Spenser] comes near to Theocritus himself, though, notwithstanding all the care he has taken, he is certainly inferior in his dialect," for, Pope adds, the Doric had a beauty and propriety of its own, and was in the "mouths of the greatest persons," while the language of Spenser is obsolete or spoken only by those of "the lowest condition."¹²

It is a sharp turn from Johnson's harsh strictures on Spenser's language¹³ to the sympathetic insight of Warton, who exhibits a critical understanding which is paralleled only by E. K., whom he cites. Warton¹⁴ notes the corrupt state of language in Spenser's day which led the poet to turn to Chaucer, as well as to Gower, Lydgate, and Piers Ploughman, as a source of "Englishe undefilde"; his habit of misspelling a word to induce either a better or an "eye" rhyme, the like practice by others and its admission by Puttenham; his coinage of new words, restoration of the old, and recourse to foreign languages, especially to Latin; but, he concludes, "the ground-work and substance of his style is the language of his age."¹⁵ This indeed is seasoned with various expressions, adopted from the elder poets; but in such a manner, that the language of his age was rather strengthened and dignified, than debased and disguised by such a practice."

⁸ *Ibid.*, "Essay on Satire," pp. 17-18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, "Dedication," p. 325.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 323-4.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, "Essay on Satire," pp. 17, 18, 19, 21.

¹² "A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry (1709)," *Works* (ed. Croker and Elwin, London, 1871), I, 265.

¹³ *Works* (ed. N. Y. 1903), III, 61, 62; *Rambler*, 121 (Cited in part by H. C. Corey, *Critics of Spenser* (Univ. of Cal. Pub. 1912), p. 153.

¹⁴ *Observations on the Faerie Queene* (1754), London, 1807. Sect. IV, pp. 162-185.

¹⁵ Cf. Todd, *Works of Spenser* (London, 1805), I, xiii.

The early editors of Spenser,¹⁶ though helpful, make no notable contribution; it is really from Warton that criticism takes a new trend of understanding and appreciation. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* of 1912 reproaches Byron for his "motley mixture of obsolete and modern phraseology." While admitting that "the authority of Spenser may be pleaded" for ancient words (p. 192), he continues: "Spenser . . . is always consistent, he sought to restore the language; like La Fontaine he is a creator of "le genre *naïf*," and his "flowers" are of "native growth" and have "life and fragrance" (pp. 193-194). Another writer in the same periodical (Vol. 153, 1882) notes the "stimulus of the Italian Renaissance" in Spenser (p. 229) and that he, like other great poets in the height of inspiration "speak[s] that noble language which belongs to all time (p. 231), with the "full spirit of the best of the Renaissance (. . .) upon him" (p. 234). In this connection may be cited the opinion of Coleridge who, in discussing Wordsworth's theory of "a selection of the Real language of men," says, "I remember no poet whose writings would safelier stand the test . . . than Spenser," for he recognizes the suitability of poetic language for "fabulous personages" and the "supernatural in nature."¹⁷

Among essayists Lowell¹⁸ states that in Spenser's time "The poets of Italy, Spain, and France began to rain influence and to modify and refine not only style, but vocabulary (p. 283);" that Spenser has drawn his theory of archaisms from du Bellay (p. 347), and has gone to provincial dialects for words wherewith to enlarge and freshen his poetic vocabulary (p. 301). As a result, he says, Spenser has done more than any other to redeem style and diction from the "leaden gripe of vulgar and pedantic conceit (p. 276)"; he was an "epicure in language (p. 308)," "But his great glory is that he taught his own language to sing and move to measures harmonious and noble." Morley, too, notes the influence of the French school in the matter of language, and recalls that the classical influence upon metre was only part of a larger movement affecting all phases of litera-

¹⁶ Hughes (1715); Upton (1758); Todd (1805).

¹⁷ *Biographia Literaria* (ed. E. L. Shawcross, Oxford, 1907), II, 58, 59.

¹⁸ "Spenser" (1875), *Prose Works* (Riverside Ed.) IV, 276, 283, 301-2, 208, 347. Cf. Church: R. W., "Spenser" (1879), *English Men of Letters* (London, 1909), pp. 2, 14, 35, 46, 131-140.

ture.¹⁹ At the close of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries scholars laid hold upon the problem of Spenser's diction. Dissertations, studies, and special articles multiplied,²⁰ dealing for the most part with special problems. The elaborate theory propounded by Grosart as to Spenser's use of Lancashire dialect²¹ was ably refuted by Long,²² Brunner,²³ and Draper.²⁴

The philologists²⁵ employed themselves in testing Spenser's language by the standards of dialectal consistency. From another point of view, however, his diction has been considered in its relation to critical theory. The studies of Herford, of Fletcher,²⁶ and of Higginson,²⁷ mark distinct advance in the field of Spenserian scholarship. Although both French and Italian influence upon Spenser had been repeatedly implied and stated,²⁸ Professor Fletcher was the first to give detailed proof of the working principles of the *Pleiade* as reflected in the diction of Spenser²⁹ and to correlate these theories with the *Glosse* of E. K. His views have been ably seconded and ad-

¹⁹ *English Writers* (London, 1892), IX, Bk. VIII, 84-88.

²⁰ See Georg Wagner, *On Spenser's Use of Archaisms*, Halle, 1879; S. F. Barrow, *Studies in the Language of Spenser*, (MS. Diss. in Univ. of Chicago Libraries) 1902. J. W. Draper, "Spenser's Linguistics in the *Present State of Ireland*," *Mod. Phil.* XVII, 471-86; and reply by F. F. Covington, Jr., "Another View of Spenser's Linguistics," *Studies in Philol.*, XIX, 244-6.

²¹ *Spenser's Works*, ed Grosart, I, App., p. 408 ff; see also Wilkinson, "Edmund Spenser and the Lancashire Dialect," *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire*, VII, 87 ff.

²² P. W. Long, "Spenser's Rosalind," *Anglia*, XXXI (1908), 72 ff.

²³ "Die Dialektwörter in Spenser's 'Shepherd's Calendar' " (1914) *Herrig's Archiv*, CXXXII, 401-4.

²⁴ "Spenserian Biography," *The Colonnade*, XIV (1921-22), 35-46; *J.E.G. Phil.*, XXI (1922), 675-79; *Ibid.*, XVIII, 556-583.

²⁵ A. J. Ellis, *Early Engl. Pronunciation*, E.E.T.S. 1871, Part III, 845-871; H. Bradley, *The Making of English*, N.Y. 1904, p. 227; *The Shepherds Calendar*, ed C. H. Herford, Lond. 1907, Introd., pp. xlviii-lxiii.

²⁶ J. B. Fletcher "Areopagus and Pleiade," *Jour. of Germ. Phil.*, II, 429-453.

²⁷ *Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar*, N. Y., 1912.

²⁸ *Quarterly Review*, 1822, p. 229; Church, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Morley, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-88; Sidney Lee, *Eliz. Sonnets*, Intro., pp. xcii-xcix. Geo. Wyndham, "The Pleiade and the Elizabethans" (1907); *Edin. Review*, 205, p. 357; Lowell, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Courthope, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, II, 244.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 439-445; MacKail, J. W., *The Springs of Helicon* (London, 1909), p. 75..

vanced in a recent article by W. L. Renwicke³⁰ who also turns to E. K. for corroboration.

In addition, the influence of classical tradition upon Spenser, which has been traced in recent studies,³¹ is related to the problem of his diction since it involves the operation of the principles of imitation and decorum. The general result of these critical studies is that Spenser is now recognized as a conscious literary artist, and his language as a product of his art,³² the only fitting vehicle for his tone of thought and feeling.³³

Nevertheless, the precise influences that moulded his art are still open to discussion. Hughes has just attacked the "classic pastoral tradition" as not current in Spenser's day; Fletcher and Renwicke have placed the influence of the *Pleiade* beyond dispute; others have noted the influence of Italy³⁴ but without demonstrating its critical connection. A synthesis of the theories of classic, French, and Italian influence is to be reached through a study of the great body of Renaissance criticism and the theory of art which underlies the whole structure. Renaissance criticism belongs not to Italy alone, to France, or to England; it is a fused product and embraces all the teachings of the classics, its models, enriched by a later growth. The Renaissance

³⁰ "The Critical Origins of Spenser's Diction," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVII, 1-16.

³¹ See M. Y. Hughes, "Spenser and the Greek Pastoral Triad," *Studies in Philol.* XX, 184-215; see R. M. Parker, "Spenser's Language and the Pastoral Tradition," *Language*, I, 80-87. Mr. Parker reviews Mr. Hughes' article and ably upholds the view that Spenser followed both classic and pastoral tradition and the principle of decorum.

³² Selincourt, Edition of Spenser's Works (1912), *Introduction*, pp. xviii-xix, lxi. G. H. Palmer, *Formative Types of English Poetry*, (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 76-77; Lowell, *op. cit.*, p. 302; *Quar. Rev.*, (1922), *op. cit.*, p. 287.

³³ Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 228; G. L. Craik, *Eng. Lit. and Lang.*, I, 506, 529. Courthope, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

³⁴ See Thos. Rymer, Pref. to Rapin (1674), *Crit. Ess. of the 17th Cent.*, *op. cit.*, II, 168: "We must blame the Italians for debauching great Spenser's judgment (Ref. is to epic form);" L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (N. Y. 1913), pp. 341-360: "A learned poet like Spenser would find there [Italy] as well a more serious conception of the dignity of poetry, an artistic conscience, and a love of beauty for its own sake, which he could well emulate (p. 347);" "It seemed in many cases as if antiquity interpreted by Italians was more congenial to the English than the ancient works themselves (p. 347);" for discussion of language see pp. 360-61.

sought art in its highest degree;³⁵ in the period the work of Spenser most perfectly exemplifies the Italian *artificiosa*, a word that carries the connotation of exquisite skill and of artificiality. He is a poet not of nature but of art.³⁶ The Renaissance was an age of prescriptive criticism which dealt authoritatively with all details involved in literary composition. The current theory of art was defined by Segni as the ability to execute work according to rule.³⁷ It was this quality which placed Vergil above Homer in general estimation. The elegant artifice of the Latin poet was susceptible of reduction to rule. The "footing of his feet" could be followed. The elaboration of his technique appealed to the people of the Renaissance. They loved it as they did the intricacy of delicate carvings, and the art which painted the pile of velvet, the sheen of satin, and the thread of lace. Scaliger voices the common view. Homer, he says, is possessed of the greatest genius, but his art seems rather to have happened than to be wrought with care. Therefore it is neither a matter of wonder that in him a certain *Idea* is not called Art, nor is this opinion to be interpreted as censure. Vergil through the exercise of judgment and greater refinement has lifted the rude art received from Homer, to the highest pitch of perfection.³⁸

³⁵ Einstein, *op. cit.*, p. 344: "Art was the common bond uniting them; it drew Spenser toward Italy, and made his greatness as a poet shine in the austerity and purity of his spirit, presented with the beauty of his art."

³⁶ Thos. Nashe (*Pref.* to Greene's *Menaphon*) upholds Spenser as "the tutchstone of Arte" against Spain, France, Italy, the "worlde."

³⁷ *L'Ethica d'Aristotele*, Firenze, 1549, p. 191.

³⁸ *Poetices Libri Septem*, Apud Antonium Vincentium, 1561, II, 214. [Method or art is to be learned through the comparison of Homer and Vergil]: "Homeri ingenium maximum: ars eiusmodi, vt eam potius inuenisse, quàm excoluisse videatur. Quare neque mirandum est, si in eo naturae Idea quaedam, non ars extare dicatur. Neque censura haec pro calumnia accipienda. Vergilius verò artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectoris naturae studiis atque iudicio, ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis." Cf. Vauquelin de la Fresnaye: *L'Art Poétique François*, (1574; pub. 1605), ed. Georges Pellissier, Paris, 1885, pp. 3-4, vv. 55 ff.; vv. 69-71; vv. 77-80; vv. 439-42. Art vs. Nature:

De mesme en tous les arts formez sur la Nature,
Sans art il ne faut point marche à l'aventure:
Autrement Apollon ne guidant point nos pas,
Monter au double mont ne nous souffriroit pas;
Les chemins sont tracez, qui veut par autre voye
Regagner les devants, bien souvent se fourvoye:
Car nos sçauans maieurs nous ont desia tracé

Spenser concurs in this general conception of art when he writes—

Some dele ybent to song and music's mirth,
A good olde shepherde, Wrenock was his name,
Made me by arte more cunning in the same.

At the basis of all artistic literary production lay the Renaissance reverence for language. The development of the vernacular to the literary perfection of Greek and Latin was a fundamental aim of criticism in Italy, in France, and in England. The theory of development was based upon analogy. The various dialects of Greece, topographically separated into small nations, formed familiar ground for scholars. Homer's use of dialect words constituted a common argument inherited from the Alexandrian pedants. Attic Greek became the standard because Athens drew to herself men from all Greece, and enriched her language, as she did her people, through her commerce with the world. Rome in turn subdued her rough tongue, welded her dialects, borrowed from her provinces, and drew from the rich stores of Greece. Modelling her language and literature upon that of her great predecessor and rival, in the eloquence of Cicero and the art of Vergil, Rome surpassed, in the estimation of the

Vn sentier qui de nous ne doit estre laissé.
Pour ce ensuiuant les pas du fils de Nicomache,
Du harpeur de Calabre, et tout ce que remache
Vide, et Minturne apres, i'ay cet ceuvre apresté.

.....
Mais qui selon cet Art du tout se formera
Hardiment peut oser tout ce qui luy plaira
Escriuant en françois;

.....
Mais tout par art se fait, tout par art se construit,
Par art guide les Naux le Nautonnier instruit,
Et sur tous le Poète en son dous exercice
Mesle avec la nature vn plaisant artifice;
Tesmoin en est cet Art, qui par les vers conté
À tous les autres arts aisément surmonté.

.....
Mais il faut de cet Art tous les preceptes prendre,
Quand tu voudras parfait vn tel ouvrage rendre:
Par cì par là meslé rien ici tû ne lis,
Qui ne rende les vers d'un tel ceuvre embellis.

Renaissance, the majesty of Greece. The inference is clear; what had been done by Rome through art and imitation, could be done again. The strength of a growing nationalism united with literary ambition. The creation of a noble and flexible medium for the expression of national thought became a basic function of criticism. Diction was made the subject of specific rule which reduced it to a technical basis.

The language of Spenser conforms in a striking degree to the principles thus evolved. It is proposed, therefore, in this article to trace the influence of contemporary criticism upon the diction of the *Faerie Queene*. The study naturally falls into two parts: the first traces the Renaissance theory of diction from its inception in the classics through its development in Italy, France, and England; the second analyzes the characteristics of Spenser's diction and seeks to establish the relationship existing between the theory of his age and his practice.

I. THE THEORY OF POETIC DICTION

Broadly stated, there were three main principles of the theory of diction as developed in the Renaissance: the necessity of enriching the vernacular; the use of archaisms as a literary device; and the preservation of decorum in all its phases. These received literary formulation from Aristotle. As the first step in his treatment of diction, the Greek critic makes a comprehensive classification of all words as "current, or strange, or metaphorical, or ornamental, or newly-coined, or lengthened, or contrasted, or altered."¹ Strange words he defines as those used in another country, and cites an example from the Cyprian dialect.² "The clearest style," he says, "is that which uses only current or proper words, at the same time it is mean." In contrast, a lofty style is dependent upon strange words, but a discourse built wholly of such becomes jargon.³ In heroic poetry all varieties of words are serviceable,⁴ but the rare and strange are especially fitted to this most stately and massive of all measures where both thought and diction must be artistic.⁵

¹ *The Poetics* (Trans. by S. H. Butcher, ed., Macmillan and Co. Lim., London, 1911), ch.XXI., 2.

² *Ibid.*, See also citations of Cretan (ch.XXV, 9), Dorian, and Athenian words (ch.III, 3).

³ *Ibid.*, XXII, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXII, 10.

But nothing, he teaches, contributes more to produce a clearness of diction that is remote from the commonplace, than the lengthening, contraction, and alteration of words.⁶ This license of change as well as that of word coinage is the right of the poet.⁷ Aristotle emphasizes again and again the value of rare, strange, and beautiful words in giving dignity and distinction to the epic, but summarizes his theory with his accustomed moderation: "by deviating in exceptional cases from the normal idiom, the language will gain distinction, while at the same time the partial conformity with usage will give perspicuity." "In any mode of poetic diction," he declares, "there must be moderation."⁸

In the matter of decorum, another fetich of the Renaissance, Aristotle is equally clear. He posits four principles in depicting character. First that it be good; every speech or action, he says, which manifests moral purpose is expressive of character; if the purpose is good the character will be good. This statement carries in itself the principle of decorum. The remaining three requisites, propriety, verisimilitude ("true to life"), and consistency, may be summed in the one word decorum, for thus Aristotle illustrates his meaning. The ascription of valour to a woman violates accepted propriety; "true to life" carries its own significance; consistency is a presentation of the ascribed type of character in speech and action.⁹ The observance of decorum in speech became a significant feature of the Renaissance theory of diction, and gave authority for the introduction of variety in diction into both tragedy and epic; at the same time it gave rise to much dispute as to sustained epic tone. Accordingly, Aristotle through his championship of a free, correct, and artistic diction, through his prescriptions for enlarging vocabulary, his emphasis on rare and strange words, and his foreshadowing of dedorum, supplied the basis for the three principles already cited and became the court of appeal for those who elaborated the critical theories of the Renaissance.

For Horace, diction is a matter of primary importance. To the poet, he says, it always has been and always will be lawful to create new words. If these spring direct from the fountains of Greece, so much the better. Cato, Ennius, Plautus, and Caecil-

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXII, 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXII, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXII, 4, 6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XV, 1-5; cf. VI, 17; IX, 4; and XIII, 1-3.

ius¹⁰ enriched the stores of their native language, shall such a privilege be denied to later poets, and to Horace himself? As the forest leaves change with the passing years, so does language. Many words now lost shall rise again. Use alone declares the law and norm of speech.¹¹ His dicta of decorum are axiomatic:

. . . . servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit et sibi constet
Scribendi recte sapere est et principum et fons.¹²

The last line Horace interprets as the knowledge of character and the art of fitting the manners to the man. More specifically yet he characterizes the difference in speech adapted to the hero, the sage man, the gay young spark, the noble matron, the prattling nurse, the wandering merchant, and the shepherd swain.¹³ Thus there is to be observed in the later critic a distinct advance toward detail. The principles enunciated by the two great progenitors of Renaissance criticism¹⁴ are but the seed of a later growth.

With Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is first expressed that keen anxiety as to the development of the vernacular which

¹⁰ The free vocabulary of the authors quoted is notable. Cato and Ennius used old, harsh, and dialect words: Plautus drew on the vocabulary of the middle and lower classes for slang and foreign importations. Caecilius (Statius), himself a foreigner, wrote a florid Latin, mixed with foreign phrasings and terms. See Cicero *Ad Atticus* vii, 3, 10.

¹¹ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 46-72.

¹² *Ibid.*, vv. 126-7; v. 309; cf. vv. 89-98.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vv. 114 ff.

¹⁴ Quintilian has been omitted here solely because his criticism is directed toward prose rather than poetic diction. He is, however, at times startlingly close in thought and phrasing to the *Poetics* of Aristotle. He makes the three divisions of style depend chiefly upon diction (*Institutio Orat.*, I, v, 1-2; XII, x, 58-80), and classifies words as native or foreign, simple or compound, literal or metaphorical, current or coined (I, v, 3). He discusses barbarisms, solecisms, dialect words, importations, especially from the Greek and notes the difficulty in adapting these words to Latin inflections (I, v, 5-72; vi, 1-38). He notes, as does Aristotle, the majesty and charm of old words (I, vi, 39; VIII, iii, 24-30) and discusses the authority of example in their use, but warns against both vulgarity and obscurity. Coinage also falls under his ban (VIII, iii, 31-37) although he admits the efficacy of such words. He deals in detail with *propriety* (VIII, ii, 1-11), *traductio* (IX, iii, 70ff), *change* (X, i, 27-31), that is the lengthening, contraction, transposition, and division of words, the acquisition of vocabulary (X, i, 7), and with denotation and connotation (V, xi, 26-27).

became a centre of interest in Italy, and later in France and in England. This interest, as previously stated, was bound up with the development of a national literature and an humble pupilage to Greece and Rome.

Dante's specific purpose was to select as a literary standard one of the fourteen dialects of Italy, which he declared, showed a thousand minor varieties.¹⁵ To this end he examines and characterizes all the dialects with their intermixtures and corruptions. He rejects each as inadequate, but states there must exist a norm or standard through which such a comparison is rendered possible. This he finds in the "illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial" language of Italy, which belongs to all the towns, yet is peculiar to none.¹⁶ Dante, therefore, fixes upon the language of the courtly class as nearest to his ideal, since it is furthest removed from provincialism, is polished by culture and learning, and dignified by function and class usage. A similar choice was made by Puttenham nearly three centuries later in England. Dante must not, however, be understood to exclude the use of dialect, or ancient words from his universal Italian vernacular. In the last chapter of his first book he promises to deal more in detail with dialects. The promise is unfulfilled. In the course of the discussion, however, he posits the excellence of the vernacular¹⁷ and reaches the conventional conclusions, that language must be fitted to the subject, that illustrious diction pertains only to the thought centred in themes of Safety, Love, and Virtue,¹⁸ and that all diction is to be regulated by art.¹⁹

In comparison with later criticism Dante's treatise lacks the incisiveness of the particular, but his work is the very early orientation of the subject which opened a way to more detailed investigation.

Vida's god is Horace, but his prolixity can scarcely fail to show some development. His general prescription for diction,

¹⁵ *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Bk. I, cap. x.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Bk. I, cap. xvi; Trissino (*De La Poetica*, Div. I, p. 2: *Tutte le Opere*, Verona, 1729) recognized that the language of Dante was based primarily on the Tuscan dialect. This is now a matter of philological certainty.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, Bk. II, cap. v.; cap. iii.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, cap. ii.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, cap. iv.

as for all else, is "rob the ancients."²⁰ Their high sounding phrases and stately words are rich spoils. No religion, he says, forbids the poet to coin new words, but with an echo of Horace, he stipulates that such words shall come by legitimate descent.²¹ He advocates borrowing from other languages.²² In the Latin, he says, native words of Athens and Mycenae have donned a Roman garb; Gallic and Belgic terms have crossed the Alps. Words have come from far Macedon, and the barbarian bards have given of their store.²³ He points out the charm of old words, yet warns against too frequent use. He notes the value of compounds.²⁴ Words of huge bulk, he advises, should be split or pruned,²⁵ and he illustrates his teaching by the modification of harsh names. He recognizes, nevertheless, the value of harmonious names, and even admits the use of a few words whose sonorousness constitutes their sole claim to consideration.²⁶ In such details Vida marks the advance of criticism toward the particular.

To Scaliger, busied in the dissection of poetic elements, diction presents itself only as a subordinate feature of component parts. He, therefore, makes no distinctive contribution to the subject, but in general theory follows Aristotle.²⁷

Trissino's work marks the third great step in Italian study of diction. He brings the treatment to definite detail. The choice of language reckons with dialects, the practice of good writers, and the parallel conditions in Greece. The choice of words embraces a consideration of source,²⁸ age,²⁹ clearness, exaltation,

²⁰ *De Arte Poetica*: Bk. III, vv. 170ff.

²¹ *Ibid.*, vv. 267-271.

²² *Ibid.*, vv. 272-287.

²³ *Ibid.*, vv. 288-293.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vv. 305 ff.

²⁵ Familiarity with Latin inflection made this an easy task. The practice was universal both before and during the Renaissance. It met the exigencies of metre and softened otherwise inharmonious elements. Contemporary familiarity with the names prevented the obscurity which the custom has occasionally caused in later times.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, vv. 341-345.

²⁷ See *Poetices libri septem*, Lib. VII, cap. 6; IV, 45, 46, 47.

²⁸ *De La Poetica*: Div. I, p. 3, 4: Mixture of dialects demands a common language. Words should be in use by living authors and accepted everywhere; Authors may invent words. Of words not found in authors, but still in use, although it is, and will be lawful to use them, caution is necessary. If

beauty, theme, and genre. The use of words is tempered by art in enlargement, contraction, mutation, and transposition. The *soave* and the *dolce*, qualities of diction, are defined. And under that most difficult of all Italian words to render into English, *costume*, Trissino reduces decorum to a system, which reckons in one phase with nationality, station, and individual character, and in another with theme and genre.³⁰ He discusses in detail the rustic nature of the pastoral, and the consequent character of the diction suited to it. He hints that Theocritus has preserved some degree of decorum in his use of the Doric dialect, "che al oarer mio ha del rustico."³¹ For Vergil and Sannazaro he half apologizes in their failure to preserve a decorum of language, and of himself he says: "but I have not had the hardihood to make (compose) in rustic language since I have neither knowledge of nor experience in it; nevertheless I truly believe that should some good poet write eclogues in some such rustic dialect, as that used by Ruzante, Strassino, or Batista Soardo, and others perhaps he would succeed better." He decides, however, to leave the matter "to the judgment of those who wish to write eclogues."³² Such a declaration, on the part of so authoritative a critic as Trissino, would alone be a warrant for Spenser's language in the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

Muzio is one of the early critics who entered upon a belligerent defense of the vernacular. His *Battaglie per diffensa dell'*

common to all languages they may be used safely. "Ma se sono particolari di una lingua, hanno bisogno di sottile considerazione; perciò che, se sono belle, e tali, che si possano intendere facilmente da tutti, si ponno sicuramente usare siano di *che lingua si voglia*;" . . . "e queste specialmente stano bene ad usarsi ne lo Eroico, nel quale la varietà di lingue come dice Aristotele, si ricerca; e massimamente dove interviene il costume; cioè quando s'induce a parlare una di un paese, il cui costume è di usare comunemente parole di quello, il che fa spesso Dante et altri singularissimi Poeti."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4. Of ancient words there are two classes: those entirely obsolete, those in use by peasants and mountaineers; these are not to be used, "se non rarissime volte; e denno porsi in luogo commodo; et ove stia bene l'altezza, et ammirazione, le quali nascono spesse volte de la novità."

³⁰ For general reference see: *Op. cit.*, Div. I., pp. 3-5; Div. V.; Preface to *Sofonisba* (*Opere*, 1300); translation of Dante: *De La Volgare Eloquenza* (*Opere*, I, 147 ff).

³¹ The Doric is recognized as the most rustic and unpolished of Greek dialects.

³² *Op. cit.*, Div. VI, p. 137.

Italica lingua was preceded many years by the *Dell'Arte Poetica*, in which his interest in language is manifest. The light, half Horatian touch of Muzio is a relief after the serious solidity of Scaliger, Trissino, and Minturno. Of language he writes: he who has drawn only from native springs and has not turned the rich soil of Latin fields, babbles as a babe among the flowers. Greece drew her discipline from Egypt and Assyria, Rome in turn from Greece, and now beyond the Tiber sound high sweet notes of wisdom, art, and speech.³³ Literary language is not a birthright to Greeks, to Romans, nor to Tuscans. It is to be learned from books and writers, not from the common herd. But Muzio is himself no rigid censor, who, should he find in learned rhyme some particle which did not reëcho the sighs of Laura's lover, would lay the strap in irate fashion.³⁴ Boccaccio gleaned the culture of the ancients, and beyond all others is rich in charm, yet he gathered both of oats and tares.³⁵ It is lawful to borrow from other languages, and to compose new words, but cautiously that the semblance of Italian idiom may not be violated. The abundance of other tongues but serves the vulgar more greatly. Why should a road travelled by Ennius and Cato be forbidden to Molza and Bembo? But he who ventures beyond the current word, whether in search of the transposed, the new, or the antique, let him use judgment. Let him look to it, that the correct yield not too often to the incorrect, and that the new and old be used but seldom, whether it be necessary, or better to express a conceit, or even for ornament alone.³⁶

Although of the two great critical works of Minturno, one precedes, the other follows the works of Trissino and of Scaliger, since much of the matter of the *De Poeta* (1559) is repeated in the *De La Poetica* (1564), he is regarded as a later authority. Diction is a matter of paramount importance. Upon it he makes the qualities of perspicuity and propriety absolutely depend.³⁷ He defines, citing Cicero, the Italian *soave*, a word difficult of direct translation, yet representing a quality of diction and style,

³³ *Dell'Arte Poetica*, Venice, 1551, p. 69.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70; *Battaglie per difesa dell' Italica lingua*, Naples, 1743, p. 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70; pp. 88-89.

³⁷ *De Poeta*, Venice, 1559, Bk. VI, p. 447.

diligently sought in the Renaissance. *Soave* (smooth sweetness) consists first, in the elegance and fecundity of slow, resounding words, next, in a conjunction of words which admits no harshness, no break, no rough breathing, no long digression; rather the words must be adapted to the spirit, be like and equal, and so selected from opposites, that numbers may respond to numbers, and like to like.³⁸ For the rest, although he gives a few details not noted by others, such as the fact that monosyllables give gravity, polysyllables velocity, and that slowness or rapidity of verse is born of more or fewer accents, Minturno reiterates the conventional teachings.³⁹ He defends the vulgar tongue,⁴⁰ the license of poets in diction, the expansion of the language by all the means previously noted,⁴¹ and is peculiarly in favor of the use of archaic words.⁴² In the matter of decorum he is most explicit, dealing exhaustively with all phases of the theory.⁴³

With Tasso we reach a culmination of the literary theory of diction, and verge upon the endless disputations of the *Della Crusca*.⁴⁴ He declares with Aristotle, that the preëminent quality of eloquence is clearness. In poetic diction there are two points to be considered; the first is clearness combined with suitable elevation; the second, a sublimity which places the poet above the orator, for, as Cicero says, the poet speaks as if in another language.⁴⁵ He quotes Dion Chrysostom, that of all arts that of the poet has most license, and of all poets Homer has most grandly exercised this freedom. The father of poetry has chosen not one language, or a language of one character only, but he has included all, and mingled them together: not content to use the words of his own time and of all Greece, he

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

³⁹ *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. IV, p. 340.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Bk. I, p. 30.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, p. 321.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, pp. 301, 321.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Bk. I, pp. 45-49; Bk. II, pp. 113-129; Bk. IV, pp. 426-427; *De Poeta*, Bk. I, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Founded in 1582. The academy was the offshoot of older organizations. Its purpose was the purification of the language, its standard the Tuscan of Dante and Petrarch. The extreme conservatism of its standards gave rise, to furious opposition, and led to the famous Anti-Cruscan disputations.

⁴⁵ *Del Poema Eroico (Le Prose Diverse*, ed. Guasti, Firenze, 1873, Vol. I), Lib. IV, p. 200.

has used the antique, as if trapping himself with old coins drawn from the coffers of some rich lord. Many more he has drawn from the Barbarians, and he has abstained from none which carry within themselves either strength or charm. He has transported the near from the near, the far from the far. Nor does he leave these words in their ordinary form or nature; they are contracted, lengthened, transposed, changed—in short he shows himself not only a maker of verses but of words. He imitates the voices of the rivers, the forests, the winds, the fire, and the sea; beyond this of metal and stone, of beasts, of birds, of feathers, and indeed of every instrument and of every animal. He has named the rivers *μορμύροντα*, the lightning *χλάζοντας*, the waves *βοῶντα*, and the winds *χαλεπαίνοντας*. Many other like things he has done until his work is a marvel and fills the mind with unrest and awe.⁴⁶

Vergil, Tasso tells us, although he used ancient terms borrowed from Ennius and the other poets, and some terminations and a few other things from the Barbarians, did so with the greatest art and judgment. He mingled forms and characters but disposed them in such a guise, that while in his poem there are as many steps as in a theatre, the reader ascends easily by these. He meets no abrupt precipice. There is no intensely displeasing stumbling-block to offend the taste. Yet in expression and in that quality called by the Greeks *energia*, Vergil is marvellous and the equal of Homer. Moreover, he so imitated with sound and number that he placed his creation before the eyes and made his readers both hear and see.⁴⁷

Dante, the third among the masters, Tasso says, is more like to Homer in daring, in license, and in mingling antique and Barbarian words, than to Vergil. Yet he calls himself the disciple and imitator of the latter, and perhaps resembles him in brevity. Castelvetro distinguishes between the two by saying Homer is more vivid and detailed, while Vergil is more universal. To Castelvetro universality is a defeat in art; to Tasso it constitutes a quality of magnificence and dignity incompatible with minute description. The virtue of Homer and the virtue of Vergil, he

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 260. Examples of onomatopoeia: Dull thud—*procumbit humi bos*; calmness:—*rui oceano nox*; noise of battle: " . . . *perfractaque quadrupedantium* *Pectora pectoribus rumpunt*"

says, is the virtue of the true poet and of every poet, but the virtue of Vergil exceeds in that it is also peculiar to the heroic poet, whom it becomes to preserve decorum and sustain grandeur above everything else.⁴⁸

Elsewhere Tasso deals with common problems. The use of Latin words is excused and defended.⁴⁹ He declares it is not pedantic to use foreign words of noble strain as of the Provençal, French, or Spanish.⁵⁰ He explains that Aristotle in conceding the use of strange words to the epic poet alone, intends to convey rather that to him more than to others is the privilege granted.⁵¹ There is, he says, a poetic language just as there is a philosophic or historic one, and the poetic language is not the Florentine, not the modern, but the ancient mingled with foreign words.⁵²

A few echoes from the Anticruscan disputes will emphasize the prevalent keen critical interest in the matter of diction. Paola Beni embarks upon a scientific investigation of language. All authors are to be consulted, but five of the best are to be selected for intensive study. Dictionaries are to be made with examples quoted from the best authors, and Latin and Greek etymologies given.⁵³ He includes a valuable study of early forms.⁵⁴ In discussing the language of Boccaccio he alludes scornfully to the expurgated editions, saying justly, there is no longer any certainty in affirming that certain words were not used by Boccaccio.⁵⁵ But he states that many of the old words used by Boccaccio are to be found scattered in other ancient authors and tales: as in the Round Table, in the story of Rinaldo di Montalbano, in Maestro Aldobrandino, in Gio. Villani and in others.⁵⁶

Annibal Caro makes a vigorous plea for freedom in diction. He asks earnestly: Is it not lawful for the writers of one language to use the words of another? He claims that not only may foreign words of accepted standing be received, but those that have never been written, the new, the newly made, the Greek, the

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, *Apologia Del Poema*, p. 374. ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 374-375.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁵³ *L'Anticrusca: ovvero Il Paragone dell'Italiana Lingua*, pp. 2-4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5. He refers with praise to Salviati's edition, reconstructed from ancient texts with singular diligence, and restored to a true reading.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Barbarian, and even these changed from their first form and significance. Not only words but figures of speech are to be transposed from one language to another. These methods are taught by the Greek and Latin writers, and have been put into practice by Italian authors. Aristotle, both in his *Poetics* and in his *Rhetoric*, admits the use of foreign words. He not only approves, he praises and commends the custom as adding grace and delight to the composition, and lifting it above ordinary speech. If Aristotle is mistaken here, as he sometimes is, perhaps the names of Cicero, Demetrius, Quintilian, and Horace will carry weight. The Greeks used words from all their dialects. The Latins have used both the Greek and Barbarian languages. The Italians, before and after Petrarch, and Petrarch himself have used the Greek, the Latin, and the Barbarian; and from hand to hand, each according to his judgment, has taken what has not been before written by others: "*Nam et quae vetera nunc sunt, fuerunt olim nova.*" Hesiod used words not found in Homer, Pindar those not found in Hesiod, Callimachus those not in Pindarus, Theocritus those not found in Callimachus. They were excellent poets all. Empedocles used many foreign words not at first understood among the Greeks. Many words and locutions condemned by Cicero, Quintilian, Servius, Macrobius, Aulus, Gellius and many others, have been allowed by diverse people in diverse times; they have been used by poets and orators; by Cicero himself, by Asinius Pollio, Sergius Flavius, Massala, Augustus, and earlier by Pacuvius, Cecilius, Lucretius, Plautus, Terence, and many others. But in relation to the vulgar tongue, and leaving out all those before Petrarch who from time to time introduced new words, subdued their roughness and polished them to the state in which Dante left the language,—how many words from the Greek, the Latin, Provençal and common Italian has Petrarch added? How many have been added by judicious writers since his time? Judicious, Caro says advisedly, for despite the seeming partisanship he by no means advocates a rash gathering together of words, without conformity to style, reason, and idiom.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *Apologia Gli Amori di Dafne e Clloe, Rime di Annibal Caro*, (Società Editrice Sonzogno, Milan, 1900), pp. 35-37.

Ruscelli strikes yet another note, one later echoed by the French and English, when he proclaims the perfection of his native tongue. "I can prove," he says, "that this language, most beautiful in itself as the work of our poets shows, is superior to the language and poetry of either the Latins or the Greeks. All matters of art are reduced to perfection. For by study and culture the Italians have drawn from the Greeks, the Latins, the Spanish, the French, and even from the Germans, the Hebrews, and other strange nations, many things, in words, in phrasing, and in figures, which have enriched the language in the guise in which we see it today."⁸⁸

Instances of such criticism could be multiplied indefinitely. Enough has been said, however, to illustrate the source, the inherent character of repetition common to all Renaissance criticism, and the constant development toward a diction regulated by fixed principles, as well as to establish the keenness and universality of interest in the subject.

Tasso and Spenser approach each other more nearly than any other literary figures of the century. Both are poets of a high order of genius. Both come to their task equipped with rare training, and holding in mental solution the critical dogma of the age. The result is to be discussed later. But, whether by direct knowledge, through similarity of training, or likeness of temperament, the work of Spenser more nearly reflects the critical attitude of Tasso than that of any other writer.

The criticism which moulded the vernacular of Italy into a flexible medium of cultured literature was carried to France and England. In France it bred the *Pleiade*.

Fabri writes that art is necessary in all things; elegance consists in expressing one's meaning purely and clearly in noble terms; clearness and brevity are to be sought above everything.⁸⁹ Sebillet⁹⁰ urges the augmentation of the language through recourse to Latin and Greek writers, and especially to transla-

⁸⁸ Introduction to *Rime et Prose* of Minturno, p. 11; cf. Ruscelli's preface to *I Fiori delle Rime* (Venice, 1569); see also Belleforest's *Epistres des Princes* (Trans. from Ruscelli, Paris, 1572), pp. 203-4.

⁸⁹ *Le Grand et Vrai Art de Pleine Rhetorique de Pierre Fabri* (1521), ed. par A. Héron (Rouen, 1889), pp. 22, 27, 66-67.

⁹⁰ *Art Poétique François* (1548), ed. par Gaiiffe, Paris, 1910, chap. iv, pp. 29-33.

tors of the old authors, among whom he cites Macault and Jean Martin.⁶¹ Although the innovations of these two may seem rude, through their authority, supported both by art and industry, (qualities singularly required in the innovation of diction), much has been established which was previously unknown to our ancestors. Sebillet omits details, as already formulated by classic writers, but follows Horace in warning that innovations be made modestly and with judgment.

Du Bellay prescribes invention as a primary method of enriching the language, pointing out that innovation in art demands a corresponding innovation in language. It is permitted to mechanics and advocates to use new terms; why should a like liberty be denied learned men who wish to enrich by a few words a language not yet sufficiently ample? Such a stricture would be more rigid than the laws of Greece and Rome. He urges, therefore, that the poet no longer fear, especially in a long poem, to invent new words; but, he adds, let him use restraint, analogy, and judgment of the ear. Then, let him care neither for praise nor blame, but trust to the approval of posterity, which gives sanction to the doubtful, light to the obscure, novelty to the ancient, familiarity to the unaccustomed and sweetness to the harsh and rude. He cites the use of old words in Vergil. Of the French he says there are a "mil-autres bons motz, que nous avons perduz par notre negligence." "Ne doute point," he urges, "que le moderé vsaige de telz vocables [the ancient] ne donne grande maïesté, tant au vers comme à la Prose, ainsi que font Reliques des Saintz aux Croix, et autres sacres loyaux dediez aux Temples."⁶²

The *Pleiade* centres in Ronsard. He writes in his *Preface to the Franciade*: "I wish to strongly encourage the writer to take the wise boldness of inventing new words, provided he follows an example already received by the public. It is very difficult to write well in our language, if it is not enriched, beyond what it is at present, with words and varied phrasing. Those who write daily in it know well the restraint they endure, and the extreme annoyance of using always the same word." Beyond all, he warns, let there be no scruple in restoring to use antique words,

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31, note 2.

⁶² *La Defense et illustration* (1549): *Œuvres Choiesies*, ed. De Fouquieres, (Paris, 1878), chap. vi, pp. 44-46.

principally those of the Walloon and Picard languages which were for many centuries the true examples of French. Choose the most pregnant and significant words to serve poetry at need, not only from the said languages, but from the provinces of France.⁶³ Of such vital importance does Ronsard consider this principle that he repeats it:

I advise you to use indifferently all dialects as I have said; among which the courtly is always the most beautiful by reason of the majesty of the princes.⁶⁴ But even this cannot be perfect without the aid of others, for each garden has its particular flower . . . Learn your Greek and Latin diligently, look to your Italian and Spanish and when you have mastered them perfectly, draw upon them as a good soldier draws upon the conquered; then write in your mother tongue as did Homer, Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Vergil, Titus Livius, Sallust, Lucretius and a thousand others.⁶⁵

Ronsard's teaching is a system of reiteration: Do not reject the old words of our romances, he writes, but choose them with prudence.⁶⁶ Do not despise the old words of France for they always have vigor. In regard to Latin he states that earlier writers have drawn upon its riches too carelessly when there were native words equally good. He wishes, nevertheless, that the poet should boldly compose words in imitation of the Greek and Latin provided that they be gracious and pleasant to the ear. He reminds that the earliest have forged words since accepted as most beautiful and significant.⁶⁷ He calls attention to the resources offered by technical words, and the possibility of drawing figures, vivid and beautiful, from the trades.⁶⁸ Old words, of which only fragments are left, may be made to live again—grow and multiply in new forms.⁶⁹ Above all things else Ronsard seeks to restore ancient words and to weld all dialects into one rich and living language. Learn, he bids, aptly to choose and appropriate to your work the most significant word of the dialects of France, when you have no word so good and

⁶³ Pref. to *Françiadé: Œuvres de Ronsard* (Paris, 1866), VII, 32.

⁶⁴ Cf. *L'Abrégé: Op. cit.*, II, 321. Here Ronsard warns against the language of the court as affected and often very bad.

⁶⁵ Pref. to *Françiadé*, pp. 33–34.

⁶⁶ *L'Abrégé*, p. 320.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

expressive in your own tongue. Care not whether the word be Gascon, Poitevon, Nôrman, Manceaux, Lyonnaise or of any other section, provided only they are good and correctly express what you wish to say. (But have care not to speak too affectedly the language of the court, which is sometimes very bad). Know that the Greek language would never have been so rich in dialects and words, but for the number of republics; each of these, emulous of glory, had its own writers. Language extends national glory.⁷⁰

From Vauquelin we hear an echo of Ronsard with a tempering note. He repeats all of his master's teaching,⁷¹ adding more detailed devices for enriching the language; but he sanely warns against too free use of old and provincial words, aptly using the simile of turning from a pure fountain to stagnant waters, and citing Monin as a warning and a laughing stock.⁷²

De Laudun adds the accumulated weight of repetition to theories already cited. But he too gives a hint that earlier teachings have been too literally followed, and warns that it is not necessary to choose rude or gross words.⁷³

Criticism of diction in England, as compared with that on the continent, was crude and belated. There are none of the studied devices which have been observed in the teachings of the French and Italian critics. Its dominant note is nationalism. This note,—English for Englishmen,—which was sounded in the translations of Alfred and Ælfric, was struck again at the end of the fifteenth century in the prefaces and prologues of Caxton.

With Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham formal criticism was initiated in England. The more rabid phase of Elizabethan criticism of diction, which savagely attacks the "rakehelly route of ragged rhymers," the Italianate Englishmen, inkhorn terms, and sesquipedalian words,⁷⁴ falls dully on modern ears, for the

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷¹ *L'Art Poétique*, ed. par Pellissier, (Paris, 1855) L. I, 315–345 ff.; l. 365 ff.; l. 385; ll. 301–2; ll. 595–601; ll. 835–870; ll. 408 ff.

⁷² *Ibid.*, L. II, ll. 907 ff; ll. 975 ff.

⁷³ *L'Art Poétique*, L. IV, chap. 3, p. 133 ff; L. III, p. 77.

⁷⁴ Thos. Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*, (1560) Bk. III, pp. 160–166; Ascham's *School-master* (London, 1909), Bk. I, pp. 72–92; the controversial writings of Harvey and Nash; Robt. Greene's *Quips for an Upstart Courtier*; Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*: Bk. III, chap. IV; Wm. Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie: Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, I, 246.

ephemeral crowd of writers who drew upon themselves such condemnation has been eliminated by time. Wilson excellently characterizes these, in a passage which sheds strong light on the fads and follies of speech in his day.⁷⁵

His wholesale condemnation of foreign and inkhorn terms is succeeded by a slight effort toward constructive work. He is dismayed at the chaotic state of the language and hints at the necessity for standardization:

. . . . either we must make a difference of English and say some is learned English and other some is rude English, or the one is court talke, the other is country speech, or els we must of necessitie banish all such *Rhetorique*, and vse altogether one maner of language.

The prime qualities in diction are, for him, simplicity and clearness. Latin and Greek words are to be admitted only when already well established in the language, and commonly understood. Cicero is his guide in the choice of words: first that the words be proper to the tongue used; second that they be "plain for all men to perceive;" third that they be apt and meet to set out the matter; fourth that translated words (metaphor) be used to beautify the sentence. The characteristic features of

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, ed. G. H. Mar (Clarendon Press, 1909), Bk. III: "Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that wee neuer affect any straunge or ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued: neither seeking to be ouer fine nor yet liuing ouer-carelesse vsing our speeche as most men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue done. Some seeke so far for outlandish English that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tell what they say; and yet these fine English clerkes will say, they speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for counterfeiting the Kings English. Some farre journeyed gentleman at their retirme home, like as they loue to goe in forraigne apparell, so thei will poulder their talke with ouer sea language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke French English and neuer blush at the matter. An other chops in with English Italianated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking, the which is, as if an Oratour that professeth to vtter his mind in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetric, and farre fetched colours of straunge antiquitie. . . . The fine courtier will talke nothing but *Chaucer*. The mysticall wiseman and Poeticall Clerkes will speake nothing but quaint Prouerbes, and blinde Allegories, delighting much in their owne darkenesse, especially, when none can tell what they doe say. The vnlearned or foolish phantasticall, that smelles but of learning (such fellowes as haue seen learned men in their daies) wil so Latin their tongues, that the simple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely they speake by some reuelation.

Wilson's criticism are nationalism and saneness. The first demands an exclusion of foreign elements, the second, of remote or obsolete terms not universally understood.

The words of Cheke strengthen the position of Wilson:

I am of this opinion that our tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangled with borrowing other tungenes. . . . For then doth our tung naturallie and praisable utter her meaning, when she bouroweth no counterfeitness of other tungenes to attire her self withall, but useth plainlie her own . . . and if she want at ani tym yet let her borrow with such bashfulness, that it mai appeer that if either the mould of our own tung could serve us to fassion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly venture of unknownen words.⁷⁶

In the utterances of Cheke and Wilson may be distinctly read a reaction against excesses engendered by continental teaching. Moreover, this criticism of diction is colored to a certain extent by a moral prejudice against foppish foreign fashion.⁷⁷ This is especially true of Ascham in whom the moralist and schoolmaster often cloud the clearness of the critic. His condemnation of the use of "straunge and inkhorne termes" is only a part of his arraignment of the corrupting influence of Italy. In Varro and Sallust he condemns old and rough words, and foreign phrasing, and here the point of interest is the suitability of the works in question for teaching purposes. The efforts of the three pioneers of English criticism were chiefly directed toward the creation of a national diction, clear, simple, and purged of all extravagances.

A few other critical passages are worthy of note. King James VI writes: "Ye mon also take heid to frame your wordis and sentencis according to the mater." And also, "Gif your purpose be of landwart affairis, to vse corruptit and vplandis wordis."⁷⁸ The latter precept, it is interesting to note, directly expresses a

⁷⁶ Letter to Thos. Hoby prefixed to his translation of the *Courtier*, *Tudor Translations* (London, 1900), XXIII, 12-13.

⁷⁷ A group of noble young men were, in the eleventh year of Henry VIII's reign, by public remonstrance of the ministers, banished from the court for no other reason than they "were so high in love with the French court" that they saw no good in England (*Hall's Chronicles*, p. 592). Lyly in his *Euphues* (pp. 314,-15,-16.) records hatred of all things Italian.

⁷⁸ *A Short Treatise on Verse* (1584): *Eliz. Crit. Ess.*, I, 218.

principle almost universally taught by Italian and French critics, and followed by Spenser,⁷⁹ although opposed to the general trend of English criticism.

The avowed purpose of Puttenham is "to make of a rude rimer a learned and a Courtly poet." Therefore in his work appear the practical elements of a constructive criticism which approaches the method, but not the view of the continent. His theory remains essentially English, and in general close to Wilson. In a passage⁸⁰ which excellently supplements the glimpse given by Wilson of the state of language, he condemns, the use of dialect, the "peeuish affectation" of primitive words by scholars, and the imitation of the early poets, even Chaucer. Like Dante he finds his ideal language in the court:

Ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx myles, and not much aboue. I do not say this but that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake, but specially write, as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes do for the most part condescend.

⁷⁹ The letter of E. K. is excepted as being a direct expression of Spenser's views.

⁸⁰ *The Arte of English Poesie* (1569), Bk. III, chap. 4: "This part [diction] in our maker or Poet must be heedily looked vnto, that it be naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countrey; and for the same purpose rather that which is spoken in the kings court, or in the good townes and Cities within the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in Vniuersities where Schollers vse much peeuish affectation of words out of the primatiue languages, or finally, in any vplandish village or corner of a Realme, where is no resort but of poore rusticall or vnciuill people: neither shall he follow the speach of a craftes man or carter or other of the inferiour sort, though he be inhabitant or bred in the best towne and Citie in this Realme, for such persons doe abuse good speeches by strange accents or ill shapen soundes and false ortographie. But he shall follow generally the better brought vp sort, such as the Greekes call *charientes*, men ciuill and graciously behauored and bred. Our maker therfor at these dayes shall not follow *Piers plowman*, nor *Gower*, nor *Lydgate* nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of vse with vs; neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen or of their best clarkes, all is a matter; nor in effect any speech vsed beyond the riuier of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is; no more is the far Westerne mans speach."

With further detail he defines the words which may be judiciously admitted to the language, makes a just and clear statement of decorum, defines style, enumerates six classic points of good speech, and posits diction as an Art.⁸¹

Sidney touches with lightness and surety upon the sorest faults of the age. The "honey flowing matron eloquence," he says, has been disguised "in a courtesanlike painted affectation: one time with so far-fet words, that many seem monsters . . . another time with coursing of a letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a dictionary, another time with figures and flowers extremely winter-starved." Euphuism he does not name but writes: "Now for similitudes in certain printed discourses, I think all herbarists, all stories of beasts, fowls, and fishes are rifled up, that they may come in multitudes to wait upon any of our conceits, which certainly is as absurd a surfeit to the ear as is possible." The fault lies, he says, not with the language but the writer who "using art to show art and not to hide art—as in these cases he should do—fleeth from nature and indeed abuseth art." For the language itself, it is "capable of any excellent exercising of it," and "for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world. . . ." ⁸²

In 1595 this praise was echoed in the tractate of Sir Richard Carew, *The Excellency of the English Tongue*, which clearly emulated similar eulogies already noted among the Italian and French.⁸³

This concludes our review of the critical attitude toward diction, of Spenser's age. Of the above citations from English writers, only the views of Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham were published in time to have influenced our poet. The social and literary relations of Sidney and Spenser place almost beyond question the restraining influence upon the protégé of the clear and temperate views of the patron, although as Spenser has hinted,⁸⁴ and Sidney⁸⁵ himself recorded, they did not always agree. The common influence of Italian literature and criticism

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, chapters iv, v, vi, vii, viii.

⁸² *Defense of Poesy* (1595), ed. A. S. Cook (N. Y., 1890), pp. 52, 54.

⁸³ See also Webbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff.

⁸⁴ Spenser's letter to Harvey, *Works of Spenser*, ed. Grosart, IX, 273.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

upon both would render indeterminate any effort to define the scope of mutual influence. For the remaining citations, the significance lies merely in the common recognition of contemporary problems which posits an atmospheric knowledge of and inter-relation with continental criticism.⁸⁶

In the long period between Chaucer, and Wyatt and Surrey there were two trends in the development of literature: the one of a popular literature which tended to preserve old and dialect forms, and culminated in the *Morte d'Arthur* of Malory,⁸⁷ and other publications of Caxton and Wynken de Worde; the other of a learned literature which made Latin, or a Latinated English its medium and culminated in Erasmus, Colet, and More. Moreover, the prevalence of foreign travel introduced an extensive and ill-considered use of borrowed terms and phrases.⁸⁸ With these diverse elements a self-conscious criticism demanded not the enrichment but the expurgation of the language. Hence the earliest critics sought an elimination of old, obsolete, and dialect terms on the one hand, and of ink-horn terms and foreign borrowings on the other. At one with this demand for a pure English diction was the assertion of nationalism.

In contrast with this was the insistent demand of French criticism for an enrichment of the language by a resort to Latin, foreign, and dialect forms, and by the reintroduction and rebuilding of old words. A little in advance of England, the literary ambition of France was the creation of a national epic to rival the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Æneid*. For this a rich medium was the primary requisite. Hence language was the central interest of the *Pleiade*.

⁸⁶ Here mention should be made of Hoby's translation (1561) of Castiglione's *Courtier*.

⁸⁷ Ascham attests the popularity of such works: "Yet I know when God's Bible was banished the Court and "Morte Arthur" received into the prince's chamber." For popular taste see also *Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books*, or *Robt. Laneham's Letter* (1575), *Ballad Soc.*, London, 1871.

⁸⁸ Lyly's *Euphues* (1578), should be cited here. Although the work is primarily noted for precision and artificiality of style, the diction forms no mean part of that style, and had its influence even among those who ridiculed the author's excesses. The work was created under foreign influence, exerted both directly and through translations, and in turn, through its own influence, should be reckoned with as criticism.

In Italy the same interest existed but was not so sharply centralized. The epic of Dante was a proud national monument. The work of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Poliziano, Lorenzo, Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto went forward, by gradations, upon the epic path. Criticism was an art in itself that sought the perfection of art. This found a realization in the epic of Tasso, a work of conscious art rather than of inspiration. In the criticism of both nations there is reiterated, to an extent beyond reproduction, the necessity of enriching the vernacular. The poet is taught to borrow, to invent, to alter, to transpose, to collect, and to reinstate. Above all is urged the literary value of ancient words⁸⁹ in adding richness, dignity, and distinction to language. It was in this atmosphere of intense critical interest that Shakespeare's men and women bandied words and that Spenser sought a noble and flexible medium for his own epic conception.

II. THIS THEORY AS APPLIED TO THE FAERIE QUEENE

The outstanding features of Spenser's diction are his copiousness, his use of so called archaisms,¹ and the musical quality of his language. The three are so closely related as to render a sharp division of the topics impossible; hence the discussion must shift from one to the other as occasion demands. The easy and musical flow of Spenser's language tends at first to obscure the fullness and variety of his diction. Art, indeed, almost conceals art, and close study is required for a true apprehension of the nature and sources of his rich vocabulary.

⁸⁹ Du Bellay, *Deff. et Illus.* (1549), chap. vi, p. 128. The use of ancient words gives "grande maesté;" Muzio; *Dell' Arte Poetica*, p. 71; Minturno; *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. IV, p. 301: To give to the verse majesty it is granted to the poet to use ancient and disused words; *Ibid.*, p. 321. "Per la qual cosa le parole, che rendono il verso magnifico, e maiesteuole, sono l'Antiche dalla consuetudine del parlare accettate: e le Pellegrini, purché non ui sia Barbaresimo, e le Fatte, se le nuouamente trovate, se l'uso le riceue, e gli orecchi non le schifano: e le Traslato, ch'a guisa di matutine stelle adornano, & illuminano il dire." Tasso, *Del Poema Eroico*:—"e particolarmente le parole disusate la fanno più venerabile, perchè sono come forestieri tra cittadini."

¹ This term is deliberately adopted by the writer to designate the old and less familiar forms used by Spenser, for: a) It does not necessarily carry the connotation obsolete; b) It is the term employed in all criticism to denote old words; c) It is a term already familiar in *materia critica* relating to Spenser.

In its initial stage Spenser's copiousness may be attributed to his learning, wide reading,² memory, and powers of assimilation. But the riches with which his mind was stored, were varied and increased by every device and license allowed by critical authority to the poet.

In his use of archaisms, also, Spenser was following the tenets of contemporary criticism. As we have seen, one of the points most insistently stressed in French and Italian poetic theory, is the literary value of old words. But with this influence was mingled a current from another source,—that of his native literary tradition. This blending of continental and national elements, which is characteristic of all Spenser's work, is most clearly exhibited in the well-known Epistle from "E. K." to Harvey which prefaces the *Shepheardes Calender*, and which, whether or not it be the work of Spenser himself, reflects intimate acquaintance with the workings of his mind. In the principle and method of enriching the language, in the literary purpose of the archaisms, and in the principle of decorum, Spenser has followed classic, French and Italian criticism. For this, abundant authority has been adduced. But in his effort to establish a pure English diction, and to refine and polish the language, the critic poet was under a definitely national influence, transmitted through the pronouncements of Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham, through the early efforts of Wyatt, Surrey, and Turbervile to subdue the rude vernacular, and through the inspiration of Chaucer.

In his method of achieving this end Spenser, it is true, set himself in opposition to the national view by his revival of old and dialect forms, the use of which, as we have seen, was condemned by the early critics.³ Sidney wrote:

The Shepherd's Calendar hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading, if I be not deceived. That same framing of his stile to an old rustic language I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greek, Vergil⁴ in Latin, nor Sannazzaro in Italian did affect it.⁵

² See Wm. Riedner, *Spenser's Belesenheit*, Leipzig, 1908.

³ Cf. Ascham: *op. cit.* pp. 132-186; Vives: *On Education*, trans. by Foster Watson (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 139-141, 147-8, 154.

⁴ Vives holds an opposite view: "Vergil strove to catch the charm of the country dialects, in which kind of effort Theocritus allowed himself considerable indulgence." *Op. cit.*, p. 137. Cf. *supra*. p. 14.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 47. It is worthy of note here that Bruno, whose influence over

Two decades later Ben Jonson spoke with contempt: "Spenser affecting the ancients writ no language."⁶ The letter of E. K. forestalls and answers just such criticism. Moreover, it establishes the independent attitude of the poet, for, secure in the French and Italian support⁷ of his views, he again puts his theory into practice in the *Faerie Queene*.

The gap between the rugged diction of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and the courtly phrasing of the *Faerie Queene*, may be bridged by a single critical tenet, decorum. The one work is as consciously archaic as the other; the degree rests in the adaptation of diction to character, setting, theme, and genre. The difference but emphasizes the critical method of the poet.

Spenser's theory of diction recognized a double function of the poet: as an autocrat of poetic diction his was the power to enlarge, modify, and embellish the language at will; as the arbiter of the national language his was the duty to establish and preserve the integrity and purity of the vernacular. It is the purpose of this discussion to determine to what degree he reconciled these functions, and to interpret the true nature of his diction.

At the risk of seeming contradiction with what precedes and what is to follow, Spenser's vocabulary may be characterized as essentially English and essentially simple. His most copious innovations, made in the use of archaic words, are English. His Latinisms are few and well established. His foreign terms are largely the phrasing of the court-of-love parlance, so familiar as to have lost its foreign flavor, or else they are words and inventions motivated by metric considerations.

In this matter of diction, after duly acknowledging the influence of the earlier critics, the controlling force is seen to be

Sidney in other matters is evident, names among a list of vain pursuits "the revival of obsolete words, and the attempt to lift them again to the stars." (*Gli Eroici Furori*, Pt. II, p. 404). Æneas Silvius, whose writings were well known in England, also condemns the use of old terms. He quotes Aulus Gellius of Phavorinus: "Copy the virtues of the great men of old, but let their archaisms die with them." *Vittorino da Feltre*, ed. Wm. H. Woodward, (Cambridge University Press, 1905), pp. 147-148). Cf. the implied criticism of Daniel:

"Let others sing of Knights and palladines

In aged accents and untimely words" (*Delia*, Sonnet LII.)

⁶ *Discoveries*, ed. Schelling, p. 57, I. 26.

⁷ Cf. Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. VI., p. 113.

Chaucer. For in the great poet Spenser recognized not only the Father of English Poetry, but the Father of English Diction. Though Spenser names the master but once, in the *Faerie Queene*,⁸ then he is—

Dan Chaucer well of English undefyled (IV, ii, 32).

From this well Spenser drew inspiration, in his effort to become in turn the master of English speech. He did not attempt to reproduce the diction of Chaucer. The two poets need only to be read together to establish this fact. But he drew from him words and phrases with which both to restore and to enrich the native tongue,⁹ for in this process the two functions of the poet meet.

Before proceeding to discuss Spenser's archaisms, certain misapprehensions in regard to his language must be corrected. First, the diction of the *Faerie Queene* is by no means so antiquated as is often supposed. The practice of printing texts in modernized form has resulted in creating a mistaken impression as to the true nature of Elizabethan English. Moreover, many

⁸ The fragment of the so-called Bk. VII is not included here.

⁹ The *Glosse* of E. K. added to the *Shepheardes Calendar* supports this statement with specific evidence: *Feb. Ec.*, (vv. 35–36); "heardgromes, Chaucers verse almost whole E.K.," cf. *Hous of Fame* (iii, 135–6); *May Ec.* (v. 92), "chevisaunce, sometimes of Chaucer used for gaine: sometime of other for spoyle, or bootie, or enterprise, and sometime for chiefdome.—E. K.," *May Ec.* (v. 251), "clincke, a keyhole. Whose diminutive is clicket, used of Chaucer for a Key.—E. K.," *July Ec.* (v. 177), "glitterand, a participle used sometime in Chaucer, but altogether in I. Gower.—E. K.," etc. The glossary of E. K. has not been accorded the full significance due it, as an exposition of Spenser's diction. It confirms to a degree the claim advanced that Spenser's purpose was not the reproduction of an earlier diction but the enrichment of the vernacular through the restoration of old and dialect words, and the incorporation of new and legitimate terms. The commentator usually contents himself with a mere definition of the words. Sometimes he gives a source as in the examples cited above and in: "overture, an open place. The word is borrowed of the French and used in good writers.—E. K." (*July Ec.* v. 28); "Woe, Woe, Northerly.—E. K." (*Sept. Ec.*, v. 25); and in (*Apr. Ec.* v. 155): "Yblent, y is a poetically addition, blent, blinded.—E. K.," *May Ec.* (v. 6), "yclad, arraye. y redoundeth as before. E. K.," *Apr. Ec.* (v. 28), "frenne, a straunger. The worde, I thinke, was first poetically put, and afterwards used in common custome of speach for forene.—E. K." The words are drawn from various sources, and E. K.'s glossary is sufficiently complete to enable the ordinary reader to understand the crabbed diction of the *Shepheardes Calendar*. The comments and exact references for classic allusion give illuminating testimony as to the classical training of the day.

Spenserian words cited as archaisms are not really archaisms since they are also found in the writings of his contemporaries.

Again, the scholarship of his age was not such as to warrant the assumption of scientific knowledge of Old or Middle English forms on Spenser's part. His use of earlier forms was due to his remarkable power of assimilation, and this in turn was dependent upon his wide familiarity with earlier literature. This wide familiarity with earlier English should put us on our guard against the common tendency to regard Chaucer as the sole or direct source of Spenser's archaisms. He also knew Gower, Lydgate, and Occleve; and the metrical romances, from which he drew the body of his material, offered rich fields for his experiments in diction. In these last may be found a key to much that is obscure. Finally, it should be noted that many of the words in the *Faerie Queene* which are classed as dialect words, as foreign borrowings, or as inventions, are by no means peculiar to Spenser. For all these reasons, the utmost circumspection is required in dealing with the poet's vocabulary.¹⁰ The purpose of the present discussion is to exhibit his critical method and, by corroborative examples, to demonstrate the legitimacy of his usage.

In the inflection of verbs Spenser found opportunity both for variety and for the reinstatement of earlier forms. The verbal ending *-en* appears as a preterite participle, as an infinitive, and as a plural both present and preterite. First of all, it should be observed that all archaic inflections in Spenser's works exist side by side with modern forms, with an overwhelming predominance of the latter. For example, *burn* appears thirty times; twice it assumes the form *bren* (*brenne*)¹¹—in each case as a final syllable—and once the form *burnen* occurs;¹² *brought* appears approximately three hundred times, *broughten*¹³ but once; *wrought*, one hundred and fifty times, *wroughten*, once.¹⁴ Neither of the antiquated forms appears in the *Faerie Queene*.

¹⁰ For my predecessors in this field see the opening section of Part I of this discussion. My own observations, and numerical statements have been checked by reference to Osgood's *Concordance*.

¹¹ *F. Q.* III, iii, 34, 8; IV, iii, 45, 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, XII, 37, 9.

¹³ *S. C.*, Feb. Ec., v, 212.

¹⁴ *S. C.*, Aug. Ec., v, 134.

Undue emphasis has been laid upon the unique appearance of *broughten*, *stroven*, and *liveden*¹⁵ as preterites. As plurals, infinitives, and participles the form appears oftener, but even here the proportion is almost negligible. *Comen*¹⁶ occurs but three times in the *Faerie Queene* although *come* appears more than a hundred times. *Bounden* occurs three times, but this last as a theological and poetic word has always been current. The poet's attitude toward these forms in *-en* is evident. By analogy, the *-en* ending appeared to be a good English form worthy of preservation. It added a flexible light syllable which could be used or discarded at will, a point most grateful in iambic structure. It softened monosyllabic stress, and aided in reducing the line to the level accent sought by Spenser. Nor were these forms by any means so archaic as they now seem for they were current in many words in which they have since been discarded.¹⁷

The endings *-st*, *-est*, *-edest*, *-eth*, which lend archaic color to Spenser's pages, were common in all English literature of the period. In Spenser they are unusually frequent and are made entirely subservient to metrical purposes.

An interesting and possibly a genuine archaic form is to be found in the few instances of a participle in *-and*, *glitterand*¹⁸ and *trenchand*.¹⁹ Though this was the ending of the Northern present participle; the explanation of its use by Spenser is not certain: *Trenchant*²⁰ appears beside *trenchand*. *Thrillant*²¹ and *persant* (*persaunt*)²² show the ending of the French present participle. The difference in the final letter may be a mere matter of spelling due to the common substitution of one for the

¹⁵ *F. Q.*, II, x, 7, 7: *S. C.*, *Feb. Ec.*, V, 212; *ibid.*, *July Ec.*, v, 167.

¹⁶ *F. Q.*, II, XI, 29, 9; V, IX, 21, 3; VI, XI, 44, 1.

¹⁷ See Wilson: *Arte of Rhetorique*, Bk. III, p. 165, *doen*; *Ded. of Rule of Reason doen*; Elyot's *Gouwerour*, Bk. I, p. 26, *doen*; Bk. II, p. 157, *founden*; Bk. II, p. 131, *stricken*, *aboden*; Bk. II, pp. 144 to 146, *commen*; Bk. II, p. 145, *known*.

¹⁸ *F. Q.*, I, iv, 16, 9; vii, 29, 4; II, vii, 42, 1; II, xi, 17, 1; *Shepheards Calendar*, *July Ec.*, 1.177.

¹⁹ *F. Q.*, I, i, 17, 3; I, xi, 24, 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, V, v, 9, 1.

²¹ Wagner (*op. cit.*, p. 47) cites *thrilland* as an example of the Northern form. I have examined thirteen editions of Spenser including one each of 1599, 1609, and 1679; in all of these the spelling is *thrillant*, and it is so noted in the *N.E.D.*; see *F. Q.*, I, xi, 20, 2; II, iv, 46, 1.

²² *F. Q.*, I, x, 47, 5; II, iii, 23, 4; III, ix, 20, 9.

other. Both forms, however, must have been known to Spenser. The participle in-*and* is found in Chaucer although he prefers the modern ending-*ing* (*ynge*). It appears in Gower, and, as is natural, in Barbour, Dunbar,²³ and Lindsay. In the romances the forms *glimerand*, *glitterand*, *scinand*, and *schimmerande* are frequently found.²⁴ The words may therefore be either the preterite participle of the North, or the present participle of the French.

A large class of archaic forms is supplied by the preterites of both strong and weak verbs. In considering these, it must be kept in mind: that the form may be a mere variant of Elizabethan orthography; or that, though genuinely archaic, it may still have been current among other writers. *Plonge*, *hong*, *strook*, *strake*, *song*, *sung*, *sang*, *dronck*, *druncke*, and *dranke* are mere spellings. *Quooke* and *woxe* are genuine Middle English forms, but of the latter, Spenser uses as variants *waxe*, *woxe*, *wex*, *waxen*, *woxen*, *wexen*, or else changes the form to a final-ed.

Meint (menged, mingled), nempt²⁵ (nemman), yold,²⁶ *underfong*, *molt*, *swolt*, *herried*, *tane*, *shend*, *girn*, *to-lorn*²⁷ and *garred* are old and less common forms. *Holped*, *holpen*, *housled*, *nousled*, *ween*, *rede*, *wot*, *mote*, *kenned*, *couth*, *hote*, *yode*, and its hybrid preteritive present *yead*²⁸ are all old forms, which were still common in Elizabethan literature. Most if not all appear in Shakespeare. In Elyot's *Gouvernour* are to be found numerous terms cited as archaic in Spenser.

Two antique verb phrasings Spenser has assimilated and used with good effect: the causative sense of *do* ("doen him to die") and *can*, as an enclitic auxiliary, having the force of *did* or a

²³ "Full low *inclinand*—": Dunbar, Ellis's Spec.; "Our sovereign *havand*" . . . Lord Herries (1568) (*N.E.D.*);

²⁴ *Sir Degrevant*: Lincoln MS. "Glemerand hir sycle"; *The Wars of Alexander*: Chasteand, l. 4607, flatband; schemerand, ll. 483, 5592; shemerand, l. 1544; lazand, l. 4367, gletirand, l. 3346, 3797, 3686, 5536; glyssynand, l. 3015. Cf. E. K.'s comment, July Ec., l. 177.

²⁵ See Glossary: Ritson's *Ancient Metrical Romances*.

²⁶ *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10215.

²⁷ *Erle of Toulous*, l. 94.

²⁸ See *Childe Maurice*, (Child's Ballads; II, p. 314) *yodest*; *Wm. of Palerne*, l. 3672; Leg. of the Holy Rood, p. 115, l. 253; *Erle of Toulous*, l. 617; *Le Bone Florence*, l. 391; Lydgate: *Temple of Glas*, l. 205; *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2769; Drant: "Years *yead* away faces fair deflowre"; Bryskett; *Pastoral Aeclogue*.

simple preterite. The phrasing is Chaucerian, but not peculiarly so, as the expressions are common in the romances.²⁹ The context in these last, and in Spenser makes it quite probable that *can* had come to be felt as *gan*.

Another large group of verbs, which are lifted by prefixes from their usual form, may be classed as poetic. The chief particles are *a-*, *ab-*, *ac-*, *af-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *en-*, *for-*, *un-*, *to-*, and *y-*. As well established and significant prefixes these formed a legitimate method by which any poet might vary his diction. We find: *abeare*, *adrad*, *accourage*, *advew*, *affrend*, *behappen*, *besprint*, *depart* or *dispart* (divide), *disease*, *disadvauce*, *discounsel*, *enmove*, *encheare*, *enrace*, *forgo*, *fordo*, *to-rent*, *to-torn*, *to-worn*, *to-bruzd*, *ybet*, *yronde*, *ycleped*, *ylost*. A reference to the glossaries of Chaucer, of Shakespeare, and of the romances will fully establish the right of the foregoing forms to be included in the poetic vocabulary of an Elizabethan.

In the use of nouns Spenser's archaisms are few and simple. The old plural in *-en* attributed to him is confined to *eien* (*eyen*)³⁰ *brethren*, and *fone*³¹ (*foen*). These words had commonly retained this form and are not to be classed as unusual. The so-called old plural and possessive in *-es* is the ordinary Elizabethan spelling. When the apostrophe first came into use, it was employed indifferently to denote the omission of "e" in the possessive or in the plural. Spenser pronounced *-es* as a separate syllable only when the exigencies of metre so required. The spelling of such nouns as *humblesse*, *gentillesse*, *finenesse*, and *holinesse*, was too common to retain any real significance of Old English gender or of French derivation. The feminine suffix *-ess* was also too well established to merit comment, although *tyrannesse*, *championnesse*, *warriouresse* and *conqueresse* may carry a tinge of satire in their emphasis. *Eme*, much cited as an archaism in Spenser, where it occurs but once,³² is not uncommon in Chaucer³³ and is frequent in the romances.

²⁹ See *Guy of Warwick*: l. 1468, "That er sperys *can* toschyder"; l. 1600; "Forthe in fere *can* they goo"; l. 2701, "The emperoure *can* thens wende."; l. 3745, "He *can* mete a straunger swevon"; See also Bp. Percy's Folio Ms., Vol. III, *The Carle off Carlile*, ll. 15, 36, 48, 250, 274.

³⁰ Cf. Elyot, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, p. 137; Bk. I, p. 26.

³¹ Cf. *Erl. of Toulous*, l. 459.

³² *F. Q.*, II, X, 47, 1; Drayton, *Polyolbion* (Spenser Soc. Pub., XXii), Pt. III. p. 36; see Wright's *Dial. Dict.* for citations as late as 1855.

³³ See *Troilus*, Bk. II, l. 162.; cf. *N.E.D.*

With Spenser's usage in the matter of pronouns, may also be included his frequent employment of impersonal and reflexive verbs. Here again one finds archaic color, though it is unsafe to attribute too much direct influence to the older language. Among the Elizabethans pronominal usage had not reached the fixed stage it has since acquired. That the possessive pronoun should follow the name was no rare construction. The exclusive use of *it* in reference to inanimate objects had not been established. *Ye* was a common form. *Which*, *what* and *that* were interchangeable. *Swich*, *swuch*, and *sich* remain in dialect even today. Transposition, taught as a rhetorical device, led to stiff and unusual forms. Impersonal and reflexive verbs, while strongly characteristic of earlier writing, are a constituent part of poetic diction. These Spenser used freely. The more antiquated use of pronouns found in the *Shepherd's Calendar* was a conscious effort toward colloquialism prompted by the principle of decorum. That some of these forms should pass into the *Faerie Queene* is no matter for wonder. A point often noted is Spenser's use of an old genitive *hir*, for "their." There is no certainty, however, that Spenser intended to revive this form. The following line is quoted³⁴ as an instance—

From the worldes eye and from *her* right usaunce.
(*F. Q.*, II, vii, 7, 4.)

World is personified and *her* is a correct reference. To construe *her* as *their* referring to riches, is possible but somewhat forced. In the *Shepherd's Calendar* there are some instances of its unmistakable use as *their*,³⁵ but this fact is offset by the opening lines of the September *Æclogue* in which the form is distinctly used as dialect:

Hob. Diggon Davie, I bidde *her* god day:
Or Diggon *her* is, or I missaye.
Dig. *Her* was *her* while it was daye light,
But now *her* is a most wretched wight.

On the other hand, as an archaic word *her* (*hir*) could easily have been assimilated from Chaucer, or even more readily from the romances where it is used with inconceivable laxness; the

³⁴ Cf. Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³⁵ *Sh Cal.*, *May Ec.*, l. 60; *Sept. Ec.*, l. 39.

question therefore, as to whether it is to be referred to a dialect or archaic source remains open.³⁶

In adverbials and connectives Spenser makes free use of certain old forms: *albe*, *algates*, *forby*, *forthy*, *whilom*, *eath*, *uneath*, *farre*, *warre*, *narre*, *liever*, *enaunter*, *ne*, *nethalas*, *mo*, etc. But these forms which survive today only in poetic language, were not so segregated in Spenser's day. All of these forms are to be found elsewhere; *farre*, *narre*, *warre*, and *liever* were colloquial. In the very passage in which Sidney condemns Spenser's use of archaisms he writes "sith." Almost every variant of the word is to be found in the *Gouvernour*. There, too, appears *eath* quite as often as in the *Faerie Queene*. *Eft* and *eftsoons* occur in Puttenham and others.³⁷ And thus runs the tale of Spenser's archaisms.

Other methods by which the poet enriched his vocabulary may be briefly examined. Spenser, as has already been stated, followed the English critics in their bias against Latinisms. The only "inkhorne terme" which can be cited is *trinall triplicities*; Spenser uses this twice but because of its mouth-filling rhythm we may forgive him this defection. Among less familiar words which show orthographic traces of nearness to the parent stem are: *abiecte* (to cast down or out), *caerule*, *conceipt*, *deceipt*, *crumenall* (Lat. *crumena*), *edify*, *re-aedify* (to build), *porcpisces*, *protense*³⁸ and *adward*.³⁹ None of these are peculiar to Spenser, except possibly the two last, which, so far as is known, do not appear elsewhere. Both are simple and legitimate developments. *Protense*, a drawing on, is merely a shortened form of *protension*. *Award*⁴⁰ is a hybrid from *O. H. G. worden* or *warten*, plus the Latin prefix *a-*,⁴¹ which Spenser has restored to its true form in *adward*. The form is a close analogue of the equally accepted *avow* and *advow*. Beyond these words and the free use in compo-

³⁶ The use of *her* as plural was comparatively common in Shakespeare: *Lucrece*, l. 1588; *Troilus* I, 3, 118 (Folio); *Othello*, III, 3, 66.

³⁷ Walkington; *Opt. Glass*, (1607), p. 145; Shakespeare, *Pericles*, V, ii. Elyot: II, 35, 36; Lyly, *Euphues* (*Arb. Rep.*, Vol. IX), p. 65.

³⁸ *F. Q.*, III, iii, 4, 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, X, 17, 5; IV, XII, 30, 4.

⁴⁰ See Miss Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 17. The word is related to but not derived from *O. F. eswart* or *esguart*.

⁴¹ *Skeat, Etymol. Dict.*

sition of prefixes, already noted, Spenser's work is singularly free from Latinisms.

The influence of the French is more evident. In his use of actual French words, Spenser practically confines himself to symbolic names and to phrasings of courtly parlance which had almost lost their foreign flavor: *bel-amour*, *bel-accoyle*, *beldame* (original connotation lost), *beauperes*, *douceperes*, *belamy*, and *bellibone* (*bonnibel*). There are some terms of armor: *hacqueton*, *unbriere*, *haberjeon*. *Fewter*,^a to lay spear in rest, and *blesse*^a in the sense of whirl or strike, seem to be highly specialized chivalric or romantic terms. To these may be added a long list of more or less well established words which yet preserve more than a hint of their origin: *habit* (dress), *habilitie*, *habilment*, *habitaunce*, *amenance*, *souvenance*, *chevisaunce*, *captivaunce*, *comportaunce*, *defeasaunce*, *counterdefeasaunce*, *noyance*, *amenage*, *fortilage*, *galage*, *percant*, *poynant*, *batterlant*, *paravant*, *resiant*, *amate*, *darrayne*, *disloigne*, *essoynne*, *adaigne*, *depart* (?), *martelled*, *fardelle*, *portesse*, *german*, (relative), *peize*, *hault*, *table* (picture), *franion*, *champion* (plain), *faict* (deed), *sell*, *foyson*, and many others. Again it must be emphasized that these words belong, not peculiarly to Spenser, but to the period. And especially do they appear in the romances where many elements of the older English and French meet.

No such affinity existed between the English and Italian languages, and despite Spenser's facility in the latter, the list of borrowings is short: *arboret*, *tur(ri)bant*, *Turchesca*, *capuccio*, *guist*, *belgarde*, *bascioman*. In view of Spenser's general indebtedness to Italy this fact is significant of his desire to preserve the integrity of the vernacular.

Spenser by no means neglected the freedom accorded to the poet in the manipulation of words. He has employed shortened forms by elimination of prefixes as in *gan* (began), *rayed* (arrayed), *reave* (bereave), *siege* (besiege), *vaunce* (advance), *vail* (prevail), etc.; by contraction: *frenne* (forenne), *p'lace* (palace), *ventrous* (venturous), *perlous* (perilous), *Jasp* for Jasper, *ne, mo*, *nathelless*, *nathemoe*, *nas* (has not), *nis* (is not), *nould* (would not). Some words he has lengthened, as *terribant* (It. *turbant*), *picturals*, *recomfortless*, *matchable*, *quietage*, besides numbers

^a *F. Q.*, IV, vi, 10, 2; IV, iv, 45, 8.

^a *F. Q.*, I, V, vi, 4; I, viii, 22, 3.

already noted as varied by prefixes. Other words he has compounded: *not-deserver*, *soft-sliding*, *jolly-head*.

Nor has he failed to contribute his quota of so-called inventions. The most noted of these is *blatant*. Since Spenser's day, the word has entered the language and served many a pulpit orator. It is at most an adaptation and was probably known to Spenser in dialect form. The Scotch dialect has the word *blate*,⁴⁴ to bellow, howl, cry out. It was possibly known to the poet in the northern present participle form *bladand*. With Spenser, the difference between a final *d* and *t* diminishes to the vanishing point.⁴⁵ The word had just the significance needed to translate the *glatissant*⁴⁶ of Malory, and gave to Spenser a vernacular phrasing and a distinctive epithet for the beast borrowed openly from the pages of the prince of romancers. *Provokement*, *needments*, *tyreling*, *treachetour*, *dreriment*, *yond*⁴⁷—ostensibly meaning "mad"—are classed among his inventions. Words cited in other connections need not be repeated here. His license in the use of affixes can be readily understood through reference to Elizabethan glossaries, or to the glossaries of recently edited romances. The multitude of word-formations, now unfamiliar, which are recorded in these bear witness to the comparatively moderate number of Spenser's coinages and impress the extreme caution necessary in asserting a word to be either an invention, or peculiar, in his own age, to our poet.

In the creation of symbolic names Spenser gives rein both to his fancy and his knowledge of languages. But here, too, the watchword must be caution, and the phrase "so far as is known" should preface every speculative assertion. The name Scudamore (amour)⁴⁸ popularly considered a happy invention of the poet to characterize the knight of love, the wooer of the gentle Amoret, belongs to a noble family of Hertfordshire. Sir James Scudamour⁴⁹ was a gentleman of Elizabeth's court. He is

⁴⁴ Wright's *Dialect Dict.*; *Century Dict.*, N.E.D.

⁴⁵ Note his use of *trenchand*, *trenchant*, *rased*, *rast*, *brenned*, *brent*.

⁴⁶ See *Godfrey*: *glatir*, *glatissant*; *Mort D'Arthur*: the Questing Beast, the *Beast glatissant*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Scottish dialect word *yan*—sick, wretched.

⁴⁸ The two spellings appear.

⁴⁹ See *Cal. of St. Papers: Henry VIII*, and *Eliz.*; Camden's *Britannia*, Vols. I, II, III, IV.; *Fuller's Worthies: Hertfordshire*, p. 385.

celebrated in Higford's *Institutions of a Gentleman* as a model courtier, and it is he, who was, in all probability, the prototype of Spenser's knight of love.⁵⁰ Nor is the "badge of the bloody hand" or the name Ruddymane⁵¹ a creation of the poet. The application constitutes his invention. Ollifaunte⁵² is a common spelling for elephant. The names Malengin and Maleager figure in romances. The brethren of the rhyming names, Sansfoy Sansjoy, Sansloy, and Priamond, Diamond and Triamond are suggestive of courtly jousts and the romances.⁵³

In inventing many names Spenser made use of his knowledge of Italian, restrained in the matter of general diction, and thereby he secured at the same time a succession of musical syllables. *Duessa, Fidessa, Fraelissa, Elissa, Elbesse, Perissa, Charissa, Speranza, Fradubic, Archimago, Ignaro, Orgoglio, Grantorto, Braggadocio, Malbecco, Corcecca, Amoret* (Amoretta), and *Pastorella* are examples of Italianated names. For other names, especially those of more weighty and learned persons, he turned to the Greek: *Eumnestes, Anamnestes, Phantastes, Philotime, Phaedria*, and others. The French and Latin have furnished their quota, and from the latter came the soft name, Una, to distinguish the heroine of the Booke of Holinesse, as the one truth, one faith, one Church.

There is no need to review here the problem of Spenser's use of a specific dialect. The matter has already been discussed and ably refuted.⁵⁴ It is perfectly evident, however, that Spenser used both dialect and colloquial words as he saw fit, and as they fitted his rhyme. *Mickle* and *muchel* are Northern forms as are also *kemb*, and *kirke*. *Glib* comes from Ireland. *Doth* as a

⁵⁰ See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* This identification was reached before a reference to the *D.N.B.* showed that it had been previously made.

⁵¹ The name is common as Ruddiman, but the related form Ruddimanus proves origin.

⁵² Cf. Chaucer's "sir Ollifaunte," *Sir Thopas*, 1.97; *The Wars of Alexander*, l. 5597, "Fyve thousand ollifants in ferre."

⁵³ Priamour and Triamour are found in romances. That Spenser should make a slight change and add the numerical link is characteristic of his invention. Triamour: in *Sir Tristrem*: (Scot. Text. Soc. Vol. 8), l. 2301; in *Guy of Warwick*, l. 8314. For other romance names see Maleager (a classic name: Arist. *Poetics*, XIII, 5) in *Ypomedon*; Sir Cadore, the curtayes, in *Morte Arthure* (ed. Perry), p. 15, l. 481.

⁵⁴ See references given above, p. 579.

plural shows a southern ending. Frequently dialect forms meet the variant orthography on an invisible line of demarcation. The *theare*, *where*, and *beare* of the North rhyme with near and fear; the *there*, *where*, and *beare* of the South and Midland rhyme with care.

To enter upon a discussion of Elizabethan orthography is to venture upon thin ice, whence retreat is the best course. Orthography was neither a science nor a law in Spenser's day. Endless collations may be made which, through their variety, complicate rather than simplify principles. The spelling of a word with an intrusive *b*, *p*, or *h*, which may be assigned to a legitimate or at least a probable source, can be paralleled by forms for which no antecedent relation exists. Into Spenser's spelling went vagary and visualization. The popularity of word play, and of a patent etymology, led to some analytical spelling, but to no uniformity. If *only* is more frequently spelled *onely* in the *Faerie Queene*, it yet appears thirteen times in its modern form. The spelling *girland* has been attributed by one to Italian influence, by another to the East Lancashire dialect. The Elizabethan spelling includes: *gir-*, *gyr-*, *ger-*, *guir-*, *ghyr-*, *gher-*, and other variants. In Spenser's works, exclusive of compounds, the word appears seventeen times as *garland*. *Guess* and *chrystal* are spelled either with or without an *h*, as is common among all Elizabethans.

Orthography and diction are alike made subservient to metre, rhyme, and rhythm. The need of an extra syllable is met by a verbal in *-en*, by a pronounced plural *-es*, or by some lengthening of a word as *quietage* for quiet. With equal readiness a syllable is eliminated. The rhythm of open or closed sounds is preserved through a facile use of the earlier ablaut forms. Orthographic modifications are freely used to meet the exigences of rhyme, both of the eye and the ear.⁶⁶

The following table will amply illustrate the liberty exercised by Spenser in both orthography and accent:

whot,	rhymes smot (smote), not	VI, ii, 19
was,	" pas (pass), has	V, xi, 36
dum(b)	" overcum, mum, becum	IV, vii, 44
men.	" overen (run), pen	V, 2, 19

⁶⁶ Puttenham, in the same paragraph both condemns and allows the practice of eye-rhyming. See above, pp. 576, 577.

set	"	bet (beat) fet (fetch)	V, iii, 11
enter	"	bent her, adven ^{er} , center	V, v, 5
bridge	"	ridge, lidge (ledge)	V, vi, 36
wond (remained)	"	fond (found), kond (kenned)	V, vi, 35
line (linen)	"	twine	V, vii, 6
pas	"	mas, was	V, vii, 17
met her	"	better, detter	V, v, 37
overcommen	"	commen (common)	V, ix, 4
won	"	upon, done, alone	V, ix, 8
pride	"	deride, mercifide	VI, vii, 32
was	"	Capias, lasse passe	VI, vii, 35
list	"	blis(strike) mist, wist	VI, viii, 13
give	"	prieve (prove), live	VI, xii, 18
there	"	neare, appeare, teare (rend)	VI, xii, 24
forbeare	"	theare, deare, sweare	VI, xi, 15
speare	"	teare, heare	VI, ii, 22
feare	"	beare (bear), peare, somewhere	VI, ii, 29
were	"	feare, weare (wear), beare	V, xii, 14
heare	"	requere (require), sweare, fere,	VI, i, 43
blood	"	mood, wood (mad) wood (forests)	V, viii, 35
shone	"	fone, mone	I, ii, 23
fone	"	begone, attone, wone	V, viii, 16
assaies	"	waies, kaies	IV, x, 18
Chrysogonee	"	degree	III, vi, 4
Chrysogone	"	alone, throne	III, vi, 5
bee	"	degree, see, three	IV, iii, 2
indignity	"	tie, chevalrie	V, vii, 28
nie	"	fle, majestie	V, viii, 16
just	"	brust (burst)	V, viii, 22
day	"	slay, away, fay (faith)	V, viii, 19
theft	"	reft, gift (gift)	V, x, 14
cost (coast)	"	crost, tost, lost	VI, xii, 1
hight	"	keight (caught), slight, plight,	III, ii, 30
wight	"	sight, shrigh ^t (shrieked)	III, viii, 32
men	"	bren (burn), den	III, iii, 34
Ardenne	"	penne, men, brenne	IV, iii, 45

The above examples, selected from approximately twenty-seven thousand lines of poetry, are not indicative of the true character of Spenser's rhyme, for of unforced rhyme he was a master, unexcelled in skill and sweetness. They but illustrate his control, at need, of both orthography and dialect, and thus complete the tale of precepts in diction as set forth by the classic masters, the critics of Italy, and the poets of the Pleiade, and give proof of how completely Spenser knew and observed a critical method.

This discussion of Spenser's diction, though by no means exhaustive, serves to illustrate the actual method employed by the poet and the principles which guided him. Spenser followed the tenets of criticism: he restored ancient words, he drew from dialects, he borrowed from foreign tongues, he lengthened, contracted, combined, compounded and created words. In all these processes he has observed the moderation enjoined by critics from Aristotle to Ronsard.⁶⁶ He was under the influence not of Greece, of Rome, Italy, France, or England alone, but of that composite body, Renaissance criticism, which embraced the combined teachings of all these nations, and was universally known to poets and scholars. The dominating principle of this criticism was art, and Spenser's mastery of diction is only one feature of the art which characterizes every phase of his work. He was both an artist and an architect in diction. Ben Jonson was wrong when he said that Spenser "in affecting the Ancients writ no language." There has always existed a difference between a spoken and a literary language, and Spenser has created, and that in strict accord with the teaching of his age, a literary diction adapted to his country and to his theme. His language is not the "gallimaufry" justly scorned by E. K. It is English and, moreover, largely the English of his day, enriched from legitimate sources and by legitimate methods. His vocabulary is largely the vocabulary of his contemporaries.⁶⁷ His archaic and dialect

⁶⁶ G. Harvey, *Marginalia*, p. 178. (On certain old words allowable). "All these in Spenser, & manie like: but with discretion: & tolerably, though sumtime not greatly commendably." p. 169. "Spenser hath reuiued, vncouth, whilom, of yore, for thy."

⁶⁷ A detailed comparison between the diction of Elyot's *Gouverneur* and of the *Faerie Queene* would prove enlightening.

forms belong to no specific age or section. They color but do not obscure his diction, and many unusual forms appear but once.⁵⁸ The fact that they do so appear but attests the critical intent of the poet.

He sought primarily a rich and musical medium for his great poem. The preeminent quality of his diction, when all is told, is its level musical tone. But this quality, which reflects the *dolce* and *soave* of his Italian models, is an intrinsic part of his versification, and can be justly considered only in connection with his stanzaic form. Robbed of its quaint and rich diction the *Faerie Queene* would lose half its other-world charm. For the art of the poet through the magic of his words has created a world in which, of native right, his elves and Fairies move, and it is not without reason that Lamb has called Spenser "the poet's poet."

EMMA FIELD POPE

⁵⁸ Thus: *liveden*, *height*, *lig*, *selcouth*, *stadle*, *sam* (together), *meny* (group), *nonce*, *handsell*, *wesand*. The following forms appear twice: *seely* (simple), *bren* (*brenne*), *heried* (*herried*).

XXXIII

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMEDY OF ERRORS

I. A PROBLEM IN SHAKESPEARE'S DEVELOPMENT

GRADUALLY the mists veiling Shakespeare's dramatic production prior to the year 1594 are thinning, and we are enabled with clearer vision to isolate his early steps in play-writing and study his development in artistry. We are becoming more keenly sensible of the fact that his earliest plays in their present form have a false aspect of maturity. On the basis of internal allusions, Professor Charlton¹ would place the *Love's Labour's Lost* so late as the autumn of 1592; and to the duplications in the text of the same play clearly illustrating Shakespeare's method of amplifying and remodeling, Professor H. D. Gray² has added other considerations in an attempt to reconstruct its first form, from which he would entirely eliminate the characters of Sir Nathaniel and Holofernes. Over a decade ago Dr. Tucker Brooke³ recognized the fact that *1 Henry VI* underwent some revision as late as 1599, and pointed out that in *2* and *3 Henry VI* the dramatic strength is largely that of Marlowe. Mr. J. M. Robertson⁴ has recently renewed the attack upon the problem of *Richard III*. Professor Pollard's new angle of approach⁵ to the history of the texts in the First Folio and the quartos has had fruitful results in the invaluable

¹ H. B. Charlton, "The Date of *Love's Labour's Lost*," in *Mod. Lang. Review*, XIII, 257-66, 387-400. But cf. the article of A. K. Gray, "The Secret of *Love's Labour's Lost*," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXIX, 581-611, in which he ingeniously points out the striking adaptability of the play for presentation before the Queen on the occasion of her visit to Titchfield House, the home of the Earl of Southampton, on September 2, 1591, and its possible relations to Burleigh's matrimonial designs upon the Earl.

² H. D. Gray, *The Original Version of Love's Labour's Lost*, (Stanford Univ., 1918).

³ C. F. Tucker Brooke, Yale ed. of *1 Henry VI*, 136; also his "The Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of *King Henry VI*," *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences*, XVII, 194-211. Cf. A. Gaw, *The Origin and Development of "1 Henry VI"* (*Univ. of Southern Calif. Studies*, Vol. I), pp. 147-158, 160, 166.

⁴ J. M. Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, pp. 155-94.

⁵ A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos; King Richard II, a New Quarto; Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates; The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text*.

studies of the editors of the New Cambridge edition, revealing, among other disclosures, an extremely immature *Midsummer-night's Dream* of 1592 or earlier. Professor Adams, in his new *Life of Shakespeare*,⁶ has discussed the probable significance of the plague years, 1592-93, in the poet's intellectual development. Students of Shakespeare are thus enabled to clarify, and partly to reconstruct, their conceptions of his mentality and professional production in the years 1590-94. We no longer need to assume that Shakespeare came to London in 1586 or 1587 in order to account for his apparent professional maturity in 1591-92; nor do we need to thrust the original form of *1 Henry VI* back to 1589 or earlier under the assumption that Shakespeare's connection with a work so immature in parts as the present *1 Henry VI* cannot be later than Henslowe's entry of *harey the vj* in March, 1592.

Three facts stand out dominantly with reference to the early years of Shakespeare's life in London:

1. By September 4, 1592,⁷ Shakespeare had written with sufficient success to arouse the bitter jealousy of the dying Greene, as expressed in the well known passage in *A Groat'sworth of Wit*.

2. From Chettle's words of apology in the preface to *Kind Hartes Dreame* (registered December 8, 1592) to the effect that "divers of worship have reported his [Shakespeare's] uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting that aprooves his art,"⁸ we may infer (a) certainly, that inasmuch as Chettle, junior member of the publishing

⁶ J. Q. Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare*, pp. 145, 207.

⁷ This date, September 4, really means June 22, inasmuch as the London theatres were closed by order of Privy Council from the evening of the 22d until the date of Greene's death.

⁸ Chettle, *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, ed. Rimbault, Preface, p. iv. Here the *New Eng. Dict.* interprets *facetious* as "polished and agreeable, urbane," (obs., from Lat. *facētus*, "graceful, pleasing, witty") and not in the usual sense (from Fr. *facétieux*), "characterized by pleasantry; . . . witty, humorous, amusing." I am inclined to disagree because (1) the *N.E.D.* apparently cannot cite any other case of this obsolete use; (2) nothing in the passage compels this interpretation; (3) Chettle was not one from whom an unusual Latinic sense might be expected; (4) *facētus* itself may mean "witty." But the *N.E.D.*'s earliest citation of the usual sense dates from 1599 and their earliest case of the English word *facete* (derived immediately from the Latin) is dated 1603, so that there may possibly have been a period of such usage as to *facetious* c. 1592.

firm of John Danter, was obliged to speak of Shakespeare's work as dramatist from secondhand report, that success was not then of long standing, and (b) probably, that that success had been mainly based upon comedy.

3. There is no sound evidence of Shakespeare's connection with the company successively known as the Strange-Derby-Chamberlain company previous to the Court Treasurer's record of March 15, 1595, referring to the two performances at Court of December 26 and 27, 1594.⁹ On the contrary, earlier evidence points wholly in the direction of his connection with Pembroke's Men. We get our first clear view of these players when they appeared at Court on December 29, 1592.¹⁰ They were so much embarrassed financially in August, 1593, that they "were fain to pawn their apparel,"¹¹ and their plays *Titus Andronicus*, *The Taming of a Shrew*, and *3 Henry VI* (the latter certainly already revised from Marlowe's *True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*) not long thereafter passed into the hands of Strange's Men, as did also, we may add with fair assurance, *2 Henry VI* (probably also already revised from Marlowe's *The First Part of the Contention of the two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*) and the pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*.¹² The internal evidence in *3 Henry VI* clearly indicates Shakespeare's connection with that play while it was still in the hands of Pembroke's Men.¹³ The disappearance and probable dissolution of that company after September,

⁹ For correction of the date of the second of these performances from the 28th to the 27th see Adams, *Shakespeare*, 208, n. 1.

¹⁰ Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg, II, 336.

¹¹ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, 40. "Apparel" here would seem to mean their stock of costumes, the most valuable community property they possessed, then useless by reason of the plague.

¹² Pembroke ownership of the first named three is established by the title-pages of the Q. editions. The *Contention* is so linked with the beginning of the *True Tragedie* (*3 Henry VI*) as to make it practically certain that they were written to be played as a sequence. *Hamlet* suddenly appears, together with *A Shrew*, in the repertory of the Strange-Chamberlain company in their performances at Newington Butts, June 3-13, 1594, immediately after their return to London after the plague that caused the dissolution of Pembroke's Men (*Henslowe's Diary*, I, 17; II, 164). It is to be remembered that the early *Hamlet* was probably by Kyd, and that he had probably some connection with Pembroke's Men. Cf. Adams, *Shakespeare*, 120, 131-2, 187, 303-4.

¹³ Cf. present article, pp. 649-650, and the references there cited.

1593, would free Shakespeare to join another company when he so desired. On the other hand, if in the fall of 1593 Strange's Men bought all (as they certainly did some) of the strongest plays of the bankrupt Pembroke's Men, they did an excellent stroke of business, gracefully eliminating their competitors and at the same time strengthening their own repertory by the addition of plays from the pens of Marlowe (in revision), Shakespeare, and possibly Kyd; and before Christmas of the following year they completed the *coup* by securing the services of Shakespeare, not only as an actor "exelent in the qualitie he professes,"¹⁴ but as playwright, after the death of Marlowe, the most prominent London could boast.

But of the young Shakespeare of the period preceding, let us say, the beginning of his literary reputation with the registering of *Venus and Adonis* on April 18, 1593, we must avoid overcoloring our picture. He was twenty-nine years of age and a member of an inferior theatrical company.¹⁵ His 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were in general a polishing and in places a lyrical dilution of the strength of Marlowe's original text. He had as yet made no additions whatever to 1 *Henry VI*. His *Love's Labour's Lost* contained a thin plot that halted badly, was patched with a largely inorganic fifth act, was markedly inferior in poetic eloquence and characterization to the revision of 1598, and had a humor mainly of word-play and in places little above that of present-day vaudeville. His *Midsummer-night's Dream* was a comparatively lifeless adumbration of what it was later to become. His *Two Gentlemen of Verona* is traditionally reported to have failed on its first production,¹⁶

¹⁴ Chettle, *Kind-Harts Dreame*, ed. Rimbault, Preface, p. iv.

¹⁵ Apart from their appearance at Court twice in the 1592-3 Christmas season, possibly owing to their influence of their patron, there is no evidence that the actors of Pembroke's Company in general were especially skilful; and despite Prof. Adams' reference (*Shakespeare*, p. 268) to their leader as "the eminent Gabriel Spencer," that player is definitely associated, so far as I can ascertain, with only one part, that of a messenger with a five-line speech in one scene of 3 *Henry VI*—a strong contrast to the reputations of Alleyn and Burbage. Cf. Greg's statement (Henslowe's *Diary*, II, 313); "The only noteworthy thing that Spenser ever did was to get killed by Ben Johnson in Horton fields with a three-shilling rapier on 22 Sept. 1598."

¹⁶ *T.G.V.*, New Cambr. ed., p. xvi.

and, whatever its other merits, is certainly given a twist in its last act that is reprobated by its editors in general.

The main difficulty in connection with this view concerns the *Comedy of Errors*. Studied in relation to its sources and what has been added to them, and after due allowance has been made for the double twinship out of which the incidents spring, that play must be considered an amazingly skilful piece of plot-joinery and far above the dramaturgic level of Shakespeare's other performances of the period. An analysis of the plot elements will make this clear.

The basis of the story is the *Menaechmi* of Plautus. To recapitulate the events of that play very briefly, it may be said that an expository prologue explains how the plot centers about twin brothers, Menaechmus and Sosicles, the former of whom, straying as a child from his father, a merchant of Syracuse, while on a visit to Tarentum, was found (or stolen) and adopted by a merchant of Epidamnus. After the death of their father the other son, Sosicles (who meanwhile had also been given the name of the lost Menaechmus) set out in search of his brother, and after six years of wandering is just arriving at Epidamnus, the scene of the action, as the play begins. We then follow the complications arising from Sosicles' being mistaken for the original Menaechmus by the courtesan, Erotium, with whom Menaechmus has an assignation, but who feasts Sosicles instead, and who entrusts to him a mantle and bracelet, the gifts of Menaechmus. These Sosicles consents to bear to the dyer's and the jeweler's for further enrichment, but with the knavish intention of stealing them. Other complications arise from Sosicles' being further mistaken for his brother by Menaechmus' parasite, wife, and father-in-law. The wife finally calls a doctor to examine her husband for lunacy. In the course of the ensuing *mêlée* the two brothers find themselves on the stage together and the source of the misunderstandings is revealed, while at the same time Sosicles' search for his lost brother comes to a successful end. The only characters in the brief play beside the seven already mentioned are the slave Messenio (who serves as servant-confidant to Sosicles as does the parasite Peniculus to Menaechmus) and the unimportant Cook.

The second classical source of the play is the *Amphitruo* of Plautus. This play is a farcical treatment of the myth of the birth of Hercules. A prologue spoken by the god Mercury explains to the spectators that Alcmena, wife of the Theban general Amphitryon, is being visited in her husband's absence by Jupiter, who is assuming her husband's form, and that Mercury himself is wearing the guise of Sosia, Amphitryon's servant, the better to advance his father's amorous designs. When the real Sosia arrives to announce the coming of the real Amphitryon, Mercury pummels him into retreat. Amphitryon, angry at the tale concerning Sosia's double, enters to his wife, only to hear with horror her references to his own visit to her the evening before. During Amphitryon's brief return to the ship for corroboration of his declaration that he has not recently been at his home, Jupiter once more visits Alcmena with Mercury, and the general, coming back, is confronted with a closed door and an apparently drunken Sosia (Mercury); and finally, it would seem from the imperfect text, Amphitryon gets into a scuffle with his divine double. The play terminates with the prodigies attending the birth of Hercules and his three-months-older twin, and with Jupiter's revelation from the skies of the "honor" that has been conferred upon Amphitryon's house.

In general, editors of the *Comedy of Errors* give a somewhat misleading statement of the relationship of these two sources to the Shakespearean play. They say that the plot of the *Errors* is practically that of the *Menaechmi* with the addition of a scene borrowed from the *Amphitruo*, and some add that the idea of the Dromios also comes from the *Amphitruo*. A fairer statement would be that the two plots have been combined to the marked modification of both, and have also been very considerably amplified. The feature of the doubled principal characters (the two *Menaechmi* and Jupiter-Amphitryon) is central to both plays. But the conception of the servants as also doubles of each other (fundamental to the *Amphitruo*, where Mercury, Sosia's divine impersonator, is really the mischievous mainspring of the plot) is in the *Errors* borrowed from the *Amphitruo* and superimposed upon the *Menaechmi* plot. Further, Mercury's exclusions of Sosia in Act I, and of Amphitryon in Act III, of the Plautan play have been intro-

duced into the *Errors* combined into a single scene (III, i), where Dromio of Syracuse, acting under the orders of the wife Adriana, denies admission to Antipholus of Ephesus and Dromio of Ephesus when they come home, together with guests, to their midday meal. This has forced in the *Errors* a shifting of the scene of the entertainment of Sosicles-S. Antipholus from the house of the courtesan (as in the *Menaechmi*) to that of the wife (as in the *Amphitruo*); and Menaechmus-E. Antipholus dines with the courtesan instead, as he is not permitted to do in the *Menaechmi*. The part of the courtesan is thereby subordinated, as she does not appear in the *Errors* until IV, iii, 45, instead of in Act I as with Plautus' Erotium. A third effect of the *Amphitruo* upon the *Errors* seems to occur in an echo of the Jupiter-Amphitryon relationship at *Errors*, V, i, 332-4, in the speech of the Duke on first seeing the Antipholuses together:

One of these men is *genius* to the other:
And so of these, which is the naturall man,
And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?

In the *Comedy of Errors*, too, both the preceding plots have been ethically cleansed and remotivated. The basic forces in the *Menaechmi* are three: Menaechmus' apparently habitual immorality, Sosicles' deliberate pilfering of the courtesan's mantle and bracelet, and the accidental confusion of the two brothers on account of their physical likeness. The motivation of the *Amphitruo* depends upon the licentiousness of Jupiter and the Puckish delight of Mercury in teasing Sosia and Amphitryon. In the *Comedy of Errors* the immoralities of the Roman plays largely disappear. Adriana's jealousy of her husband is baseless, and he visits the home of

a wench of excellent discourse,
Prettie and wittie; wilde, and yet too gentle;

only in exasperation at being shut out of his own home in the presence of his invited guests, taking them with him to dine at the other house¹⁷ and in the same exasperation ordering that there be delivered to her the gold chain he had previously intended as a gift to his wife.¹⁸ His brother, Antipholus of

¹⁷ III, i, 107-14; V, i, 223-5.

¹⁸ II, i, 106; III, i, 117-19.

Syracuse, too, is no longer guilty of the clear-headed knavery of Sosicles' pilferings from the courtesan; he is dazed by the inexplicable familiar recognitions of him,¹⁹ and the play is filled with suggestions of conjuring and witchcraft that powerfully reflect his state of mind and explain his actions. He receives no gift from either the wife or the courtesan; and when the gold chain comes into his possession by way of a new character, Angelo, the goldsmith, he attempts to settle the bill immediately, but the goldsmith smilingly defers payment.²⁰ And as to the courtesan's bracelet (now a ring), the acquisition of which from that lady has been transferred from Sosicles (S. Antipholus) to Menaechmus (E. Antipholus), the misunderstanding is adjusted at the end of the play in two innocuous lines:

Cur [tesan]. Sir I must haue that Diamond from you.

E. Antiph [olus]. There take it, and much thanks for my good cheere.

In short, in the course of romanticizing the comedy, a fairly thorough moral disinfection has taken place.

Into these central plot-threads of the *Errors* derived from (1) the *Menaechmi* and (2) the *Amphitruo*, new plot-elements have been introduced. (3) Dromio of Ephesus has been provided with a wife (variously called Luce and Nell) to parallel the wife of Antipholus of Ephesus and to mistake the second Dromio for the first as her mistress mistakes the two Antipholuses. (4) Luciana, sister of Adriana, the wife of Antipholus of Ephesus, has been added to serve the two-fold purpose of foil to the shrewish Adriana and of prospective wife to Antipholus of Syracuse. (5) A new complication has been created through Angelo the goldsmith. He not only serves (instead of the Courtesan) as the medium by which the chain intended by Antipholus of Ephesus for the Courtesan comes into the possession of Antipholus of Syracuse, but later he causes the arrest of Antipholus of Ephesus on account of the latter's refusal to pay for the chain and thus adds to the complexity and climax of the scene in which Adriana attempts to have her husband incarcerated for lunacy. A second merchant, to whom Angelo is indebted, is also introduced in order to motivate the goldsmith's summary action against his friend.

¹⁹ II, ii, 181-212; 222-26.

²⁰ III, ii, 175-77.

So much for the alterations in the two plots derived from Plautus and for the additional plot-threads incorporated with these basic plots. But about this fundamental plot complex referring to the misadventures of the brothers Antipholus and the brothers Dromio has been woven a secondary plot-complex dealing with the experiences of (6) the father and (7) the mother of the brothers Antipholus. This material, like the third, fourth, and fifth plot elements, is entirely new in the English version, the father in the *Menaechmi* having died long before the play opens and the mother being never mentioned. It is contained wholly in the opening and closing scenes of the play. In I, i, Ægeon, the father, is brought before the Duke of Ephesus, under accusation of having, a Syracusan, visited the Ephesians despite the feud between the two towns. In peril of death, upon request of the Duke he tells his story: of the birth of his twin sons years before; of his acquisition of the twin Dromios as servants for his sons; of the shipwreck that had split the family into two groups, the one composed of himself, Antipholus of Syracuse, and Dromio of Syracuse, the other of the mother and those whom we are later to know as Antipholus of Ephesus and Dromio of Ephesus; of how Antipholus of Syracuse, upon reaching the age of eighteen, left his father in order to search after his brother; and how, two years later, the lonely father set out on a search after all of his lost ones, and after five years of wandering has now been condemned to death in Ephesus. The final scene of the play reunites father and mother at the same time that the perplexities of the main plot are solved by the bringing together of the two pairs of twins.

This frame-plot of the father and mother serves at least five dramaturgic functions:

1. For the extraneous Prologue of Plautus, detailing the events that precede the opening of the play and addressed as monologue directly to the audience, the frame of the *Comedy of Errors* substitutes an organic exposition in dramatic dialogue within the play proper. And this exposition is strongly motivated. By command of the Duke, the father, in peril of his life, relates the story of his sons and the cause of his own wanderings. The scene ends effectively, with sentence imposed but temporarily suspended.

2. The frame is here an effective device for promoting plot unity. Without it the internal plot, even in the simpler form of the *Menaechmi*, impresses one as a rather loosely knit series of comic happenings. The frame gives a firm beginning and a firm, definite, and massive ending. That this is somewhat contrasted in tone with the misadventures that form the main plot merely, from this point of view, increases its effectiveness.

3. By its tone of romantic tragicomedy the frame also combines with other elements in the English play to lift the Plautan farce into an atmosphere of greater dignity.

4. The frame increases the general happiness of the ending. Among the many points which it adjusts we may note the reunion of the Antipholuses, the curing of Adriana's jealousy, the clearing up of the triangle situation between the two Dromios and Luce, the pairing off of Luciana with Antipholus of Syracuse, the release of the father from his imprisonment, and the reunion of the mother with her two sons and her husband.

5. The effectiveness of the conclusion is enhanced by surprise. The mother, Æmilia, is cleverly smuggled into the action at V, i, 38, in the guise of an Abbess protecting a sane man from persecution as a lunatic. As she has not been mentioned since the opening scene of the play, the audience has wholly forgotten her; their attention has been skilfully diverted to another issue, and they have no reason for suspecting her identity until it is suddenly revealed at V, i, 340.

It must be insisted on, therefore, that in the theatre the weakness of the *Comedy of Errors* does not lie in the plot. Neither, it may be added, does it consist in the improbability of the much criticized double twinship that is basic to the plot. Such a presupposition in a romantic drama the normal audience is always willing to accept. The weakness lies in the thinness and occasionally the falsity of the characterization, and in the wordiness and at times the triviality and irrelevance of the dialogue. Structurally the plot is (with an exception to be hereafter noted) a skilful combination of materials drawn from two classic sources and amplified by five English additions—the Luce-E.Dromio-S.Dromio triangle, the Luciana-S.Antipholus situation, the Angelo-S.Antipholus episode, the Ægeon-Duke

relation, and the Æmilia-Abbess identity—all of this material being knit into a compact structural whole.

Here, then, is our difficulty. How reconcile this adept plot-craftsmanship in the play with its weakness in characterization and dialogue, and with the patchwork structure of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the rambling of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and the dramatic inadequacies of Shakespeare's amplification of *3 Henry VI*?

The textual researches of the editors of the New Cambridge edition have gone far toward giving us a basis on which to rest a solution of the difficulty. I shall therefore remass and evaluate the findings of Mr. J. D. Wilson, adduce other internal evidence, connect the internal evidence with certain external facts of theatrical history, and draw such conclusions concerning the development, authorship, and date of the play as the sum total of the evidence may seem to justify.

II. THE EARLIEST VERSION

In general, the labors of the New Cambridge editors lead them to believe that the present text has passed through five stages of development:

1. A pre-Shakespearean version.
2. Shakespeare's version, which "there is at least a high probability" was merely a revision of the pre-Shakespearean form.
3. Certain revisions of the Shakespearean text whereby either verse was rewritten as prose or prose was interpolated.
4. Abridgment of the Shakespearean form, "perhaps by as much as three or four hundred lines," and probably for a simplified stage. Possibly to be connected with stage 3.
5. Dictation of the text, not from the original promptbook, but from an assemblage of players' parts supplemented by consultation of the theatrical *plat* hung back of the stage for the actors' guidance as to order of entrances; which dictated text, copied by "Hand A.", was afterwards amplified by the addition of fresh stage directions by "Hand B."

It should, however, be said that the Cambridge editors do not attempt to arrive at any decision as to the chronological order of the steps that I have numbered 3, 4, and 5. Their treatment of what I have called stage 3 is particularly obscure,

as it is not mentioned either in Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's general Introduction or in Mr. Wilson's article on the copy for the Folio text, but must be gathered from the notes *passim*.

Collecting from the work of the Cambridge editors the evidence for the existence of the text in a pre-Shakespearean form, we find it to include the following points:

The stage directions, believed to have been inserted by "Hand B.", include phrases that are clearly based upon a form containing facts neither evident in the present play nor yet borrowed from Plautus. The most striking and significant of these cases is the differentiation of the two Antipholuses in stage directions throughout Acts I and II as "Antipholus Sereptus" (*surreptus*, the "stolen" one, an adjective that Plautus actually uses concerning Menaechmus in the Prologue to *Menaechmi*) and "Antipholus Erotus" (*errans* or *erraticus*, the "wandering" one, possibly with some mnemonic confusion with the name of Plautus' courtesan, Erotium²¹). These "are not the names which Plautus actually gives his characters, nor are they suitable to Shakespeare's twins, since Antipholus of Ephesus was not 'surreptus' as in Plautus, but separated from his parents at sea. They must, therefore, be derived from some play intermediate in development between the *Menaechmi* and the *Comedy of Errors*,"²² and written before the shipwreck had been substituted for the abduction in the evolution of the plot. Similar phenomena occur in the cases of Balthazar, described in his entering stage direction as "Balthaser the Merchant," although he is not so described in the play proper, and of Dr. Pinch, similarly described in the stage direction²³ that marks his entrance²⁴ as "a Schoole-master, call'd Pinch," whereas Pinch is neither described nor characterized as a school master either in the Plautan text or in the dialogue of the Shakespearean form.²⁵ In the opinion of Mr. Wilson it

²¹ *Errors*, New Cambr. ed., 13 and n. 1.

²² *Ibid.*, 74.

²³ III, i, 1.

²⁴ IV, iv, 38.

²⁵ Despite the entry under *conjurer* in New Cambr. ed., *Glossary*, p. 122, it would not have been natural in Shakespeare's day to identify the conceptions of schoolmaster and exorcist. That attitude is more mediaeval. Further, E. Antipholus' description of Pinch at V, i, 238-42, does not accord with the conception of a schoolmaster.

seems clear that these stage directions originate, not with Shakespeare, but with "Hand B.", "someone familiar with the intermediate play, presumably an actor, who, relying upon that familiarity, confidently undertook to construct stage-directions for a text of which he had no direct knowledge and which he did not even trouble to read through;"²⁶ and further, that they "were patently added after the transcription [indicated above as stage 5] was made."²⁷

The evidence in the stage directions that there was such a pre-Shakespearean English play is strongly reënforced by evidence in the Shakespearean dialogue. Act III, scene i, shows unmistakable signs of being a part of the original English play that has been incorporated in the present *Comedy of Errors*. This evidence consists of the following points: (a) With the exception of ten introductory lines and forty concluding lines of blank verse, the heart of the scene, 73 lines in all, consists of doggerel couplets, generally in rough anapestic tetrameters which are strongly in contrast with the polish of the surrounding iambic pentameters, and which are identical in form with the typical metre of the "mid-sixteenth century academic comedy, of which *Ralph Roister-Doister* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* are the sole surviving specimens."²⁸ (b) In the passage this doggerel verse is not confined to the Dromios, but is spoken by all of the other characters in the scene as well, namely, by Antipholus of Ephesus, Adriana, the merchant Balthazar, the goldsmith Angelo, and the kitchen-maid Luce. (c) Balthazar appears in that scene alone, having apparently been dropped from all other scenes during the rewriting of the play. (d) Luce also appears in this scene only. (e) In all other scenes in which she is referred to, her name has been changed to Nell, the identity of the two being fixed by IV, iv, 73-74.²⁹ In addition to these points by the Cambridge editors, it may be noted that there is a crude pointlessness about the witticisms and a curious indirectness and wordiness about the style in general

²⁶ Cambr. ed., p. 74.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 77. Collier (*Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, ed. 1879, II, 449) had already suggested the incorporation of parts of the old *Historie in the Errors* as explaining the doggerel verse. Cf. also E.H.C. Oliphant in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 347-50.

²⁹ Cambr. ed., pp. 77-78.

in these 73 lines that are distinctly of the school of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, and totally unworthy of Shakespeare, even on the standard of the least mature of his works now known to exist.

Mr. Wilson would explain³⁰ the retention of this pre-Shakespearean scene in the Shakespearean version on the ground that "when, in the course of revising the old MS, Shakespeare came across this horse-play episode outside the door of E. Antipholus' house, he thought it good enough to pass muster as it stood, and so left it alone, without noticing or without troubling about the loose ends." To the present writer, on the contrary, it seems apparent that the young dramatist left the scene as hopeless. It is the scene in the play in which the influence of the *Amphitruo* on the plot of the *Menaechmi* is most marked, and the junction of the two plots here creates a situation that is full of psychological improbabilities. The most improbable is Adriana's conversation with her real husband during which she fails to recognize him. Yet the scene was essential to drive Antipholus of Ephesus to the courtesan's and thus continue the action. What could be done to make it plausible? The inexperienced Shakespeare apparently gave it up.

This rough tetrameter couplet having been identified as the basic meter of the pre-Shakespearean original, it follows that probably any other passages in the play written in the same medium are retained from the same source, and the Cambridge editors therefore believe that "we may safely hazard the conclusion that none of it [the material in tetrameter] in *Errors* is his [Shakespeare's]." Now, if we examine these remaining passages in doggerel tetrameters (as the Cambridge editors do not), we shall find that they yield us further evidence as to the plot-content of the pre-Shakespearean original. In IV, ii, 37-61, occurs a passage of mixed blank verse and tumbling tetrameters in which not only does Dromio of Syracuse speak thirteen lines of the doggerel metre, but Adriana answers him in the same (line 56). As Dromio's words here refer to the arrest of Antipholus of Ephesus on account of Angelo's chain, it is evident that the extension of the *Menaechmi* plot to include the suit of Angelo had already taken place in the pre-Shake-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

spearean English version. The following scene, too, is connected with IV, ii, by a long continuation of Dromio's miracle-play allusions (some eight in the scene) that had been begun with some four such allusions in the doggerel couplets of IV, ii; and at IV, iii, 78, the interview with the courtesan ends with a tumbling tetrameter line that very probably, although not certainly, occurred in the same incident in the original. At III, ii, 144-45, Dromio of Syracuse has the lines (in the First Folio lined as prose):

And, I think, if my breast had not been made of faith, and my
heart of steel,
She had transformed me to a curtal-dog, and made me turn
i'th' wheel,

which not only corroborate the evidence in III, i, that Luce was in the pre-Shakespearean version, but also show that, not unnaturally, there had been introduced some of the references²¹ to sorcery that are prominent in the *Errors*. The other cases of doggerel couplets (II, ii, 47-48, and V, i, 335-36, 425-26) yield us no additional facts.

Massing, then, the information derivable from these couplet passages and from the stage directions in the Folio text already discussed, it would appear that of the seven plot-elements in the Shakespearean version there were present in the version in doggerel tetrameters at least four: (1) the fundamental *Menæchmi* plot, but with the scene of the entertainment of Sosicles-S. Antipholus already shifted from the courtesan's to the wife's under the influence of the *Amphitruo*; (2) the English extension of this plot by the additional complication of the arrest of Antipholus of Ephesus at the suit of the goldsmith; (3) the addition of the conception of the twin Dromios based upon the *Amphitruo*; and (4) an English addition to this conception, the complication of Luce, the wife of Dromio of Ephesus. We also note from the name "Antipholus Sereptus," not borrowed as a name from Plautus but evidently used with a full recognition of its Latin meaning, that it was still assumed that the twins had been separated by the abduction of Antipholus of Ephesus, from which it follows that the shipwreck had not yet been introduced into the play. Finally, it must be repeated, there

²¹ Cf. also *conjure*, in III, i, 34.

appear at least traces of the suggestions of sorcery that in the present form of the comedy serve to motivate the actions of Antipholus of Syracuse in place of the original Plautan roguery.

Can we date the version in tetrameter couplets? A number of considerations tend to identify it with the *Historie of Error* presented before the Queen at Hampton Court on New Year's Night, 1577, by the Children of Paul's.³² Not only is the novelty of the combination of two Plautan plots what might be expected at the end of a long period of Plautan imitations and adaptations, but such a classical novelty exactly fitted the known tastes of the Queen, as Lyly well understood later. The classical material is in general accord with the institution from which the children came, and it is suggestive that in a plot, in itself one of the least objectionable in the works of Plautus, the ethical tone has been further raised as if in keeping with the tender age of the actors, and that the "Medicus" of Plautus has been transformed into a farcical conjuring schoolmaster, presumably an appeal to juvenile risibilities. The doggerel tetrameters are in harmony with the date, January 1, 1577, less than two years after the publication of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* and less than three months after the publication of the morality, *The Tide Tarrieth No Man*, both written in the same form.³³ Dromio's long series of figures from the miracle plays in IV, ii-iii, is also much more likely to have originated about 1576 than some fifteen years later, when new theatrical fashions had made the miracle plays very antiquated. Neither is it difficult to suggest a conjectural history of the manuscript in the succeeding years, for such a possible line of descent from Paul's Boys to the Chamberlain's Company is, as I shall show elsewhere, not difficult to follow.

The author of this version in tetrameters, probably identical with the *Historie of Error*, containing four of the seven plot-elements of the *Comedy of Errors*, and partly preserved in III, i, 11-83, and other passages of the Shakespearean version, I shall hereafter refer to as Author A. There is no clue to his identity. John Cook was then the high master of Paul's Gram-

³² Cunningham, *Extracts from the Revels at Court*, p. 102. A possible relation between this entry and the *Errors* was first pointed out by Malone.

³³ Tucker Brooke, *Tudor Drama*, pp. 113-14, 161.

mar School and Sebastian Westcott the master of the Choir School, but neither is known to have been a dramatist.

III. THE INTERMEDIATE ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT

But there is evidence in the play of a second English pre-Shakespearean stage in its history. The Cambridge editors do not even vaguely suggest such a possibility in their critical introduction or in their analytical article on the condition of the Folio text. In the textual notes, however, they do insert three hints to that effect, calling attention at I, i, 31-32, and 132-33, to similarities in sentence construction and style to the work of Greene, and at V, i, 368, in connection with mention of the name "Menaphon," raising the question whether Greene might have had a hand in the play in its pre-Shakespearean development. The stylistic points are merely impressionistic, and the mention of "Menaphon" is, I shall show, wholly fallacious evidence, while their suggestion of Greene's connection with the play is demonstrably incorrect. The following evidence bearing on this question is wholly new.

I offer first the metrical considerations. The accompanying table presents a complete analysis, scene by scene, of the number of lines of tetrameter couplets, blank verse, rhymed pentameter couplets, pentameter lines rhymed alternately (*abab*), and prose which occur in the play; and it gives also for each scene the percentages, based on the total number of pentameter lines to be found in it, of certain metrical and stylistic traits, namely: the feminine ending; the use of *-ed*, abnormally pronounced as a separate syllable (e.g., *leviéd*) to bear the terminal stress in the line; the similar use of the endings *-ion*, *-ious*, *-ience* (e.g., *re-lig-i-ous*) as a final foot; and the balanced line of the form *adjective-noun-connective-adjective-noun* (e.g., "A doubtfull warrant of immediate death.")

From this table it will be clear that the opening scene, almost wholly in blank verse, is strikingly in contrast with the other scenes of the play in general (and especially with those also almost exclusively in blank verse) in respect to (1) its great paucity of feminine endings; (2) its pronounced tendency to employ the abnormally accented *-ed*; (3) the absence in it of the *-ion*, *-ious*, *-ience* endings to form a pyrrhic fifth foot; and (4) its much greater tendency to use the balanced line.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS

Pentameter					Prose	Percentage Feminine Endings to pentameter line	Percentage of -ed line-ending	Percentage of -ion, -ious, - -ience ending	Percentage of balanced lines -
Tetrameter Couplets	Pentameter Blank Verse*	Rhyme Couplets abab							
I i		151	8			1.8	2.5	0.0	6.3
ii		103	2			21.9	—	—	—
II i	2	41	65		7	11.3	0.9†	—	—
ii	2	100	45		69	9.0	0.7†	2.0	—
III i	73	42	8			24.0	—	6.0	—
ii	2	28	30	52	71	8.2	0.9†	—	0.9
IV i		110	4			20.0	—	1.7	—
ii	15	8	28	12	3	4.2	—	—	—
iii	1	50	2		40	17.3	—	1.9	—
iv		123			35	17.0	—	—	—
V i	4	410	6		5	15.7	0.2	0.9	1.2
<i>Act V analyzed</i>						<i>Act V analyzed</i>			
V 1-281		281				20.2	—	1.7	0.7
282-407	2	122			2	9.7	0.8	0.8	2.4
408-426	2	12			5	33.0	—	—	—

* Including a few incomplete metrical lines mingled with the pentameter blank verse.

† For rhyme in couplets.

These differences in themselves would be sufficient to mark I, i, as unmistakably different in authorship from the great mass of pentameters in the rest of the drama. But another consideration is perhaps even more interesting, as offering an explanation of a difficulty that has puzzled all editors of the *Comedy of Errors* and for which no satisfactory solution has ever appeared. At V, i, 400, the Abbess (Æmilia) says that thirty-three years have elapsed since the birth of her sons, and in general the text supports that age for the two Antipholuses. The Duke tells old Ægeon³⁴ that he has "been patron to" Antipholus of Ephesus for twenty years, before which time, we learn,—how much before is uncertain—Antipholus of Ephesus "came from" Corinth.³⁵ "Long since" Antipholus of Ephesus has saved the Duke's life in battle,³⁶ and has marriage to Adriana was largely due to the influence of the Duke.³⁷ Angelo testifies that Antipholus of Ephesus is

Of very reuerent reputation sir,
Of credit infinite, highly belov'd,
Second to none that liues heere in the Citie:
His word might beare my wealth at any time.

All of this indicates that the twins are men approaching middle life. Yet although at V, i, 320, Ægeon tells Antipholus of Ephesus (under the impression that he is Antipholus of Syracuse) that they had parted only seven years before—at I, i, 125, Ægeon tells the Duke that the parting occurred when the boy was eighteen, which makes his sons now but twenty-five years old. If so, the practically orphaned Antipholus of Ephesus "came" from Corinth to Ephesus when he was not more than five years of age. The source of this discrepancy in time is in the line at I, i, 125, and the difficulty cannot be ascribed to miscopying or misprint, for it is impossible to amend the line,

At eighteene yeeres became inquisitiue

by substituting the correct figures *twenty-six*, without injuring the metre. Evidently the author of I, i, is working on a different conception of the ages of the twins from that held by the author who penned the other scenes in the play.

³⁴ V, i, 326.

³⁵ V, i, 362-68.

³⁶ V, i, 191-95.

³⁷ V, i, 137-38, 198.

³⁸ V, i, 5-8.

The dramatist, then, responsible for I, i, differs from Author A. in his use of blank verse in place of tumbling tetrameters, and from the author mainly responsible for the present text of the play (unquestionably Shakespeare) in the very individual metrical and stylistic traits above tabulated, as well as in his attitude on the age of the twins. Let us call him Author B.

But examining our table once more, we are struck by the fact that while, in general, passages in blank verse tend to contain from 17 to 24 per cent. of feminine endings, yet in the greatest mass of blank verse in the play, the single scene in Act V, it sinks to 15.7 per cent., its low average being mainly due to lines 282-407, which contain only 9.7 per cent. This clearly suggests that the middle section of the act contains a mingling of Shakespeare's work with that of B. This is corroborated by the fact that the same middle section, in contrast with the 281 lines preceding, shows a marked approach to B.'s traits in the other three tests applied as well. *This resurgence of the traits of B. is unmistakable, and its significance is clear when we note that it becomes clearly evident at just the point where Ægeon, the principal character in the opening scene, at the end resumes his action in the evolution of the plot.*²⁹

With these clues to guide us we can identify certain passages in Act V as preserved intact from the text of B. Compare, for instance, lines 307-322:

Fath[er]. Not know my voice, oh times e[x]tremity
 Hast thou so crack'd and splitted my poore tongue
 In seuen short yeares, that heere my onely sonne
 Knowes not my feeble key of vntun'd cares?
 Though now this grained face of mine be hid
 In sap-consuming Winters drizled snow
 And all the Conduits of my blood froze vp:
 Yet hath my night of life some memorie:
 My wasting lampes some fading glimmer left;
 My dull deafe eares a little vse to heare:
 All these old witnesses, I cannot erre,

²⁹ He has had two lines earlier in the scene (195-96), which also may have been retained from B., although the fact that in the Folio these are mislined renders them liable to suspicion as marginal insertions in the MS. Quite possibly Shakespeare, having for the time forgotten B.'s Ægeon, had to insert them in his own MS.

Tell me, thou art my sonne *Antipholus*.

Antipholus]. I neuer saw my Father in my life.

Father. But seuen yeares since, in *Siracusa* boy
Thou know'st we parted, but perhaps my sonne,
Thou sham'st to acknowledge me in miserie.

Note the lack of feminine endings, the clear case of balanced construction in the fourth line, and the close approaches to it in the sixth and ninth lines. Note especially, too, that in the fourteenth line the word *boy* (the Folio reading) is out of harmony with the age of thirty-three which is assigned *Antipholus* but a few lines later, so that the emendation *Syracusa bay* was proposed by Rowe, an emendation that the New Cambridge editors find "attractive." But emendation is unnecessary. The speech is really by author B., and the difficulty is due to his conception of the twins as comparatively young.

Emilia's speech revealing her identity (lines 339-345) also bears the stamp of B.'s hand.

Abb[ess]. Who euer bound him, I will lose his bonds,
And gaine a husband by his libertie:
Speake olde *Egeon*, if thou bee'st the man
That hadst a wife once call'd *Emilia*,
That bore thee at a burthen two faire sonnes?
Oh if thou bee'st the same *Egeon*, speake:
And speake vnto the same *Emilia*.

What, then, was the contribution of Author B.? Let us recall the facts that Plautus supplied the exposition of the complicated situations at the opening both of the *Menaechmi* and of the *Amphitruo* by vivacious but essentially undramatic monologic prologues; that the author originally responsible for the name *Antipholus Surreptus* in distinction to the non-Plautan phrase *Antipholus Errans* must have retained the story of the kidnapping of the former, and that this disappears in the I, i, of Author B.; that no scraps of the doggerel tetrameter of Author A. appear in the *Comedy of Errors* before the third scene of the play;⁴⁰ and that the unmistakable marks of B.'s style reappear at the end of the play coincidentally with the resumption of dialogue by the central character of

⁴⁰ II, i. See Table.

I, i. Further, the material in I, i, and the sections in Act V identifiable as B.'s are all written in fluent blank verse by a practiced hand, which, taken in connection with his use of the balanced-line construction, indicates him to have been a professional writer of after the date of *Tamburlaine* (c. 1587).⁴¹

The one reasonable interpretation of these facts seems to be that at a date after 1587 Author B. was professionally employed to revamp the old play and bring it up to date stylistically; that he attempted to substitute a dramatic dialogic exposition for the older Plautan prologue, and in doing so devised the old father's story of his wanderings told under sentence of death, introduced the mother, probably as Abbess, to be reunited to her husband and children, and (as it was now necessary to separate six people into four parties) adopted the device of the shipwreck to facilitate the separation. In other words, he added a fifth and a sixth plot element to frame the four that already existed in the doggerel tetrameter text of Author A. He was probably also responsible for shifting the scene of the play from Epidamnus to the better known Ephesus and substituting Epidamnus for Plautus' Tarentum to be incidentally mentioned as the port from which the father had been traveling when the son was lost. Certainly, at least, the shift, emphasized as it is in I, i, is pre-Shakespearean, since there is no shred of evidence that Shakespeare rewrote a syllable of the opening scene.⁴² It may be added that there is no hint that Author B. rewrote any of the text of A.; if he did,

⁴¹ Examination of the tables of Prof. Hubbard, in *P.M.L.A.*, XXXII, 68-80, will show that the popularity of the balanced-line construction in stage dialogue for the public theatre must have been mainly due to the influence of Marlowe's epoch-making play.

⁴² Dr. F. M. Padelford suggests (*Errors*, Tudor ed., p. xii): "There is still a third source of the play, which scholars have been slow to recognize, in the old story of Apollonius of Tyre, the foundation of *Pericles*. This story probably was known to Shakespeare from the version in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and also from a printed version of 1576, supposedly the same as that printed in 1607 by Laurence Twine under the title *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures*. From this source Shakespeare may have taken the suggestions for the shipwreck, the search of Ægeon, and the unexpected reunion of the family, the wife in each case having taken refuge in a religious house. Probably this story also suggested Ephesus as the scene of the play." The points of similarity here brought together indicate a source for B.'s (not Shakespeare's) materials.

the fact is completely hidden under the work of Shakespeare. It would seem too, from the cessation of all marks of B.'s style at V, i, 407, that in B.'s version the comedy ended at that point with the terminal emphasis on the serious interest of the reunited father, mother, and twin sons. It is significant in this connection that in the Folio text there stands here an emphatic *Exeunt omnes*, followed as if by an after-thought with *Manet the two Dromio's and two Brothers*, the first clause apparently marking the original conclusion and the last introducing a new ending appended later.

The problem of B.'s identity we must leave for the present, to return to it later in the discussion.

IV. SHAKESPEARE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PLAY

If the conclusions above set forth with regard to the work of Authors A. and B. be valid, there was little for Shakespeare to add to the larger elements of the present plot. If four of the seven plot-elements appeared in the version of A. and the two in the frame were added by B., only the provision of Luciana to supply a triangle situation with Adriana in regard to Antipholus of Syracuse mistaken for his brother, and to give the romantic interest of a wooing scene, can come from Shakespeare's hand. That it did so come we may feel fairly certain for two reasons: First, from III, i, we know that the wife of Dromio of Ephesus was originally called Luce, although later, in the passages that Shakespeare wrote, the name was changed to Nell, the only apparent reason for the change being that Shakespeare's introduction of the new character Luciana (whose name rhymes with that of her sister Adriana) forced him to change the similarly abbreviated name Luce in order to avoid confusion. Second, Luciana, the best characterized rôle in the play, is treated with an individuality and polish that seem to betoken that in her Shakespeare had a special interest, that of the young author who feels, "The rest is hackwork. This is my own." It is especially to be observed that Shakespeare reserves all extended use of pentameter rhymed couplets for the triangle situation of which she is the pivotal element,⁴³ and keeps his most intricate rhyme-scheme, the interlacing rhymed pentameter, for the scene of her wooing

⁴³ II, i, 10-43, 86-116; II, ii, 171-202, 211-19; IV, ii, 1-28.

by Antipholus of Syracuse,⁴⁴ the scene that, more strikingly than any other in the play, shows us "the born poet, the born romancer, itching to be at his trade."⁴⁵

How far Shakespeare modified the structure of the other plot elements between the first appearance of his hand at I, ii, 1, and the reappearance of the hand of B. in V, i, thus adding to the complication, smoothness, and vivacity of the intrigue, it is now difficult in general to say. In Act V, however, we can catch sight of him actually at work. The first 32 lines, presenting the conversation of Angelo and the Second Merchant concerning the standing of Antipholus of Ephesus, and their attack upon Antipholus of Syracuse, are certainly Shakespeare's with their 28 per cent. of feminine endings. The following 36 lines, in which Adriana appears on the scene, Antipholus of Syracuse and his Dromio take refuge in the Abbey, and the Abbess protects them, sink to 8.3 per cent. of feminine endings, and are presumably mainly B.'s. Then comes a passage of 69 lines, beginning with an amplification of the Abbess' rebuke to Adriana at line 68, clearly shown to be Shakespeare's by its 31 per cent of feminine endings and, in the earlier part especially, by its vocabulary and its vigor. The Duke of Ephesus then appears with Ægeon on the way to the place of execution, and is appealed to by Adriana and afterward by Antipholus of Ephesus in a passage of 153 lines with 19 per cent. of feminine endings, of course Shakespeare's. Ægeon's appeal to his son Antipholus of Ephesus and his repulse by the latter (lines 307-29), followed by the entry of Antipholus of Syracuse and his Dromio and the consequent presence of all the twins on the stage at once (lines 330-31,) are, by their percentage of only 6.8 of feminine endings, retained from B., as was the earlier entrance of the Abbess. It is difficult to say whether lines 332-34,

Duke. One of these men is *genius* to the other:
And so of these, which is the naturall man,
And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?

are by B. or by Shakespeare—a rather important point, as these are the only lines in the play that would serve as evidence

⁴⁴ III, ii, 1-70.

⁴⁵ "Q" in Cambr. ed., p. xxii.

that Shakespeare was actually in touch with the Plautan sources.⁴⁶ Certainly Shakespeare preserved from A. (as B. must have done before him) the merry tetrameter couplet that ensues:

S. Dromio. I Sir am Dromio, command him away.

E. Dro[mio]. I Sir am Dromio, pray let me stay.

and did so in spite of the fact that they interrupt the main interest of the scene and in tone are inharmonious with S. Dromio's speech in the second line below. Lines 337-60, by B.,⁴⁷ deal mainly with the Abbess' story to Ægeon. The ensuing fifteen lines (361-75), containing the Duke's confusion of the two brothers and the ending of the S. Antipholus-Luciana plot-element, are Shakespeare's, with their 20 per cent. of feminine endings, the incorporated reference to Duke Menaphon, and the spelling and pronunciation *Siracuse* (unique for that city in the dialogue of the play). They conclude with a line unmistakably echoed in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (V, iv, 26). Lines 377-406, rounding off the Angelo and the Courtesan complications and, as the stage direction strongly suggests, originally completely emptying the stage with the Abbess' final speech, are, from their 6.6 per cent. of feminine endings, clearly B.'s, and bring the B. version to a close with emphasis on the main plot and the frame.⁴⁸ Shake-

⁴⁶ Even then they would show acquaintance only with the *Amphitruo*, not with the *Menaechmi*.

⁴⁷ See *supra*, p. 640.

⁴⁸ It will be objected that in assigning the Abbess' last speech to B. we are assigning him the line declaring the age of the twins to be thirty-three, which I have called Shakespeare's conception. The answer is that B. probably wrote, in harmony with I, i, 125, and V, i, 320:

Twenty-five years have I but gone in travail

Of you, my sons,

which fits the metre perfectly; and that Shakespeare, filled with the conception of the more mature Antipholuses that he had created from I, ii, to this point, was here suddenly confronted with the incongruous figures and naturally revised them. Observe, too, that even if he noticed the *eighteen* of I, i, 125, and added to it the *seven* of V, i, 320, (which, being merely a young writer on a piece of hackwork, and not a professional editor, he probably did not), it was impossible for him to emend the *eighteen* as there were no dissyllables for substitution between *twenty*, which was too low, and *thirty*, which was too high. And, in general, it was not Shakespeare's custom to retrace his steps for revision.

speare's tact, however, recognized that this was too serious for the general tone of the comedy and added two other brief sections. Lines 408-13 introduce a last "error," when Dromio of Syracuse mistakes Antipholus of Ephesus for his own master; and lines 414-26 are a whimsical dialogue between the two Dromios and send them off the stage, hand in hand, uttering a tetrameter couplet presumably either borrowed from the work of A. or purposely written in that tone by Shakespeare. Thus in Shakespeare's conclusion the final stress is laid upon the subordinate plot-thread borrowed, not from the *Menaechmi*, but from the *Amphitruo*.

How nearly can we date Shakespeare's revision? The allusions to the Civil War in France in S. Dromio's description of Luce's forehead as being, like that country, "armed and reuerted, making warre against her heire,"⁴⁹ a prose passage certainly as late as anything in the play, ceases to be applicable with the proclamation of peace in France in July, 1593, and would be especially timely in a period beginning some six months after the dispatching of the English military expedition to France in support of Navarre in July, 1591.⁵⁰

A notably close parallel has been discovered by the New Cambridge editors between Shakespeare's lines at IV, iv, 84-85:

[E.] Dro[mio]. Monie by me? Heart and good will you might
But surely Master not a ragge of Monie.

Certainly, though practically all editors of the play comment on the discrepancy in time, no other satisfactory solution has ever, to my knowledge, been proposed. Theobald's emendation in V, i, 400, of *thirty-three* to *twenty-five* (on the supposition that the inconsistent number "was at first written in figures, and, perhaps, blindly") restores B.'s reading, but on insufficient grounds.

⁴⁹ III, ii, 123-24.

⁵⁰ "We may say, then, that it was not until the spring of 1591 that even the English government found the French wars of compelling interest, and in fact, it was some time later before the English public regarded them as topics of the moment. But in July, 1591, another expeditionary force under Essex was dispatched to France with great acclamation. . . . Essex's expedition is the first which created a public stir. By December 1591 the siege of Rouen was in progress. . . . This siege was really the event which gripped popular imagination in England. We shall hardly expect—and in fact, do not find—casual references to the French wars before the end of 1591." (H. B. Charlton, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July, 1918, 262-63).

and a passage in Nashe's *Four Letters Confuted*.⁵¹

hee [John Harvey] is gone to heauen to write more Astrologi-call discourses; his brothers [Gabriel and Richard] liue to inherite his olde gownes and remember his notable sayings, amongst the which this was one: *Vale Galene*, farewell, mine owne deare Gabriell: *Valete humane artes*, heart and good will, but neuer a ragge of money.

It is true, as the Cambridge editors suggest, that the two may merely have a common source, but the phrase in the *Errors* occurs in a passage certainly not antedating Shakespeare's revision and seems to spring spontaneously from the dramatic situation. If the passage in Nashe is borrowed from the *Errors*, it still further limits the date. Nashe's pamphlet, registered January 12, 1593, is an answer to Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*, registered December 4, 1592. Now, although Strange's Men were already in London (they played at Court on December 26), and although it was in the midst of the Christmas season, they were not permitted to open at the Rose until December 29, which presumably establishes that as the general date when any company was allowed to open after the devastations of the plague in the autumn and winter of that year. This was but fourteen days before the registering of Nashe's pamphlet, and the passage in question occurs only a little over one-half through the pamphlet and must have been written a number of days before the 12th. If Nashe did not happen to hear the *Comedy of Errors* between December 29, and, say, January 6 (Twelfth Night), the passage must have stuck in his memory from a period before June 23, 1592, since in the intervening time theatrical performances had been unintermittedly inhibited. This gap of over six months would be a phenomenally long time for the memory to retain a phrase dramatically unimportant and received through the ear only. On the whole, therefore, this scrap of evidence tends to increase the probability that the *Errors* was actively in performance during the late Christmas season of 1592-3.

⁵¹ Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 301. The Cambridge editors also quote Nashe's words (*ibid.*, I, 271-2) written in another connection, "I borrowed this sentence out of a Play. The Theater, Poets Hall, hath many more such prouerbcs."

With this period the stylistic data above considered also agree. The feminine endings in the purely Shakespearean material from I, ii, to V, i, 281, average 16.6 per cent.; while the average for the 668 lines of almost pure blank verse in the Shakespearean passages, (I, ii; IV, i, iii, iv; V, i, 1-32, 68-282, 361-376, 408-419) is 19.1 per cent. These figures are in harmony with the 19+ per cent. of feminine endings in *Richard III* and the 17.9 in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. But in *Richard III* there are 35 cases of the balanced line construction in 3548 lines, a percentage of 0.98 while in the Shakespearean parts of the *Comedy of Errors* there are only 4 cases in 1091 pentameter lines, a percentage of 0.36, in proportion a little over one-third as many. According to Dr. Hubbard, this trait in Shakespeare's historical plays begins with only 10 and 3 cases respectively in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*; rises in *Richard III*, *Richard II*, and *King John* to about four times as many as in 2 *Henry VI*; and then declines again in 1 and 2 *Henry IV* and *Henry V*. This stylistic feature, then, roughly locates Shakespeare's revision of the *Errors* in the 2-3 *Henry VI* period rather than later. It also corroborates other more general stylistic evidence that serves to date the *Errors* earlier than the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, for in the latter play the balanced line occurs, by my estimate, 14 times in 1456 lines of blank verse, a percentage of 0.96, approximately the same as that for *Richard III*.

We have thus the extreme limiting dates for Shakespeare's revision of the A.-B. text of the *Comedy of Errors* of July, 1591, and July, 1593, and the more probable limiting dates of January to December, 1592. This would make it probably precede the original version of *Love's Labour's Lost* according to Professor Charlton's dating of that play; but the fact that even after revision so late as 1597-8 *Love's Labour's Lost* has only 7.7 per cent. of feminine endings tends to corroborate Dr. A. K. Gray's dating of that play about September 2, 1591, and to group it with the early version of *Romeo and Juliet* (which play even in 1597 had only 8.2 per cent. of feminine endings) and with the earliest version of *A Midsummernight's Dream*. On the other hand, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and the Shakespearean section of the *Errors*, with their percentages of 17.9 and 16.6 respectively, group in this respect with 2 and 3 *Henry VI* (revisions of Marlowe, and yet with percentages of

13.7 each), the latter of which must be dated between June, 1592, and the end of 1593. Further, the unusually large number of parallel passages connecting the *Errors* with the *Two Gentlemen*²² also tends strongly to associate these two plays, and to separate them from *Love's Labour's Lost*. On the whole, then, from our examination thus far it would seem safest to assign Shakespeare's revision of the *Errors* to a date between early 1592 and the end of that year.

We shall obtain further light on the question if we consider the problem of the company for which Shakespeare's revision was made. This involves the entire general history of the ownership of the play. Here the many pitfalls crave wary walking. As has already been said, probably the earliest trace of the play in England is the presentation of the *Historie of Error* by the Children of Paul's at Hampton Court on January 1, 1577, a date, occasion, and company that fit what we may be certain was the nature of the play in the hands of Author A. The next hint as to the ownership that appears is the record of the presentation of a *Historie of Ferrar* given before the Queen on "Twelfdaie at night," 1583, by the Earl of Sussex's Men. The surrounding circumstances, carefully examined, as to the histories of Paul's Boys and of Sussex's Men respectively give reason for the belief that the play had then recently passed into the hands of the latter company and that this is really a record of the old *Historie of Error* disguised by a clerical slip. The history of Sussex's Men is obscure, however, and the entire subject is so complex as to be impossible of treatment under present space limitations and must therefore be reserved for treatment in a later paper. But certain it is that Sussex's Men did not possess the *Errors* in the early part of 1594, for from December 27, 1593, to February 6, 1594, Henslowe's *Diary* supplies us with a day-by-day list of their performances at a time when they were playing their best cards in a strenuous attempt to keep their heads above water financially. The *Errors* by that time, as we have seen, must have already assumed

²² I collect the following from the notes of the Cambridge editors: *Errors*, II, ii, 82 (*T.G.V.*, III, i, 350-54); *Errors*, III, ii, 58 (*T.G.V.*, V, ii, 13-14); *Errors*, III, ii, 114-38 (*T.G.V.*, III, i, 271-360); *Errors*, IV, i, 94-95 (*T.G.V.*, I, i, 72-73); *Errors*, IV, iii, 50-51 (*T.G.V.*, III, i, 298); *Errors*, IV, iii, 52 (*T.G.V.*, III, i, 312); *Errors*, V, i, 376 (*T.G.V.*, V, iv, 26).

the form that led Meres later to name it among those of Shakespeare's well known comedies that gave him a place in English literature comparable to the best in Latin comedy, and if Sussex's Men had then owned it, under the circumstances they would certainly have used it; yet it nowhere appears in their repertoire. Further, with the metropolitan ambitions evident in their history at that time, it is difficult to believe that if they ever had owned the *Errors* in the Shakespearean form they would have been willing easily to part with it.

The only other company to which its ownership at the time of Shakespeare's revision of it may reasonably be assigned is Pembroke's. One of the plays known by the evidence of the title-page (Q. of 1595) to have belonged to that company is the *True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, the original of *3 Henry VI*. In III, i, of the last named play, but not in the corresponding scene of its original, are nine entries of the name of the Elizabethan actor John Sincklo, and nine others of the name of one "Humphrey," evidently also an actor. Two similar entries of the name of an actor "Gabriel" occur in I, ii, of the same play. I have elsewhere shown⁵³ that entries of actors' names in basic Shakespearean texts are in general to be assigned, not to the hand of a mere prompter, but to Shakespeare's own pen in the course of the composition of the play; and further,⁵⁴ that the evidence to this effect is especially strong in connection with these entries in *3 Henry VI*. We are therefore at last on firm ground with regard to this sole piece of direct textual evidence connecting Shakespeare with the revision of a play known to have been owned by the Pembroke company at a time not distant from that revision. The only Elizabethan actors of the names of Gabriel and Humphrey known to us are Gabriel Spenser and Humphrey Jeffes, and these, so late as 1597, were still closely associated and calling themselves the Earl of Pembroke's men,⁵⁵ although that company had sunk out of sight four years before. The evidence of these entries in *3 Henry VI*, therefore, is clearly that the revision

⁵³ "Actors' Names in Basic Shakespearean Texts," *P.M.L.A.*, XL, 530-550.

⁵⁴ A Gaw, "John Sincklo as One of Shakespeare's Actors," *Anglia*, XXXVII, 289-303.

⁵⁵ Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg, I, 54, 70, 82; and cf. discussion by Greg, *ibid.*, II, 90-92.

of that play from the *True Tragedie* took place when Shakespeare, Spenser, Jeffes, and Sincklo were all working in the same company. In the light of the evidence concerning their respective histories, it is only as members of the Pembroke company, and during the period of inhibition and plague between a date later than June 23, 1592, and the disappearance of the Pembroke company in the latter part of 1593, that these three actors can be supposed to have been acting together contemporaneously with Shakespeare's revision of the *True Tragedie* into *3 Henry VI*⁶⁶; and the early part of this period accords well with the artistic immaturity of *3 Henry VI* and with the fact that while in the entries the two Pembroke men are called by their Christian names, Sincklo is always called by his surname as if he were a newcomer with whom the other members of the company are not yet on familiar terms. It also admirably fits the inherent probabilities of the case when one considers that the revisions of the two Pembroke plays, the *Contention* and the *True Tragedie*, into *2* and *3 Henry VI* would most naturally spring from a desire to profit by the striking success of the Strange Men's allied play, *Harry the Sixth*, between March 3 and June 23, 1592,⁶⁷ and when one recognizes that Shakespeare, then acting as well as writing, could scarcely have finished *2 Henry VI* prior to the inhibition of June 23. This period—somewhat later than June 23, 1592—for the revision of *3 Henry VI* is further in accord with the stylistic evidence of the balanced lines associating that play with the period of the *Errors* and with the evidence already cited connecting the revision of the *Errors* with 1592.

These facts, taken in connection with those already stated in regard to the relation of Shakespeare with the *A.-B.* text of the *Errors*, suggest the following conclusions:

1. It was for the Pembroke company, and not for Sussex's Men, that Shakespeare made the revision.
2. As the strength of plot of the *Errors* is not due to Shakespeare, and as the *Two Gentlemen* is certainly superior in char-

⁶⁶ See A. Gaw, *The Origin and Development of 1 Henry VI* (Univ. of Southern Calif. Studies, Vol. I), 155, n. 22. For the fallaciousness of the supposed evidence of Greene's quotation of the "tiger's heart" line of *3 Henry VI* in relation to this question see *ibid.*, 150-52, n. 12. Cf. Adams, *Shakespeare*, pp. 130-42.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gaw, *ibid.*, 3-7; 27-28, n. 34; 61; 155, n. 22; 163-5; 168.

acterization and atmosphere both to the *Errors* and to the *Henry VI* plays, the *Two Gentlemen* is probably the latest in date of the series; and on account of the cited textual parallels the *Errors* probably dates immediately before it.

3. Since, in the series of plays under consideration, the metrically earlier first version of *Love's Labour's Lost* would naturally be followed by the weak, but metrically more advanced, 2-3 *Henry VI* sequence, and that by the increasingly mature *Errors* and *Two Gentlemen*; and since 3 *Henry VI* was written after June 23, 1592; and since Dromio's reference to France's "making warre against her heire" would be outdated in July, 1593;—we may assign the Shakespearean form of the *Errors* to the fall, winter, or spring of 1592-3. More narrowly, Nashe's use of the phrase, "heart and good will, but neuer a ragge of money," early in January points to the belated Christmas theatrical season of 1592-3 (when a lull in the plague permitted the playhouses once more to open) as the probable period of the first London production of Shakespeare's play—in that atmosphere of Yuletide revelry to which the general mood of madcap misadventure of the *Errors* was so well fitted, in the midst of which it had first appeared as the *Historie of Error* in 1577, and for which it was again to be chosen by the managers of the Revels at Gray's Inn on December 28 two years later.

V. WHO WAS AUTHOR B.?

We may now return to the question of B.'s identity. And here from two different points of view one name is forced upon our attention, that of Thomas Kyd. Professor Boas, Kyd's editor, believes⁵⁸ that the "certain lord" into whose service, according to Kyd's well known letter to Sir John Puckering, Kyd went about the summer of 1590, may have been Robert Radcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalter, who succeeded his father as Earl of Sussex on December 14, 1593. Professor Adams, on the other hand, believes⁵⁹ that the evidence concerning this patron "points unmistakably to the Earl of Pembroke." Either way, there is of course under general conditions no

⁵⁸ Kyd, *Works*, pp. lxiv, lxxiv-lxxv.

⁵⁹ *Shakespeare*, p. 131.

necessary connection between a clerk in attendance upon a nobleman and a dramatic troupe playing under that nobleman's patronage; but where that clerk was the author of one of the two most famous plays of the preceding five years and the nobleman a young man interested in drama with the unusual facilities for indulging a hobby which that patronage gave him, the case may easily have been unusual. Whether B.'s revision of the *Comedy of Errors* was made for Sussex's Men in the beginning of the period when that provincial company was trying to establish itself in London, possibly as early as the summer of 1590 and pretty certainly at least as early as the autumn of 1591; or whether it was made for Pembroke's Men, presumably a little later;—either way Kyd's possible claims require investigation.

Admittedly, the materials upon which the investigation must be made are at first sight very incongruous: some three hundred lines in a romantic comedy erected upon a broadly farcical basis, for comparison with two dark-hued melodramas such as *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, the last named not even undisputed as to authorship. Yet on examination the materials prove less incongruous than would at first appear. We may note the following points:

1. Both the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* evince Kyd's tendency to frame his main plot. B.'s contribution to the *Errors* was the frame.

2. Though surrounding a farce comedy, the frame of the *Errors* is pathetic, dealing with the sorrows of an old man and his wife. Similarly, the *Spanish Tragedy* primarily concerns the sorrows of old Hieronymo and, in a minor degree, of Isabella his wife.

3. The story of Ægeon is ingeniously contrived for the double purpose of giving the exposition of the main plot and at the same time of maintaining an interest in itself. The Don Andrea frame-motif in the *Spanish Tragedy* has the same double function, which, however, it accomplishes less effectively.

4. The adroit masking of Æmilia as the Abbess and the unexpected disclosure of her identity at the climactic moment is quite worthy of the man who, at his best, was more instinctively a plot-dramatist than any other English writer of the decade 1580-90.

5. The metrical evidence of the feminine endings, the pyrrhic endings resulting from abnormally pronounced *-ed*, and the pyrrhic endings in *-ion*, *-ious*, and *-ience* may be thus tabulated, with the inclusion also, as relevant, of the corresponding figures for Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornélie* to support those of *Soliman and Perseda*:

	Total Pentameter Lines	Fem. Ending		Abnormal -ed Endings.		-ion, -ious, -ience Endings.	
		Cases	Percent.	Cases	Percent.	Cases	Percent.
<i>Spanish Trag.</i> (Kyd's part)	2601	18	0.7	14	0.5	30	1.1
<i>Sol. and Pers.</i>	1827	182	9.9	2	0.1	13	0.7
<i>Cornelia</i>	1748	134	7.6	16	0.8	11	0.6
B. in <i>Errors</i>	229	14	6.1	5	2.2	1	0.4

It will be obvious that the figures for Kyd differ rather widely in his three plays, and a scene-by-scene analysis would show the divergence to be much greater even than here appears, as no cases of the endings in abnormal *-ed* appear in Acts I-II of the *Spanish Tragedy*, Acts I-II of *Cornelia*, or Acts I, II, or V of *Soliman and Perseda*, while the habit of introducing pyrrhic endings in *-ion*, *-ious*, *-ience* grew on the writer gradually during the writing of the *Spanish Tragedy*. Further, the distribution of feminine endings in *Soliman and Perseda* is somewhat affected by the presence in the scene of Basilisco, for whom they become practically a part of the characterization. But even taking the figures as they stand, it is evident that *Soliman and Perseda* has over thirteen times as great a percentage of feminine endings as the *Spanish Tragedy*, a fact that would indicate that the former play (if Kyd's) was written several years after the latter, and probably not long before its entry on the Stationers' Register on November 22, 1592. This view is corroborated by the similarly high percentage in the *Cornelia*, known to have been written not long before Kyd's death. And it may be significant that the percentage of feminine endings for B.'s share in the *Errors* (6.1) is intermediate between those for the early *Spanish Tragedy* and the other two by Kyd, as we should expect from the previously stated considerations assigning it to an intermediate date. In the *-ion*, *-ious*, *-ience* test, too, the *Soliman and Perseda* and the *Cornelia*

are close together, showing a more natural versification than the *Spanish Tragedy*; but in this respect the 229 lines of the *Errors* shows a greater naturalness than does any one of the other three. On the contrary, while as to the occurrence of the abnormally accented *-ed* in terminal position Acts I–II of the *Spanish Tragedy* are absolutely normal (0.0), *Soliman and Perseda* less so (0.1), and Acts III–IV of the *Spanish Tragedy* and all of *Cornelia* equally still less so (0.8), the percentage for B. in *Errors* is three times as large as that for either of the latter two (2.2). The fact is that in view of the unequal distribution of terminal pyrrhics in Kyd's recognized productions, the number of cases for B. of the two criteria last mentioned (only 5 and 1 respectively), and the number of lines by B. that we have for examination, are too few to serve as a basis for close discrimination between two authors of generally similar traits.

The other metrical peculiarities of B. can all be paralleled in the cited works of Kyd. Compare:

(*-ia* pyrrhic line-ending)

Roming cleane through the bounds of *Asia* (*Errors* I, i, 133)

[And] marcht [a] conquerour through *Asia* (*Soliman and Perseda*, I, iii, 55)

Ile call my Souldiers home from *Persia* (*Ibid.*, I, v, 8)

(Wrested accent)

Therefore Marchánt, Ile limit thee this day (*Errors*, I, i, 150)

As the butchér is pitiless and base (*Spanish Tragedy*, IV, iv, 61).

(Use of the liquid as an independent syllable)

These are the parents to these children (*Errors*, V, i, 350)

Bid him be merry still, but secret (*Spanish Tragedy*, III, iv, 64)

That our reward should be redoubled (*Soliman and Perseda*, V, ii, 64)

6. The balanced type of line, which in *Errors*, I, i, appeared with a percentage of 6.3, and in the 78 lines of V, v, positively assigned to B. had a percentage of 1.3, has in the *Spanish Tragedy* a general percentage of only 0.7, and in *Soliman and Perseda* 1.4. But with Kyd these lines follow a kind of law of

distribution. He uses them especially in opening scenes, and drops them as he advances into scenes requiring less rhetoric and more action. The percentage of them in the 91 lines of the *Spanish Tragedy*, I, i, is 6.6, and in the 39 lines that open *Soliman and Perseda* it is 7.7, both percentages being a trifle over that for the opening of the *Errors*. Again like Kyd, B. uses fewer of them in the concluding scene, only one pure case appearing in the 72 lines of V, i, that I consider the undoubted work of B., a percentage of 1.3. In this respect the parallelism in the cases of B. and of both the original plays of Kyd is strongly marked.

7. In other stylistic points B.'s work is what might be expected from the hand of Kyd. The customary B. form *Siracusa* for *Siracuse* or *Syracuse* accords with the display of classic learning of which Kyd was fond. The stichomythic form that appears here and there in the concluding scene of the *Errors* is of course characteristic of him; and the shift of the scene of the *Errors* from Epidamnus to the more familiar Ephesus (if that be due to B. and not to A.) is quite in line with his instinct for popularizing his material.

The only strong argument against the identification of B. with Kyd is that the frame of the *Errors* is not in the melodramatic Senecan tone of his known original plays. But in a comedy the Senecan tone would of course have been highly incongruous, even in connection with a pathetic frame. And in fact, the limitations of Kyd's temperament form possibly the weightiest argument for thinking him a probable claimant for such identification. For he was no writer of real comedy, as witness the Piston and Basilisco of *Soliman and Perseda* and the sardonic humor of Pedringano on the gallows. And one of the most striking points in connection with the work of B. is, that there is not the slightest trace of his hand in the comedy proper of the *Errors* from I, ii, to the end of IV, iv, despite the rather painful contrast that must have existed between the pathetic pentameters of the frame and the old-fashioned farcical tumbling tetrameters of the original play. It is difficult to explain how any dramatist could have been satisfied to leave the play in that condition unless he felt his inability to deal with the really humorous passages. That it was unsatisfactory to the actors is evident from the fact that within

a comparatively short time it was passed on to Shakespeare, who began where B. left off at the end of I, i, and revised as already indicated.

In short, while it is impossible to say definitely that B. was Kyd, and while the nature of the material makes impossible in the play what we regard as Kyd's characteristic mood, there seems to be no reason why the author of *The Spanish Tragedy*, if set to work by command of a patron upon the revision of the early *Historie of Error*, with a plot not of his choosing and very decidedly out of his vein, might not have turned out the work of B. with a feeling of some self-gratulation at having strengthened the drama as much as he did. And, omitting the question of tone, it fits no other known dramatist of the date so well. Its language is completely free from the stiffness engendered by Greene's use of connectives;⁶⁰ there is no hint of Marlowe's imagination or Nashe's vigor; its pathos is too restrained and its construction too well rounded for Peele; and dramaturgically it is, I believe, far too clever for Lodge. If not Kyd's, whose is it?

VI. THE POST-SHAKESPEAREAN HISTORY OF THE TEXT

We next turn to a consideration of the history of the play after Shakespeare had rewritten the A.-B. version. It has already been said that the New Cambridge editors indicate three other steps as having taken place, either successively or in conjunction. On one of these, the rewriting of some of the blank verse as prose, they lay little stress, merely hinting

⁶⁰ The balanced-line test, which gives a percentage of 6.3 in *Errors*, I, i, gives for Greene its highest percentage in *Alphonsus of Arragon*, where it reaches only 0.8. The reference in *Errors* (V, i, 367-8) to Greene's character, Menaphon, pointed out in this connection by the New Cambridge editors (p. 112), is quite misleading. The two lines in which the reference occurs both have feminine endings, which never occur consecutively in the work of B., and are clearly Shakespeare's. Further, the reference to Menaphon as "renowned" and a Duke is quite incongruous with Greene's Menaphon, who is a humble shepherd far from heroic. Shakespeare inserted the passage to soften the statement that E. Antipholus "came" to Ephesus from Corinth, as even thirteen years, Shakespeare's conception of the boy's age at the time, was rather too young for the boy to be traveling of his own volition; and in making the insertion Shakespeare thus played up, though very superficially, an allusion of contemporary interest, as he did repeatedly in work of his earliest period.

it here and there in their textual notes,⁶¹ but, in line with their experience in preceding volumes of their edition (notably in *Measure for Measure*) they unmistakably suggest their belief in that as a probability. From some features in the punctuation and lining of the Folio text, as well as from interruptions of the thought sequence in the enveloping blank verse passages, it is probable that certain expansions were made in the parts of the Dromios, as, for instance, in the case of IV, iii, 50-55, 58-62, where S. Dromio's prose interruptions and S. Antipholus' prose answers break the emotional continuity of the blank verse dialogue and where, moreover, the capitalized line 50 follows a colon suggesting a cut for which 50-56 is a substitution. But the clearest indication of date in the play, S. Dromio's reference to the civil wars in France, which places it almost certainly before July, 1593, and would best be dated in 1592, occurs in such a prose passage between S. Dromio and his master—a passage too clever for a mere post-Shakespearean hack reviser and yet one that would be wholly unfitted to an original blank verse vesture. This passage is as mature as any prose passage in the play. To me it appears pretty certain that either all of the prose speeches were in the original Shakespearean form, or that they were altered or inserted very early in the history of the play and, to judge from their quality and the close relation between form and content, by Shakespeare himself.

As to the two remaining stages, the theory of the new Cambridge editors is this: (*Fifth stage*) Presumably after the disappearance of the valuable original Shakespearean prompt-book, a copyist A. ("Hand A.") recopied the play from a combination of players' parts and the stage *plat*, which was dictated to him by a reader possibly with a dialect; and stage directions (largely lacking in the players' parts) were inserted, then or later, by another, "Hand B." who "possessed very vague ideas of the text he was working on," so that before he could write a character's name in the stage directions he was obliged to locate it near by in the text, but who nevertheless had such "vivid memories of the old *Historie of Error*" that he

⁶¹ See their notes to II, ii, 35, 45-49 (cf. note to II, i, 71-74); III, ii, 71-80; IV, iii, 15; V, i, 302-6.

mingled those recollections with the Shakespearean text that he was preparing. Further, the version so reconstructed was based, not upon the full version made by Shakespeare, but upon a *fourth stage*, a cut-down version adapted for a traveling company, which version, on account of the limitations of country stages, restored, "perhaps even consciously," the classical structure of the primitive pre-Shakespearean play. The theory, complicated as it is, is based upon painstaking analysis of the evidence, and no single element in it is impossible. Its weakest point is that, if our analysis of the preceding history of the *Comedy of Errors* be correct, "Hand B.", who is responsible for the greater part of the stage directions and who did his work long enough after Shakespeare's for the valuable original prompt-book to become lost or otherwise inaccessible, must have been a member either of Pembroke's or of the Strange-Chamberlain company and would therefore almost certainly have known the Shakespearean form. Moreover, he could scarcely have known well the pre-Shakespearean form, and if he had, after the lapse of time he would have remembered it but dimly—too dimly to recall such Latinized forms as *Antipholus Sereptus* and *Antipholus Erotos*, which nowhere appear or need to appear in the dialogue, and which therefore he must have retained solely from casual recollection of the very scanty old stage directions if, as the Cambridge theory considers, he is the sole channel through which these pre-Shakespearean names reach us. This highly complex hypothesis is acceptable only if none more probable can be found to explain the facts.

It is undoubtedly true that at least two stage directions (those at IV, iv, 146, and V, i, 190) have been expanded by some one, presumably a stage director or prompter, after the original stage directions of the extant text had been placed in their present position. Certainly, too, while some of the fifteen passages noted by the Cambridge editors as requiring emendation because the text has passed through a process of oral dictation, can be explained as slips due to the attraction of neighboring words,⁶² or to the misdivision⁶³ or the dropping

⁶² *help* for *health* (I, i, 151); cf. *help*, same line. *a name* for hypothetical *an aim* (III, i, 47); cf. *thy name*, same line.

⁶³ *a rival* for *arrival* (I, ii, 4).

out⁶⁴ of a word, or to obscurity in the manuscript,⁶⁵ or as not requiring emendation,⁶⁶ there are yet four cases that, at first sight, it is not so easy to account for, namely, *o'er-wrought* for *o'er-raught* (I, ii, 96), *I* for *he* (IV, ii, 60), *depth* for *death* (V, i, 121), and *burthen are* for *burthen ne'er* (V, i, 402). But these four do not present insuperable difficulties. In the case of two of the forms, use the Elizabethan order of letters and omit the apostrophe, and the slips from *ore-raught* to *ore-wrought* and from *burthen nere* to *burthen are* regain their original simplicity. In the phrase *the melancholly vale; the place of death*, the suggestion of lowness in *vale* would easily betray the compositor into reading *death* as *depth* with a "stumpy" *p*—*the melancholly vale; the place of depth*.⁶⁷ As to the *I* for *he*, note that in the preceding line the speaker dialectally uses *a* for *he* and probably also did so here, so that the misreading was not *I* for *he*, but the easier *I* for *a*. Further, if in any case we are obliged to fall back upon ear-error as an explanation, rather than the Cambridge editors' complicated hypothesis of dictation under the stated conditions and preceded and followed by alterations, it is more natural to suppose that, to aid his memory, the Folio compositor murmured the passage to himself after reading from the MS, as one not infrequently does in transcribing strange material. Thus such a slip as that from *a* to *I* would be extremely easy.

And, on the other hand, only this theory of a stage of dictation in the evolution of the present text prevents the acceptance of a much simpler explanation of its nature and origin, the evidence in favor of which must here be stated. There is at

⁶⁴ *is* for *he is* or *he's* (IV, ii, 45).

⁶⁵ *in* for hypothetical *e'en* (II, ii, 101); *bud* for *bed* (III, ii, 49); *cook* for *clock* (I, ii, 66), the latter as difficult to explain by ear-error as by eye-error. Here also I should classify (*unhappie a*) for hypothetical (*unhappier*) (I, ii, 40), since Elizabethan final *-r* was so vigorously sounded that it might constitute an additional syllable, while the Cambridge editors admit that *a* and *r* might be confused in writing, though, they think, hardly at the end of a word.

⁶⁶ Such I account *jollity* (changed to hypothetical *policy*, II, ii, 88), since Dromio's evident meaning is that a bald man should be ruefully glad to lose his hair; and *crime* (changed to hypothetical *grime*, II, ii, 141), for the idea of the mixture of dirt with the blood is not Shakespearean in tone, whereas the mixture of abstract and concrete is not uncommon with him.

⁶⁷ See Sir E. M. Thompson, *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, p. 49, where eight cases of "stumpy" *p* are pointed out in 147 lines of text.

certain points a marked correspondence between variations in spelling and shifts in the authorship. Thus the forms *Balthaser* and *Balthasar* occur respectively at III, i, 1, stage direction, and at V, i, 223; but as soon as at III, i, 11, Shakespeare's blank verse introduction to the scene gives way to A.'s manuscript (which, it is safe to say, Shakespeare did not recopy, but simply incorporated in the original sheets in the "book" of the play), the spelling of the name shifts into a -zar form at III, i, 19 and 22, while the -z- also appears in the speech-heading *Baltz.* at III, i, 67. The spelling of *Syracuse* is similarly interesting. In B.'s scene, I, i, (for which B.'s MS would naturally have been likewise preserved in the completed "book" without recopying) the spelling is uniformly *Siracusa* both in stage directions and text (three cases). In the stage directions from I, ii, 1, to the end of Act IV (Shakespeare's rewriting of Author A.), wherever the form is spelled out in full it is *Dromio Siracusia* (II. ii, 7; III, ii, 71), *Antipholus Siracusia* (IV, iii, 1) or *Antipholus of Siracusia* (III, ii, 1). In Act V, where the work of B. is resumed, the spelling becomes again consistently *Siracusa* (as in I, i) at V, i, 320, 325, 328, and 330 stage direction; but in what is probably Shakespeare's independent interpolation at V, i, 362-68, we have the Anglicized form *Siracuse*, as also in the detailed stage direction, pretty certainly Shakespeare's, at V, i, 130. Thus the three spellings exactly correspond with three different authorial situations, B. retained, A. revised by Shakespeare, and Shakespeare working independently. In the case of the variants *merchant* and *marchant* it may be observed that while both forms occur in the Shakespearean sections in stage directions and in speech headings as well as in the dialogue, the *mar-* form does not occur for B. except in the speech heading at I, i, 1, later interpolated,⁶⁸ and in line I, i, 150,

Therefore Marchant, Ile limit thee this day

where the wrested accent, unique for this word in Shakespeare's plays,⁶⁹ renders the passage open to question. As for the *C[o]urtizan*, she is an unruly lady, whom I cannot account for on either hypothesis alone.

⁶⁸ See Cambr. ed., p. 61.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

The shifts in the stage directions, even more than the variants in spelling, favor the theory that they originate, not with "Hand B.", but in the composite text of *Author A.—Author B.—Shakespeare*. Possibly the most striking case is the interchange of *Luciana* and *Juliana* in III, ii. The opening stage direction of the scene, according to the hypothesis of the New Cambridge editors, "Hand B." inserted, basing the name *Juliana* on nothing (for it occurs nowhere in Shakespeare's text), and "Hand B." then inserted the speech-heading abbreviation *Julia*. at the beginning of III, i, 1, because he had made the erroneous and baseless insertion above and despite the occurrence of the speech-heading *Luc*. seven times in the remainder of the scene. But the other theory offers a much more natural explanation. In II, i, Shakespeare had introduced *Luciana*, sister to *Adriana*, working out the carefully rhymed dialogue with apparent enjoyment. In II, ii, he had prepared for the romantic situation between her and *Antipholus* of *Syracuse*. In III, i, he had retained *Author A.*'s kitchen-maid *Luce*, and now in III, ii, he unexpectedly found that he could not abbreviate *Luciana* without confusing her with *Luce*.⁷⁰ For the moment he thought of avoiding the difficulty by changing the name *Luciana* to *Juliana*, and so wrote the opening stage-direction and speech-heading. When, however, after fifty-two carefully rhymed lines, the heart of the *Luciana-Antipholus* love-scene, he next needed the speech-heading, he had determined to keep the name that inhered in his original conception of her, and to change instead the unimportant name *Luce*, for when she is next referred to, the kitchen-maid has become *Nell*. Thus, instead of the unmotivated action of "Hand B." required by the theory of the Cambridge editors, the opposed theory discloses motivation for three different shifts on the part of Shakespeare, and offers the only explanation

⁷⁰ Here Shakespeare probably first realized that *Luce* sounded like a cut-down form of *Luciana*. Every practical playwright knows that names spoken from the stage should stand out in bold contrast. If the writer may cite a parallel case from personal experience, when *Pharaoh's Daughter* was produced he and his collaborator found it necessary to change the name of one of the characters, *Myra*, because when she was mentioned audiences tended to confuse her with another with the somewhat similar name *Miriam*. In *Errors*, III, i, imagine the audience's conceiving that *Dromio*, bawling the name *Luce* (up to that point unmentioned in the play) was calling his mistress' sister *Luciana*!

that has ever been suggested for the change in the name of the kitchen wench.

The variations in the names of the Antipholuses are, under the second theory, explicable on similar grounds. Beginning to revise where Author B. stopped at the end of I, i, Shakespeare it may be reasonably surmised, found Author A.'s abbreviated stage direction, *Enter Antiph. Erotes.* and copied it, carelessly filling out the abbreviated form with *-olis*, somewhat incorrectly remembered from his preceding reading of the A.-B. text. Still following A., at the beginning of A.'s next scene (at a point equivalent to II, ii, 44) he met *Enter Adriana, wife to Antiph. Sereptus, and Dromio Eph.*, and for the headline of his own prefatory scene he retained as much as was necessary of the stage-direction of A., filling out the abbreviation as before, without realizing the exact meaning or that B.'s invented shipwreck made the name no longer applicable.⁷¹ Still reworking A.'s text, and filling out an abbreviated *Antiph. Er.* at II, ii, 1, he at last encountered Antipholus' name written out in full in A.'s MS (cf. present text, II, ii, 110, 166, 219) and noted the correct spelling. In the following scene, III, i, both the Dromios being on the stage at once, together with Antipholus of Ephesus, Shakespeare⁷² found that the speech-heading *Ant. S [ereptus]* by confusion with *S. Dromio* would be wrongly interpreted as Antipholus of Syracuse.⁷³ He therefore discarded *Sereptus* and *Erotes* and adopted for the Antipholuses the system of names that had already been adopted for the Dromios; but as it was not a matter of practical importance in the theatre, as usual he did not go back to correct.⁷⁴ In the

⁷¹ It must be remembered that there is no evidence that Shakespeare had ever read the *Menaechmi*, either in the original or in translation.

⁷² Or possibly Author A., for in the Folio four out of the eleven speech allocations in III, i, 11-82, assigning speeches to E. Antipholus have the *E.* present, and these may originate with A. In this case A. must be the one responsible for shifting the scene to Ephesus.

⁷³ Similarly *Anti. E [rotis]* would have been wrongly interpreted as Antipholus of Ephesus.

⁷⁴ See the testimony of Heminges and Condell (First Folio, *Address to the . . . Readers*) that "what he thought, he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers;" and Jonson's remark in *Timber* (Cassell ed., p. 47), "I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a line."

same stage direction heading III, i, it is reasonable to believe that Shakespeare simply retained Author A.'s descriptive phrase, *Angelo the Goldsmith, and Balthasar the Merchant*, and that he similarly, at IV, iv, 39, retained the phrase *a Schoole-master, call'd Pinch*. So, too, it is much simpler to conceive the stage directions involving localities, *Enter Antipholus Ephe. Dromio from the Courtizans* (IV, i, 13) and *Enter Dromio Sira. from the Bay* (IV, i, 85) as retained by Shakespeare from the old *Historie* rather than as stage directions inserted by "Hand B." in a later cut version that was made for performances in which the old conditions happened to be restored.

Yet I admit that I can see no way of reconciling the theory that the noted peculiarities in spelling, stage directions, and speech allocations in the Folio text arise in the original *Author A.—Author B.—Shakespeare* composite prompt-book⁷⁶ with the theory of a process of dictation from actors' parts intermediate between the manuscript and the Folio text; and without such reconciliation either the four errors listed above (*ore-wrought*, for *ore-raught*, *I* for *he*, *depth* for *death*, and *burthen* are for *burthen nere*) must be accounted for on other grounds than ear-error arising from dictation, as above indicated, or the theory of the Cambridge editors must be accepted in all of its complexity (cutting for a return to a simplified stage, loss of prompt-book, and recopying under the very unusual stated conditions, the whole capped by the mental feat of the oddly ignorant "Hand B."), and the evidence for the simpler theory outlined above must be dismissed. I believe it may fairly be said that the evidence of the few spellings favoring the theory of dictation is considerably weaker than (a) the evidence of the coincidence between change of spelling and change of authorship, (b) the psychological considerations that seem at the basis of the shifts in names and abbreviations, and (c) the points urged in connection with the probable origin of the

⁷⁶ Cf. Dr. F. S. Boas' interesting corroboration (*Shakespeare and the Universities*, p. 10) of Mr. Pollard's contention that an author's original MS might be sent to the Censor for endorsement and then serve as the original prompter's copy. See also J. Q. Adams, *Shakespeare*, pp. 501-9, and the history of the MSS of *1 Henry VI* (A. Gaw, *The Origin and Development of 1 Henry VI*, p. 168) and of *Much Ado* (A. Gaw, "Actors' Names in Basic Shakespearean Texts, with special reference to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Much Ado*," *P.M.L.A.*, XL, 543-550).

unusual stage directions, which together form the support of the simpler and more natural theory.

However, the problem of stages 4 and 5 hypothesized by the Cambridge editors in no wise affects the evidence, founded on content, style, and metres, as to the relations of A., B., and Shakespeare, which forms the main body of the present investigation.

VII. CONSPECTUS

We may now summarize what, from the preceding pages, would appear to be the history of *A Comedy of Errors*. It is certainly a rewriting of pre-Shakespearean material, which may, with fair assurance, be identified with *A Historie of Error* played before the Queen at Hampton Court by the Children of Paul's on January 1, 1577. This original form, written by Author A. mainly, if not entirely, in the rough tetrameter couplets then the fashion for such work, appears to have contained four of the seven plot elements that occur in the present text, namely, (a) Plautus' *Menaechmi*, markedly modified by (b) Plautus' *Amphitruo*, and amplified to include (c) the arrest of Antipholus of Ephesus at the suit of Angelo the Goldsmith, and (d) the figure of Luce, the wife of Dromio of Ephesus. In 1582, the evidence suggests, the play passed into the hands of Sussex's Men, and was acted by them before the Queen at Windsor on January 6, 1583, the clerk, by an auditory error, recording it in his accounts as *A History of Ferrar*. It may be conjectured that it remained in the repertory of Sussex's Men during their experience as a merely provincial company between that date and 1590, but when, not later than the winter of 1591-2, they began their attempt to establish themselves as a London company, an attempt traceable from that date down to April 8, 1594, it is reasonable to suppose that they found their cleverly plotted but stylistically crude *Historie of Error* both too brief and too badly antiquated for their new audiences. Either for them or for Pembroke's Men, the next company into whose hands the play appears to have passed, a professional writer, Author B., whose work suggests identification with Thomas Kyd, certainly added a frame-plot in blank verse. This deals with two new elements, namely, (e) the sentencing to death of old Ægeon at Ephesus in the

course of his wanderings in search of his twin sons (with incidental substitution of the shipwreck for the abduction) and (f) his discovery of his wife Æmilia in the person of the Abbess at the same time with his reunion with his sons and his pardon by the Duke. This frame-plot may have been suggested by the story of Apollonius of Tyre. However, Author B., in a way difficult to account for except on a basis of his temperamental inability to treat buoyant comedy, apparently did not touch the material between the end of I, i, and the resumption of the frame-story early in Act V. The marked incongruity between the blank verse of Author B.'s additions and the doggerel tetrameters of Author A.'s main plot probably was the reason for giving the play over to Shakespeare for further revision. At all events, he certainly rewrote the material from the beginning of I, ii, to V, i, 38, and made considerable interpolation in the remainder of Act V, in the main employing blank verse (fortunately, blank verse so different stylistically as to be unmistakably distinguishable from B.'s), but retaining also certain brief passages in the tetrameters of the original *Historie of Error*. Shakespeare is also pretty certainly responsible for the addition of the seventh plot element—containing the most romantically Shakespearean passage in the play—namely, that centering about Luciana, sister of the wife of Antipholus of Ephesus, in her relations as foil for Adriana and as prospective wife for Antipholus of Syracuse. As a minor detail, Shakespeare also (in accord with his conception of the twins throughout his rewriting of A.'s work) at V, i, 400, definitely raised the ages of the two Antipholuses from twenty-five years to thirty-three. There is no reason for believing the passages in prose in the present play to be other than Shakespeare's, written either then or very shortly thereafter. This work was executed by Shakespeare for Pembroke's Men, the revision probably being completed toward the end of the year 1592 and first staged in London between December 29 of that year and the January 6 following. It was doubtless soon after the financial embarrassment of Pembroke's Men about August, 1593, and their disappearance as a unified organization from literary history immediately ensuing, that the *Comedy of Errors* passed from their hands into those of the Strange-Chamberlain company, along with three other plays that we happen

to know of with certitude, and pretty surely an additional group (including *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Love's Labour's Lost*) of which no record of the original ownership has chanced to be preserved.

The *Comedy of Errors* is in all probability to be identified with the "Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his Menechmus)" presented by "the Players" at Gray's Inn on December 28, 1594, but the matter has no further importance than as indicating that the play was then actively in repertory and as testifying to its popularity. There is some evidence (the various elements of which are, in general, accountable for on other grounds) that the promptbook of the play was at some time lost and the play reassembled from player's parts arranged for a cut version and dictated by word of mouth to a copyist; but considerations based upon variations in spelling, shifts in names of characters, and other peculiarities in stage directions, make it more probable that the original composite MS promptbook of *Author A.—Author B.—Shakespeare* itself reached the hands of the compositor of the First Folio text.

ALLISON GAW

XXXIV.

'HAMLET AND DR. TIMOTHY BRIGHT

IT IS strange that contemporary criticism of the *Hamlet* of Romantic psychology has failed to reckon with an important document of Elizabethan psychology. Professor Stoll¹ has invoked Burton and Professor Schücking, Sir Thomas Overbury;² but both the *Anatomy* and *Characters* are Jacobean, first published in 1621 and 1614, respectively. There was, however, a book of Elizabethan psychology accessible from 1586, written in English, avowedly to win the general reader,³ and popular enough for two editions in 1586 and a third in 1613. That Shakespeare used Dr. Timothy Bright's *A treatise of melancholie*⁴ was suggested in 1894 by Richard Loening⁵ in support of his theory of Hamlet's physiological melancholy;

¹ "Shakspere, Marston, and the Malcontent Type," *Mod. Philol.* III (Jan. 1906).

² *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays*, N. Y. 1922, pp. 154-5.

³ Cf. "The epistle dedicatorie" [p. 6] I write it in our mother tong that the benefit . . . might be more common . . .

⁴ Bright, Timothy. *A treatise of melancholie. Containing the causes thereof, & reasons of the strange effects it worketh in our minds and bodies: with the phisicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as haue thereto adioyned an afflicted conscience. The difference betwixt it, and melancholie with diuerse philosophicall discourses touching actions, and affections of soule, spirit, and body: the particulars whereof are to be seene before the booke.* By T. Bright Doctor of Phisicke. Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrollier, dwelling in the Black-Friers. 1586. Of this edition, there is a copy in the British Museum (wanting pp. 33-48) and one (used in preparing this article) in the Treasure Room of the Widener Library of Harvard University. There is a copy of the other 1586 edition in the British Museum: J. Windet: London, 1586. Of the 1613 edition, there are copies in the New York Public Library and in the Library of Goucher College, Baltimore; as well as in the British Museum.

⁵ "Ueber die physiologischen Grundlagen der Shakespeare'schen Psychologie," *Jahrb. der deutschen Sh.-Gesellschaft*, XXXI, 4-5. In support of his view that Shakespeare knew and used Bright's *Treatise*, Loening points out that it was published by Vautrollier at his shop in Blackfriars, in Shakespeare's immediate neighborhood, and further that on the death of Vautrollier in 1588 his print-shop and stock passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Richard Field, fellow-townsmen of Shakespeare and the publisher of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.

and in 1899, apparently from independent observation, by Dowden in his edition of *Hamlet* (p. 77). This suggestion, however, seems to have fallen flat. The title of Bright's *Treatise*—but not the contents—was known to Stoll,⁶ to Schücking,⁷ and to Dr. G. A. Bieber,⁸ though it is not mentioned by J. M. Robertson, and no reference is made to it in the later studies by Stoll and Schücking. To suggest anew that the *Treatise* influenced Shakespeare and more particularly *Hamlet*, is the object of this paper.

Dr. Bright began life as physician and ended it as divine.⁹ In his *Treatise of melancholie* both tendencies meet on a middle ground much like that of psychology: and the treatise offers not merely quaint medical recipes and old-fashioned spiritual consolation, but definite principles of mental hygiene; it discusses the relation of mind and body, of health and behavior. Not impossibly, it affected the Elizabethan imagination much as popularized theories of endocrinology, or of the sub-conscious have affected our generation.

In borrowing suggestions for his purpose from a scientific treatise, a dramatist—particularly if he were Shakespeare—would be expected to reveal his dependence through the employment of similar ideas rather than by verbal parallels. Nevertheless, as one peruses the chapters of Dr. Bright's book the phrases of Shakespeare are persistently recalled to mind. Some of these, I have thought it worth while to attach as footnotes to the passages cited from the *Treatise of melancholie*.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 284. More recently he rejects Elizabethan melancholy as "a mythical disease which nowadays means little or nothing" (*Kiltredge Anniversary Papers*, 1923, p. 268). See also his "Recent Criticism of *Hamlet*," *Contemporary Review*, CXXV (1924), especially p. 350.

⁷ "Primitive Kunstmittel und moderne Interpretation," *Germ.—Romanische Monatsch.*, IV (1912), 335.

⁸ *Der melancholikertypus Shakespeares und sein Ursprung*, Jena diss., Heidelberg 1913, p. 30.

⁹ See the biography by W. J. Carlton, *Timothie Bright, doctor of phisicke*. Lond., 1911 (which I have not been able to consult). Gabriel Harvey (*Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith 1913, p. 195) terms Bright, "*unicus Medicus*." The discussion of Bright's system of shorthand in relation to the quartos of Shakespeare began in 1898. For bibliography, see B.A.P. Van Dam: *The text of Shakespeare's Hamlet*, London, 1924, p. 9-10.

Of all other practise of phisick, that parte most commendeth the excellency of the noble facultie, which not only releueth the bodily infirmity, but after a sort euen also correcteth the infirmities of the mind.¹⁰ For the instrument of reason, the braine, being either not of well tempered substance: or disordered in his parts: all exercise of wisdom is hindred: and where once vnderstanding lodged, wit, memorie, & quick conceit, kept residence, and the excellencie of man appeareth aboue all other creatures:¹¹ there vnconsiderate iudgement, simplicitie, & foolishnes make their seat, and as it were dispossessing reason, of her watch tower,¹² subiecteth the nature of man vnto the annoyance of infinite calamities (*Epist. Ded.* [pp. 2, 3]).

So then these three we haue in our nature to consider distinct, . . . the bodie of earth: the spirit from vertue of that spirit, which did as it were hatch that great egge of Chaos: & the soule inspired from God,¹³ a nature eternall and diuine, not fettered with the bodie . . . but handfasted therewith, by that golden claspe of the spirit. . . . Nowe as it is not possible to passe from one extreme to an other, but by a meane; and no meane is there in the nature of man but spirit: by this only the bodie affecteth the mind: and the bodie and spirits affected, partly by disorder, and partly through outward occasions, minister discontentment as it were to the mind: and in the ende breake that bande of fellowship, wherewith they were both linked to-gether. This affecting of the minde, I vnderstand not to be any empairing of the nature thereof; or decay of any facultie therein, or shortning of immortality; or any such infirmitie inflicted vpon the soule from the bodie . . . but such a disposition, and such discontentment, as a false stringed lute, giueth to the Musician: or a rough and euill fashioned pen, to the cunning writer: which only obscureth, the shew of either art. . . . Otherwise the soule receaueth no hurt from the bodie; it being spirituall, and voyde of all passion of corporall thinges; and the other grosse, earthie, and farre vnable to annoy a nature of such excellencie.¹⁴ (pp. 37, 38).

. . . popularity of administration, nature will none of, nor yet with any holygarcicall or mixt: but commandeth only by one souerainty: the rest being vassals at the beck of the soueraigne commander.¹⁵ (p. 61).

¹⁰ Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd . . . ? (*Macbeth* v:3).

¹¹ What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! . . . the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! (*Hamlet*:ii:2).

¹² Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason (*Hamlet*:i:4).

¹³ Poor soul, the center of my sinful earth (Sonnet 146).

¹⁴ And for my soul, what can it do to that,
Being a thing immortal as itself? (*Hamlet*:i:4).

¹⁵ . . . these rebel powers that thee array . . . (Sonnet 146).

. . . as the royall estate of a Prince, moueth silence, reuerence, and expectation,¹⁶ although there be no charge, or commaundement thereof giuen, nor such purpose of presence

[The result of the mind's undue absorption of the spirit.] . . . most certaine it is, if it holde on long, and release not, the nourishment will also faile, the increase of the body diminish, and the flower of beautie fade,¹⁷ and finally death take his fatall hold: which commeth to passe, not onely by expence of spirit,¹⁸ but by leauing destitute the parts, whereby declining to decay, they become at length vnmeete for the entertainment of so noble an inhabitant as is the soule, of stocke diuine, of immortall perpetuity, and exempt from all corruption. (p. 63).

. . . the mind, in action wonderfull, and next vnto the supreme maiestie of God, and by a peculiar maner proceeding from him selfe, as the things, are subiect vnto the apprehension, & action thereof¹⁹ (p. 70).

. . . euen as a man that hath trauelled all the day on horsebacke, or sailed on the Sea, though he be laid on his bed, yet keepeth an imagination of trauell still, his body fairing after a sort, as though it were on horsebacke, or yet embarked, iudgeth not so lightly of rest: by reason of the former inured trauell²⁰ (p. 79).

. . . mirth and ioye, which riseth as well vpon inward harmonie of spirit, humour, and complexion, as vpon glad tidings, or externall benefite whereof we take reioycing.²¹ A bodie of sanguine complexion (as commonly we call it, although complexion be another thing, then condition of humors) the spirits being in their iust temper in respect of qualitie, and of such plenty as nature requireth, not mixed or defiled, by any straunge spirit or vapor,²² the humours in quantity & qualitie rated in geometricall and iust proportion, the substance

¹⁶ There's such divinity doth hedge a king (*Hamlet*:iv:5).

¹⁷ That thereby beauty's rose might neuer die (Sonnet 1.).

¹⁸ The expense of spirit (Sonnet 129).

¹⁹ What a piece of work is a man! . . . in apprehension how like a god! . . . (*Hamlet*:ii:2).

²⁰ . . . Weary with toil I haste me to my bed,
The dear repose for limbs with travel tired;
But then begins a journey in my head (Sonnet 27).

²¹ for thou has been
As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;
A man that fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast ta'en with equal thanks; and bless'd are those
Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,
That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
To sound what stop she please (*Hamlet*:iii:2).

²² the dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance (*Hamlet*:i:4).

also of the bodie, and all the members so qualified by mixture of elementes, as all conspire together in due proportion, breedeth an indifferencie to all passions. (p. 97).

All obiects, or cause of perturbation riseth more or lesse grieuous, or acceptable, as it is taken: and although the cause be greate, if it be not apprehended, it moueth no perturbation at all.²³ (p. 136).

The house except it bee cheerefull and lightsome, trimme and neat, seemeth vnto the melancholicke a prison or dungeon,²⁴ rather then a place of assured repose and rest. (p. 263).

You haue had declared how the excessiue trauaile of animall actions, or such as springe from the braine, waist and spende that spirite²⁵ which as it is in the world the only cheerer of all things, & dispenseth that life imparted of God to al other creatures, so in mans nature, is the only comfort of the terrestriall members: which spirite being consumed, or empaired, leaueth the Massy patrs [*sic*] more heauie, grosse, and dull, and farther of remoued from all prompt, and laudable action of life: this effect . . . is of the same aptnes to disturbe the goodly order, disposed by iust proportion in our bodies:²⁶ and putting the parts of the most consonant, & pleasant harmony out of tune²⁷ deliuer a note, to the great discontentment of reason, and much against the mindes will, which intendeth far other, then the corporall instrument affecteth. (pp. 250, 251).

. . . by lauish waste, and predigall [*sic*] expence of the spirite²⁸ in one passion, which dispensed with iudgement, would suffice the execution of many worthy actions besides. (p. 251).

The possibility suggested by these passages of influence from *A Treatise of melancholie* on Shakespeare serves to whet one's interest for Bright's description of the symptoms of melancholy. These are given with some repetitions—which may indicate intentional emphasis, and which certainly produce on the reader the effect of emphasis—in Chapters xvii-xviii, xx-xxiii.

²³ . . . for there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so . . . (*Hamlet*:ii:2).

²⁴ Denmark's a prison (*Hamlet*:ii:2)

. . . methought I lay

Worse than the mutines in the bilboes (*Hamlet*:v:2).

²⁵ The expense of spirit . . . (Sonnet 129).

²⁶ By the o'ergrowth of some complexion (*Hamlet*:1:4).

²⁷ Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
Like sweet bells jangled out of tune, and harsh (*Hamlet*:iii:1).

²⁸ The expense of spirit in a waste of shame . . . (Sonnet 129).

Now let vs consider what passions they are that melancholy driueth vs vnto, and the reason how it doth so diuersly distract those that are oppressed therewith. The perturbations of melancholy are for the most parte, sadde and fearefull, and such as rise of them: as distrust, doubt, diffidence, or dispaire, sometimes furious, and sometimes merry in appaurance, through a kinde of Sardoniaⁿ, and false laughter, as the humour, is disposed that procureth these diuersities. . . .

[The melancholy humor] with his vapours anoyeth the harte²⁹ and passing vp to the brayne, counterfetteth terrible obiectes to the fantasie, and polluting both the substance, and spirits of the brayne, causeth it without externall occasion, to forge monstrous fictions, and terrible to the conceite. . . . For where that naturall and internall light is darkened, their fansies arise vayne, false, and voide of ground.

. . . This causeth not only phantasticall apparitions wrought by apprehension only of common sense, but fantasie . . . forgeth disguised shapes, which giue great terror vnto the heart . . . Neither only is common sense, and fantasie thus ouertaken with delusion, but memory also receiueth a wound therewith: which disableth it both to keepe in memory, and to record those thinges, whereof it tooke some custody before this passion, and after, therewith are defaced. [sic]³⁰ For as the common sense and fantasie, which doe offer vnto the memory to lay vp, deliuer but fables in stead of true report, and those tragicall that dismay all the sensible frame of our bodies, so eyther is the memory wholly distract by importunity of those doubttes and feares, that it neglecteth the custody of other store: or else it recordeth and apprehendeth only such as by this importunity is thrust therupon nothing but darkenes, perill, doubt, frightes, and whatsoeuer the harte of man most doth abhor. (pp. 101-4).

[Chapter xviii discusses] sortes of vnnaturall melancholie . . . of another nature farre disagreeing from the other, & by an vnproper speech called melancholy. [These are of three kinds] sanguine, cholericke, or melancholicke, according to the humour . . . This

²⁹ Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting
That would not let me sleep. . . . (*Hamlet* :v.2).

³⁰ Remember thee?
Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
In this distracted globe. Remember thee?
Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
That youth and observation copied there;
And thy commandment all alone shall live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmix'd with baser matter . . . (*Hamlet*:1:5).

sort raiseth the greatest tempest of perturbations and most of all destroyeth the braine with all his faculties, and *disposition of action*, and maketh both it, & the hart cheere more vncomfortably: and if it rise of the naturall melancholy, beyond all likelihood of truth, frame monstrous terrors of fear and heauiness without cause. If it rise of choler, then rage playeth her part, and furie ioyned with madnesse, putteth all out of frame. If bloud minister matter to this fire, euery serious thing for a time, is turned into a iest, & tragedies into comedies, and lamentation into gigges and daunces Thus affected, you haue men, when desperate furie is ioyned with feare: which so terrifieth, that to auoid the terrour, they attempt sometimes to depriue them selves of life:³¹ so irksome it is vnto them through these tragicall conceits, although waighing and considering death by it self without comparison, and force of the passion, none more feare it then they³² if a man obserue all these varieties [of melancholy] he might haue the grounde of all these troublesome perturbations made playne vnto him: why some are contrarie affected to other some in their melancholicke fits, and are not all times alike, but sometimes sad, and sometimes excessiue in mirth (pp. 110-15).

As all other state of bodie, so the melancholick sheweth it self, either in the qualities of the body, or in the deeds The melancholick is of colour blacke and swart, of substance inclyning to hardnes, leane, and spare of flesh: which causeth hollownes of eye, and vnchearefulnes of countenance Of deedes, and such as are actions of the brayne, either of sense and motions, dull, both in outward senses, and conceite. Of memory reasonable good, if fancies deface it not: firme in opinion, and hardly remoued wher it is resouled: *doubtfull before, and long in deliberation*: suspicious, painefull in studie, and circumspect, giuen to fearefull and terrible dreames: in affection sad, & full of feare hardly moued to anger, but keeping it long, and not easie to be reconciled: enuious, and ielous, apt to take occasions in the worse part, and out of measure passionate, whereto it is moued. From these two dispositions of brayne and heart arise solitarines, morning, weeping, & melancholic laughter, sighing, sobbing, lamentation, countenance demisse, and hanging downe,³³ blushing and

³¹ O! that this too too solid flesh would melt *cf. A. Willson - Sullied*
Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! (*Hamlet*: 1:2.)

³² To be or not to be [through]
Thus conscience does make cowards of us all (*Hamlet*: iii:1).

³³ Nor windy suspiration of forced breath,
Nor the fruitful river in the eye,
Nor the dejected haviour of the visage (*Hamlet*: 1:2).

bashfull, of pace slow, silent, negligent, refusing the light and frequency of men, delighted more in solitarines & obscurity. . . . (pp. 123, 124).

. . . . melancholie causeth dulnesse of conceit, both by reason the substance of the braine in such personnes is more grosse, and their spirite not so prompt and subtile as is requisit for readie vnderstandinge.

. . . . As it [the melancholy temperament] serueth well to retaine that which is once ingrauen, so like adamant it keepeth . . . that which once it hath receaued: whereby as they are vnfit to commit readily to memorie, so retaine they that is committed in surer custodie. Sometime it falleth out, that melancholie men are found verie wittie, and quickly discerne: either because the humour of melancholie with some heate is so made subtile To this, other reasons may be added: as exerci [s]e of their wittes, wherein they be indefatigable: which maketh them seeme to haue that of a naturall readinesse, which custome of exercise, and vse hath found in them. Moreouer, while their passions be not yet vehement, whereby they might be ouercaried, melancholy breedeth a ielousie of doubt in that they take in deliberation, and causeth them to be the more *exact & curious in pondering the very moments of things*²⁴: to these reasons may be added, the vehemencie of theyr affection once raysed: which carieth them, with all their faculties therto belonging, into the deapth of that they take pleasure to intermeddle in. For though the melancholie man be not so easily affected with any other passion, as with those of feare, sadnesse, & ielosie, yet being once thoroughly heat with a contrarie passion, retaineth the feruency thereof farre longer time then anie other complexion: and more feruently boyleth therewith, by reason his heart and spirite hath more solliditie of substance to entertayne deeply the passion, which in a more rare and thinne sooner vanisheth away. Thus greedinesse of desire in those thinges which they affect, maketh them diligent and painefull, warie and circumspect, and so in actions of braine and sense not inferiour to the best tempers; as also it maketh them stiffe in opinion. *Their resolution riseth of long deliberation, because of doubt and distrust*: which as it is not easily bred, so it is also harde to remoue. *Such persons are doubtfull, suspitious, and thereby long in deliberation*, because those domesticall feares, or that internall obscuritie, causeth an opinion of daunger in outwarde affaires, where there is no cause of doubt: their dreames are fearefull: partly by reason of their fancie waking, is most occupied about feares, and terrours, which retayneth the impression in sleepe, and partly through blacke and darke fumes of melancholie, rising vp to the braine, whereof the fantasie forgeth obiectes, and disturbeth the sleep of melancholy

²⁴ Some craven scruple

Of thinking too precisely on the event (*Hamlet*:iv:4).

persons.³⁵ These persons are also subject to that kinde of suffocation in the night, which is called the mare. . . . (pp. 129-31).

. . . . Enuious they are, because of their owne false conceaued want, whereby their estate, seeminge in their owne fantasie much worse then it is, or then the condition of other men, maketh them desire that they see other to enioy, to better their estate. . . .³⁶ Ielousie pricketh them, because they are not contented with any moderation, but thinke all too little for supply of their want. . . . They interprete readilie all to the worse part, suspitious least it be a matter of farther feare, and not indifferently weighing the case, but poyssing it by their fantasticall feare, and doubt at home. Passionate they be out of measure, whereto a vehement obiect & of long connuauance [*sic*] vrgeth them: this causeth them to be amorous, both because it is a pleasure to loue, which mittigateth their inwarde sorowe and timiditie . . . and a cause to be beloued againe, which of all things liketh the melancholie personnes, being the greatest meanes of comfort vnto them . . . this affection riseth not vnto them by purenesse of nature, but by the force of that which draweth them vnto the vehemencie of passion, wherein they so oft times exceede, that it bereaueth them for a time (ielousie excepted) of all other affection . . . Other actions [which are altered in melancholicke personnes] are . . . mourning, rising of vaine feare . . . solitarinesse . . . silence . . . (except it be in mornfull plaintes) . . . besides the disorderly feare and heauinesse which cannot either minister, nor take occasion of familiar conference and communication, wholly transporting them to the concocting of their sorrowfull humour: which breedeth in them . . . a negligence in their affaires, and dissolutenesse, where should be diligence. Of pace they are for the most part slowe, except perill cause them to hasten. . . . Moreouer they are giuen to weeping sometimes (if the melancholie be sanguine, they exceed in laughter) sighing, sobbing, lamentation, countenance demisse, & lowering, bashfulness. . . .³⁷ (pp. 133-5).

Nowe contemplations are more familiar with melancholicke persons then with other, *by reason they be not so apt for action*. . . . (p. 200)

³⁵ Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting
That would not let me sleep . . . (*Hamlet*:v:2).

³⁶ Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
Featur'd like him, like him with friends possess'd,
Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
With what I most enjoy contented least (*Sonnet* 29).

³⁷ Do not for ever with thy vailed lids
Seek for thy noble father in the dust . . . (*Hamlet*:1:2).

Here, then, we have a discussion of melancholy that was in popular favor between 1586 and 1613—a period including the earliest accepted date for even the postulated Ur-Hamlet. It must have been familiar to many persons in Shakespeare's audiences: the passages cited above suggest that it was known to Shakespeare. In its light a fresh examination of Hamlet's character—especially of Hamlet's procrastination—may be useful.

The minor characteristics of the melancholy man match very prettily with Hamlet's. The cadaverous, hollow-eyed, swart melancholy man is our stage Hamlet; his weeping, sighing and sobbing, his down-cast eyes and slow pace are in the modern tradition of "the psychological, the morbid Hamlet, the realistic Hamlet"³⁸—and they are, moreover, as I have indicated, verbally justified in the text of the play. His "Sardonian, and false laughter" echoes through the scenes with Polonius and the two school-fellows, in which "euery serious thing for a time is turned into a iest, & tragedies into comedies, and lamentation into gigges and daunces." The melancholy man is apt to see ghosts—"monstrous fictions, and terrible to the conceite": so did Hamlet, and even the fact that on every visit but one the ghost was clearly objective did not keep Hamlet from suspecting that it came, from the devil, it is true, but:

Out of my weakness and my melancholy.

Moreover, the result of ghost-seeing, the wound that memory receives, "which disableth it both to keepe in memory, and to record those thinges, whereof it tooke some custody before this passion", is surely the same wound as that which causes Hamlet to promise to "wipe away all trivial fond records" and keep the ghost's commandment all alone in his memory.

Of greater significance is the enviousness of the melancholy man. Indeed, this quality colors Hamlet's whole character. Filial grief shades into the grief of disappointed ambition. Claudius has "popped in between the election and my hopes;"

³⁸ E. E. Stoll: *Hamlet: an historical and comparative study*. [1919] (Research publications of the University of Minnesota. Studies in language and literature. No. 7), p. 12. Although I disagree with many of the conclusions of this monograph, I can hardly over-estimate my debt to its stimulation.

Hamlet lacks advancement; he eats "the air, promise-crammed." The king twice speaks of his envy of Laertes³⁹ and by playing on it entices him into the final duel. He tells Horatio that it was "the bravery" of Laertes' grief that put him "into a towering passion" and made him leap into the grave.

"Thus bad begins." Worse than an envious Hamlet is a dull Hamlet. The melancholy man is "dull, both in outward senses, and conceits." But is Hamlet dull? Not inevitably. But neither is the melancholy man. "Sometime it falleth out, that melancholicke men are found verie wittie, and quickly discerne. . . ." Hamlet calls himself "a dull and muddy-mettled rascal." The ghost has prophesied:

And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed
That rots itself at ease on Lethe wharf,
Wouldst thou not stir in this;

and Hamlet's friends are still explaining why he failed to stir.

Can the *Treatise of melancholie* help in this explanation? Is there in the *Treatise* the "necessary or frequent connection between Elizabethan melancholy and procrastination" which Professor Stoll⁴⁰ has failed to find elsewhere? The passages quoted above in italics indicate that in the *Treatise* the connection was made repeatedly. Unnatural melancholy "destroyeth the braine with all his faculties, and disposition of action": the melancholy man is "doubtfull before, and long in deliberation: suspicious, painefull in studie, and circumspect": his "resolution riseth of long deliberation, because of doubt and distrust": the "sorrowfull humour" of the melancholy men "breedeth in them a negligence in their affaires, and dissolute-nesse, where should be diligence": "contemplations are more familiar with melancholicke persons then with other, by reason

³⁹ (*Hamlet*: iv:7).

(a) . . . your sum of parts
Did not together pluck such envy from him
As did that one

(b) Sir, this report of his
Did Hamlet so envenom with his envy
That he could nothing do but wish and beg
Your sudden coming o'er to play with him.

⁴⁰ *Hamlet*, etc., p. 72.

they be not so apt for action." Moreover, although "melancholy breedeth a ielousie of doubt . . . and causeth them to be the more exact & curious in pondering the very moments of things", "while their passions be not yet vehement," yet "the vehemencie of theyr affection once rayned . . . carieth them . . . into the deapth of that they take pleasure to intermeddle in." The melancholy man, in other words, ponders and debates long, and does not act until his blood is up: then acts vigorously. Thus again, does he explain Hamlet's combination of delay in revenge with "zeal and promptitude" in other business.⁴¹

From these resemblances between Bright's melancholy man and Hamlet, it is natural to conclude that Shakespeare used the *Treatise* in his task of fitting a ready-made destiny with a convincing character.⁴² With this conclusion, the dates, the popular appeal of the *Treatise*, the parallel passages, all agree.⁴³

⁴¹ E. E. Stoll, *loc. cit.*, Hamlet's "zeal and promptitude" are not impecable, apart from his delay in revenge. Twice, although victorious in the event, he lets his enemies snatch the first move:

on shipboard, when,

Ere I could make a prologue to my brains

They had begun the play . . . (*Hamlet*: V:2);

and, when

. . . being remiss,

Most generous and free from all contriving (*Hamlet*: IV:7),

he fails to peruse the foils.

⁴² Not a "Filling in of the Given Outline of the Action", as Professor Schücking has it (*Character problems*, pp. 146-176), with its subordination of character to action, but a process of dovetailing. We have no reason for believing that Belleforest—or Kyd—pricked Shakespere's imagination more sharply than Bright did.

⁴³ It is worthy of note that of the *Hamlet* passages corresponding obviously with Bright's *Treatise*, five are in Q 2 and not in Q 1. These are:

(a) i:4: So, oft it chances in particular men,

.
To his own scandal.

(b) iii:1: And thus the native hue of resolution

.
And lose the name of action.

(c) iii:1: Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,

Like sweet bells jangled out of tune, and harsh.

(d) iii:2: For thou hast been

It is possible to object the incongruity of modelling a hero's character on that of a mental invalid. But, to Bright, the melancholy man is a hero—a Christian hero—like gold, held by "that heavenly refiner . . . in this hote flame for a time" to "make hereafter a more glorious vessell, for his seruice."⁴ To this heroic conception of melancholy, add the glamor of Shakespeare's language, of youth and royalty, and Hamlet might very well result.

Thus, in the light of Bright's *Treatise* we get the outlines of a Hamlet of Elizabethan psychology. This Hamlet is not a puppet of dramatic circumstance, pulled now by Kyd's strings, and now by Shakespeare's, but a character unified by the qualities of the melancholy man, as Bright presents them. This Hamlet has great worth and great infirmity, a "noble substance" with a "dram of eale." He is not unlike the Hamlet of Romantic psychology that we scrapped reluctantly—seven years ago.

MARY ISABELLE O'SULLIVAN

As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;

To sound what stop she please.

(e) iv:4:How all occasions do inform against me,

Sith I have cause, and will, and strength, and means,
 To do't.

" "To His Melancholike friend: M," *Treatise*, [p. 4].

XXXV.

HAMLET'S DELAY—A RESTATEMENT
OF THE PROBLEM

THE mystery in *Hamlet* is a ghost that has haunted the minds of many a generation of scholars and critics. Perhaps the full secret of this mystery was to be known only by Shakespeare himself, even as that other secret was told only to Hamlet by the ghost on the platform at Elsinore

In the dead vast and middle of the night.

Among the most notable of the many theories that have been advanced to explain the cause of Hamlet's long delay in taking vengeance upon the King, are Goethe's,¹ Coleridge's,² Sir Sidney Lee's,³ Professor Bradley's,⁴ and the Klein-Werder⁵ theory. A viewing of these in the perspective which time has given, will show where they might seem to have fallen short.

Instead of saying, with Goethe, that Hamlet is "unequal to the performance" of the "great deed," let us say rather, not unequal, but unfitted. Hamlet may lack "the strength of nerve which makes the hero," but he is essentially courageous—we feel that he is. Does it seem true that, notwithstanding his courage, he "at last almost loses his purpose from his thoughts"? The most we can say is that the purpose becomes "almost blunted." It is fixed deep in the mind, though it is "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

Is Hamlet's will, as Coleridge says, paralyzed by excess of intellect; or is it not, rather, turned aside by reflection? Is it quite true that Hamlet "loses the power of action in the energy of resolve"? The trouble is not, that he expends all his energy in resolving, but that, as Macbeth says,

¹ In *Wilhelm Meister*.

² In *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and Other English Poets*.

³ See his *Life of William Shakespeare*.

⁴ See *Shakespearean Tragedy*, A. C. Bradley, 1905.

⁵ Set forth in Werder's *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare's Hamlet*, Berlin 1875. (Passages are translated in Furness' *Variorum* edition).

The flighty purpose never is o'ertook
Unless the deed go with it.

Sir Sidney Lee's explanation, that Hamlet is "foiled by introspective workings of the brain that paralyze the will," seems a little inexact: the workings are not always introspective or subjective, but are sometimes more accurately to be termed objective; for example, those which changed his purpose when the King was at prayer.

If the will were paralyzed perhaps a better theory would be Professor Bradley's, which accounts for Hamlet's irresolution thus: "The direct cause was a state of mind quite abnormal and induced by special circumstances—a state of profound melancholy." That Hamlet is in melancholy, even from the time of his first words, there is no denying; in two of his great soliloquies and elsewhere he is wrapped in many dark folds of it. If the melancholy were so profound, however, as it is supposed to be, it would probably involve not only stupor of will, but also clouding of intellect; whereas, though Hamlet says, "By my fay, I cannot reason," he reasons clearly—too clearly for the good of his great purpose.

Time has recognized the insight of these four kindred theories, but has found them not quite satisfying. Put forth by eminent scholars and critics, however, and harmonizing in general tone, they might well be assumed to contain a large measure of truth. Study justifies the assumption. The fuller truth would perhaps appear in a kind of composite of them. The further materials for that are to be sought in an analysis of Hamlet's nature and his career.

Hamlet is by nature earnest, high-minded, sensitive, gentle, loyal to truth and duty. He is philosophical, cultured, poetical. Though from his first appearance he is overshadowed with sorrow and humiliation, his prose poem on the grandeur of nature and of man shows that the real Hamlet, before he became pessimistic, appreciated brightness and beauty. The ghost's revelation rouses him to high passions, and yet it is little wonder that, after reflection, his whole being shrinks from the terrible deed of vengeance. Far, however, from really losing his deep purpose, ghost-given, he from the first accepts the duty, with its possibility of his having to sacrifice all that is dear to him—his love, his scholarly pursuits, and even his life, though this, he

says, he does not set "at a pin's fee." Yet he cannot suddenly change his very nature; and so his habit of thinking involves him in reflection upon the bearings of the great situation. He does not clearly realize how his thoughts, even when they are of vengeance, hoodwink him and keep him from carrying out his purpose. It is not to be supposed that they keep him from this by evaporating his will and causing him to abandon all plans for doing the deed of vengeance; he probably has no definite plans except feigned madness till he is carried to them by outward events. If he had plans we should hear of them. No, the will is not evaporated, but in consciousness the stress and the attention are turned from action and put upon kindred thought. Thus, as we can see by making the fine distinction, Hamlet for the time being derives satisfaction from the shadow as if it were the substance. In truth, there is in Hamlet a little of something like rant, mingled with something that might be called sincere self-bluff; and he is all the more human and lovable. After all, though Hamlet's thoughts do continually turn him aside, single and deep in the mind is his father's command "unmix'd with baser matter."

The background is now prepared for a discussion of the elaborate Klein-Werder theory, which for some years had the support of many critics. According to that theory, Hamlet was awaiting evidence that should prove to the world the King's guilt.

If it had been lack of public proof that delayed Hamlet we should naturally have expected him in his soliloquies,⁶ or in the talks with his friend, to say so. The fact that he never did, is a presumption against the theory. Almost everything that throws light upon the cause of his delay tends to show that Hamlet was not much concerned about evidence for any mind but his own and perhaps his mother's. Even his scheme to "catch the conscience of the king" was not a plan to get public proof, but an instance of his unconscious entertaining of reasons allied with delay; for his soliloquy, and his talk with Horatio, had indicated that he had little real doubt of the ghost's truthfulness, and yet that he did not expect the King to confess his guilt. The prayer scene was also significant in this matter of Hamlet's supposed concern for public proof.

⁶ For Shakespeare's use of the soliloquy, see Professor E. E. Stoll's "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism," *Modern Philology*, VII, 557-575 (1910).

We may be sure that in this scene Shakespeare had a clear purpose in presenting a good opportunity for vengeance just after Hamlet had been saying that he could drink hot blood and do any other kind of bitter business. Here is an interesting psychological situation. What will Hamlet do with his opportunity?

Now might I do it pat, now he is praying;
And now I'll do't. And so he goes to heaven;
And so am I revenged.

A man more decisive in action than Hamlet would have killed the King, not later than the words "And so am I revenged." Hamlet has an impulse to act in the same way, but an incongruity of ideas inhibits action. As usual with him, "that would be scann'd"; and in scanning it he turns from willing to thinking. His impulse subsides; and about the words "My mother stays," in the rime at the close of the soliloquy, seems to play a subtle, elusive connotation that the delay which offers itself is a kind of unconscious relief.

One critic, interpreting the Klein-Werder theory, says of Hamlet here, "The prince *dares* not kill him—not for any subjective reasons, but for such as are purely objective."⁷ Hamlet, on the contrary, has said, "And now I'll do't." He does not do it, but he dares do it; and the grim reason which he gives for changing his mind is not a civic reason. If he had spared the King's life on grounds of prudence he would scarcely so soon have forgotten his caution as to strike through the arras a few minutes later at some one who he evidently thought was the King. "I took thee for thy better." It was easier for him to attempt the dreaded deed when the victim was not present to his eyes; for he was partly right in self-knowledge when he had said, the day before the play,

. . . . it cannot be
But I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall
To make oppression bitter, or ere this
I should have fatted all the region kites
With this slave's offal.

Only the day before the test of his play, then, and just after he has planned it, we find strong indication that Hamlet has not been delaying because of his lack of public proof.

⁷ William J. Rolfe, p. 335 of his revised edition of *Hamlet*.

On the question whether Hamlet was thus delaying, what is the testimony of the ghost? "It is an honest ghost," speaking with authority. The objection will perhaps be made that, on the theme of vengeance to be, this spirit was interested not in the means, but only in the fact. Even if that doubtful supposition be true, the ghost nevertheless goes to the heart of the matter when it says,

Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose

—almost blunted in the sense of being turned aside into thought, and thus retarded. As Hamlet said, on another occasion, we may "take the ghost's word for a thousand pound."

In further testimony, one of the most illuminating passages is the soliloquy in IV.4.32-66. In these lines Hamlet glorifies the use of reasoning, which, however, in the way that he has been using it is an enemy to his great purpose. Part of the passage follows:

How all occasions do inform against me,
And spur my dull revenge! What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more.
Sure, he that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason
To fust in us unused. Now, whether it be
Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the event,
A thought which, quarter'd, hath but one part wisdom ✓
And ever three parts coward, I do not know
Why yet I live to say 'This thing's to do';
Sith I have cause and will and strength and means
To do't.⁸

Here Hamlet admires man's "large discourse," and seems to apply it, consciously or unconsciously, to his own case. As he can partly see, one thing that keeps him from his vengeance is a kind of scruple, not, though, exactly craven,

Of thinking too precisely on the event [issue, result].

For instance, he reasons on the event in the prayer scene and in the soliloquy in which he imagines that the ghost may be

⁸ Here, and elsewhere, see the text of the edition by Gollancz.

deceiving him. Possibly we may infer that he frequently thus reasons, on the issue, in soliloquies that Shakespeare does not present. That god-like reason which he admires, and which he can use, he ranks far above this kind of thinking which he calls craven. Speaking of a player's worked-up passion and eloquence, he has said,

Yet I,
A dull and muddy-mettled rascal, peak,
Like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of my cause,
And can say nothing.

Far from saying nothing, he is always saying too much; he continually unpacks his heart with words. Indeed, his "commerce" with words is at once the outcome and the evidence of his disposition to think rather than to act. Hamlet's contrasting his thought and its scruples with Fortinbras's admirable decisive enterprise, which

Makes mouths at the invisible event,

implies that Hamlet considers it his duty to sweep to his revenge, unrestrained by lack of public proof or by anything else. Proof to his own mind he has long had, and for any other kind he has never much cared. No, his trouble consists in thinking too much, and in "thinking too precisely on the event,"—a use of ✓ reasoning that he would hardly call "three parts coward" and "but one part wisdom" if he were much concerned about public proof.

Another significant passage (part of which does not appear in the quartos, but is supplied by the First Folio) is Hamlet's confidential talk with Horatio in V. 2. 64–74:

Does it not, thinks't thee, stand me now upon—
He that hath kill'd my king and whored my mother,
Popp'd in between the election and my hopes,
Thrown out his angle for my proper life,
And with such cozenage—is't not perfect conscience,
To quit him with this arm? and is't not to be damm'd,
To let this canker of our nature come
In further evil?

What does Horatio answer or advise? Does he urge Hamlet to forbear, when the cause for seeking vengeance is now twofold? No, he answers acquiescently or evasively,

It must be shortly known to him from England
What is the issue of the business there.

Hamlet resumes,

It will be short: the interim is mine.

His words above and here connote that a delicate conscience has been partly the restraint, but that now he ought to take vengeance, and that he had better take it soon. This he intends to do; carried to decision, however, by the current of events that has suddenly set forward from his mistaken killing of Polonius and from the King's plot. None can tell—if events had not soon borne him onward to final action he might again have thought his decision away.

In checkmating the King's plot Hamlet had shown ability to devise cunningly and act tellingly. An adherent of the Klein-Werder theory might say that Hamlet had easily possessed this ability all the while, and that his not using it before had indicated disinclination to act without public proof. In the first place, almost any intelligent man "be-netted round with villanies" as Hamlet was, and thus put upon his own resources of self-defense, might show unusual decisiveness and invention. Again, if Hamlet was awaiting objective evidence is it not more than strange that he at no time said so? Leaving some half-dozen soliloquies entirely out of the account, for the moment, one remembers at least two occasions on which Hamlet would have been likely to mention in his talks with Horatio any quest of public proof, or deplore the known lack of it.

In short, the cast of Hamlet's character, the testimony of the ghost, the words of Hamlet himself, and the whole tone of the play are against the Klein-Werder theory. Time is showing it to be untenable.

A new theory, put forth a few years ago, is advocated by the Shakespeare skeptics, exponents of historical criticism.⁹ Influenced, perhaps, by Matthew Arnold's opinion that Shakespeare is "not altogether, nor even eminently, an artist,"¹⁰

⁹ For a clear and able presentation of the theory, see Professor Karl Young's article, "The Shakespeare Skeptics," *North American Review*, March, 1922, 382-393. Cf. also Professor E. E. Stoll's elaborate discussion, "*Hamlet*; an Historical and Comparative Study," *Research Publications of the University of Minnesota*, VIII, No. 5, 1919.

¹⁰ Expressed in the essay or article "A Guide to English Literature" (review of Stopford A. Brooke's *Primer of English Literature*).

these critics, though they recognize his creative power, do not grant the presence of artistic harmony between character and action. They hold that Shakespeare probably used the plot of a play by Thomas Kyd, but developed the personality of Hamlet beyond the scope of the old intrigue. Using other terms, they would say that the hero is plot-ridden, not all his actions being in character; that Shakespeare could not fit Hamlet, one of his most complex creations, into the simple plot of the old play and avoid inconsistency. Time is the surest critic; and accordingly, though this theory seems to be growing in favor, it does not yet take rank as work which, in Lowell's phrase, "Time has criticised for us."

It is hoped that this present delving into a deep subject may "hold up Adam's profession;" that it may help, at least in a humble way, to continue the *Hamlet* traditions, which have set countless other minds to digging in the rich field of literary interpretation.¹¹ So may these present results be of some worth or suggestiveness till they are superseded by the more valuable findings of some deeper "goodman delver."

These results may be summarized in a few sentences: Hamlet himself is the explanation of *Hamlet*. He is called to do a deed of terrible vengeance from which, after passion cools, his whole nature, experience, and taste almost instinctively recoil. Yet he accepts the duty bravely, to the possible giving up of love, life, everything in this world. In one of the last scenes Hamlet, looking at death as the giving up of life, or the leaving of it, touchingly says, "The readiness is all." To assign in Hamlet's career prudential, worldly-wise motives of public proof is to miss appreciation of his noble character. That teaches us, far more truly than any supposed considerations that are practical, the cause of his delay: Hamlet is held in the leash of his own nature; his will to do is not taken away, but turned aside by his power to think.

BERNARD R. CONRAD

¹¹ Cf. "Recent Criticism of *Hamlet*" by E. E. Stoll, *Contemporary Review*, CXXV, 347-357 (1924).

XXXVI.

SHAKSPERE'S USE OF THE VOYAGERS IN THE TEMPEST

THESE studies represent an attempt to determine Shakspeare's debt to the voyagers in *The Tempest*. No article or book, to my knowledge, has set out to examine the subject as a whole; and my aim to supply such an article has forced me to review much material published heretofore. Broadly speaking, one-third of my studies contains material substantially as it has appeared elsewhere; one-third presents old material from a new point of view; and one-third presents material completely new. I wish to return the fullest possible acknowledgment to the excellent work of Morton Luce and Charles M. Gayley, on whose studies I have based my own.

Part of my aim will be to show that much hitherto ascribed to other sources may equally well have been taken from the voyagers. The contemporary voyagers' accounts¹ consulted will not be above fifteen in number, and few of them are twenty-five pages long. Strachey's *Reportory* itself, from which most parallels are drawn, is a document of only twenty-two pages as it first appeared in Purchas. For a man as much interested in the Virginia colony as Gayley² maintains Shakspeare was, a fairly intimate knowledge of all would be only natural.

References to Strachey throughout the article will be to his *True Reportory*.³ As for Shakspeare, all references in *The Tempest*

¹ Fairly complete lists of these will be found in the (large) Arden *Tempest*, London, 1902 (revised in 1919), pp. 152-61, and C. M. Gayley's *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*, New York, 1917, pp. 225-29. I will allude to accounts such as *The Historie of Travaile* (part of it finished by 1612) and Hamor's *True Discourse* (1615), which post-date *The Tempest*; but in these cases not as possible sources but only to illustrate the general spirit of the times. If the play was revised for presentation at the betrothal or marriage (1613) of Princess Elizabeth, as some believe (latest expression by H. D. Gray, *S. in P.* XVIII, 129-40), the poet may even have used some of these.

² *Op. cit.*, esp. pp. 8-80.

³ *A True Reportory of the Wracke, and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight* by William Strachey. Printed by Samuel Purchas in *His Pilgrimes*, XIX, 5-67. Unless otherwise specified, all allusions will be to the MacLehose

will be, unless otherwise specified, to the Variorum edition,⁴ and in his other plays to the (large) Arden Shakspeare.

I. THE STORM AND STRACHEY'S *True Reportory*.

The aim of this section will be to estimate the extent to which Shakspeare, in his description of the storm,⁵ used Strachey's *True Reportory*.⁶ But before I begin, I should like to call attention to the fact that another work, *A True Declaration*,⁷ makes the connection between the tempest at sea and the tempest of conspiracies on shore which Shakspeare must have had in mind:

The broken remainder of those supplies made a greater shipwrack in the continent of Virginia, by the *tempest* of dissention.

Elsewhere⁸ the same tract speaks of the whole affair as "this tragicall Comaedie." And still another work, *A True and*

edition, 20 vol., Glasgow, 1905-7. Purchas was the first to print *A True Reportory*, in 1625; it occupies pp. 1734-56 of vol. IV of *His Pilgrimes*. Gayley (*Shakespeare*, esp. pp. 75-76 and 226) has shown that the document was brought to England by Gates in the summer of 1610, and that it was handed around to members of the Virginia Council, several of whom were probably personal friends of the poet.

⁴ Philadelphia, 1897.

⁵ Storms and wrecks occur in the Spanish stories often given as sources for *The Tempest*. For a review of these, see "The Sources of the Tempest," by H. D. Gray, *M. L. N.*, XXXV, esp. pp. 321-22, and Luce's revised edition of the play, p. 176. Mr. Gray himself advances the theory that Shakspeare used *commedia dell'arte* scenarios which appeared later in a ms. of Locatelli dated 1622. The parallels which he gives, mostly concerning the magic element, are highly interesting and some of them quite close. But the weakness of his position consists in the lack of evidence (p. 323) that these scenarios were either produced in England or existed in written or printed form by 1611. A far closer study than has hitherto been made of Elizabethan demonology in its connection with *The Tempest* must be undertaken before we can agree with Mr. Gray, who is "unable to doubt that we have in the scenarios the immediate source of *The Tempest*." (p. 329).

J. D. Rea in "A Source for the Storm in *The Tempest*" (*Mod. Phil.*, XVII, 279-86) argues for one of Erasmus' *Colloquia*. What seem to me serious and valid objections to this hypothesis are advanced in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, LVII, 122-23.

See also the play as edited by C. Porter and H. Clarke, New York, 1908, esp. pp. x-xxiv and 85-93. Sir Sidney Lee (*The Tempest*, Cleveland, 1911, p. xxi) strangely says, "In neither German play nor Spanish fiction is there any storm at sea." But there is an important one in Eslava's *Noches de Invierno*. Cf. the translation in Porter's and Clarke's edition of the play, pp. 89-90.

Sincere Declaration,⁹ may have suggested to the dramatist his very title:

That which seemes to disharten or shake our first grounds in this supplye; ariseth from two principall sources . . . ; First, the *Tempest*.

And the word *Tempest* is italicized and capitalized in the original.

In the comparison of *The Tempest* with *A True Reportory* incidental parallels can be taken account of because other parallels make it virtually certain that Shakspeare was following the document closely. The three following¹⁰ will offer sufficient evidence to begin with:

Temp.: *Ste.* I escap'd upon a *But of Sacke*, which the Saylor
heaved o'reboard. (II, II, 128-30).

Ste. Helpe to beare this away, where my *hogshead of wine* is (IV, 275-76).

Strach.: We . . . threw *over-board* much luggage . . . and staved many a *Bull of Beere*, *Hogsheads of Oyle*, *Syder*, *Wine*, and *Vinegar*, and *heaved* away all our Ordnance on the Star-board side (p. 12).

Temp.: To run upon the *sharpe winde* of the *North* (I, II, 300).

Strach.: (the *sharpe windes* blowing *Northerly*) (p. 16).

Temp.: 'tis best we *stand upon our guard*;

Or that we quit this place: let's *draw our weapons* (II, I, 357-58).

Strach.: Every man from thenceforth commanded to *weare his weapon* . . . and . . . to *stand upon his guard* (p. 33).¹¹

⁹ The completest treatment to date is Gayley's. See *Shakespeare*, esp. pp. 53-69. My studies tend to bear out the conclusion of Gayley and Luce that there is very little material in Jourdan's *Discovery of the Bermudas* that Shakspeare might not have taken just as well from Strachey. Further, it will be noticed that the few borrowings from *A True Declaration* are in no sense as literal as those from Strachey.

¹⁰ *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (1610). In *Tracts and Other Papers* collected by Peter Force, 4 vol., Washington, 1836-46. See vol. III, 14-15.

¹¹ p. 11.

⁹ *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia*, London, 1610. See p. 17.

¹⁰ Of these attention has been called only to the first.

From this point I will, for the sake of convenience, group the parallels under definite headings.

(1) *Figure of contest between sea and sky.*

Temp.: If by your Art (my deerest father) you have
Put the wild waters in this *Rore*; alay them:
The skye it seemes would powre down stinking pitch,
But that the Sea, mounting to th'welkins cheeke,
Dashes the fire out (I, II, 3-7).¹²

Strach.: (preparing for no lesse all the blacke night before)
the cloudes gathering thicke upon us, a dreadfull
storme and hideous began to blow, which swelling,
and *roaring* *did beate all light from heaven*; which
like an hell of darkenesse turned blacke upon us¹³
The Sea swelled above the Clouds, and gave battell unto
Heaven (pp. 6-7).

No other account of the wreck has a suggestion of the above figure.¹⁴

(2) *Desperation of crew and passengers.*

Temp.: *Pro.* Who was so firme, so constant, that this coyle
Would not infect his reason?

Ariel. Not a soule
But felt a Feaver of the madde, and plaid
Some tricks of *desperation*. (I, II, 241-45).

Strach.: So much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror
and feare use to overrunne the troubled, and *overmastered*

¹² The contexts are exactly similar. Mutinous elements had plotted to overthrow the Governor, Sir Thomas Gates, and would possibly have succeeded had not some "brake from the plot it selfe, and (before the time was ripe for the execution thereof) discovered the whole order." This bears interesting analogy to Gonzalo's having waked in time to save the King from the mutinous attack of Sebastian and Antonio, and to his having issued the timely warning.

¹³ The figure is used twice more in the play, at I, II, 236-38, and V, 50-1. In both of these passages the word *roaring* appears. The figure also occurs in the storm in *Pericles*, so often compared with this one. Cf. *op. cit.*, III, I, 45-6. In fact, used in a general way, the figure was very popular with him. Cf. *Caesar*, I, III, 6-8; *Othello*, II, I, 12-15, II, I, 92; *Lear*, III, VII, 62-4; *Titus*, III, I, 222-23; *Troilus*, II, II, 75; *Venus* 819-20.

¹⁴ On p. 11 Strachey almost repeats himself: "The heavens look'd so blacke upon us."

¹⁵ See *A True Declaration*, p. 10. See also Silvester Jourdan's *Discovery of the Bermudas* (1610), Force's *Tracts*, III, 9-10. What Force reproduces is *A Plaine Description* (1613), a reprint, "with some unimportant additions," of *A Discovery*. Henceforth I will refer to it under the former title.

sences of all, which (taken up with amazement) the eares lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the windes, and distraction of our Company, as who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken This tooke downe the braves of the most hardy Marriner of them all. . . . We did the most despairefull things amongst men (pp. 6-9).

Temp.: Ariel. I flam'd amazement (I, II, 231).

Pro. No more amazement (I, II, 17).

Strach.: (taken up with amazement) (p. 6).

With much fright and amazement (p. 8).

Strucken amazement (p. 12).

Temp.: A cry within (I, I, 45).

Mir. O the cry did knocke Against my very heart (I, II, 10-11).

Strach.: Sensible to the terrible cries (p. 6).

To expresse the outcries (p. 7) . .

Temp.: A tempestuous noise of Thunder (I, I, 2).

Boats. A plague—upon this howling: they are lower then the weather, or our office. (I, I, 44-7).

Strach.: Our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder. Prayers drowned in the outcries of the Officers. (p. 7).

Temp.: Boats. Blow till thou burst thy winde (I, I, 13).¹⁵

Strach.: The windes (as having gotten their mouthes now free, and at liberty) spake more loud (pp. 7-8).

Temp.: To prayers, to prayers

The King, and Prince, at prayers (I, I, 60-2).

Strach.: Prayers might well be in the heart and lips (p. 7).

Temp.: What must our mouths be cold? (I, I, 61).

Let's take leave of him (I, I, 75).

Jourdan: Some of them having some good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetcht them, and drunke one to the other,¹⁶ taking their last leave one of the other (p. 10).

¹⁵ The figure of Wind, with puffed cheeks, was of course familiar to the Elizabethan from his maps.

¹⁶ May's *Briefe Note* describes (Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, 12 vol., Glasgow, 1903-5, X, 200-1) a "ship cast away upon the Northwest part of the isle of Bermuda" in which the sailors "demanded of him [the captain] their wine of heighth: the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had

Temp.: *Gon.* Now would I give a thousand furlongs of Sea, for an Acre of barren ground: . . . the wills above be done, but I would faine dye a dry *death* (I, i, 76-9).

Gon. I have great *comfort* from this fellow (I, i, 36).

Strach.: *Death* is accompanied at no time, nor place with circumstances every way so incapable of particularities of goodnesse and inward *comforts*, as at Sea . . . Nothing heard that could give *comfort*, nothing seene that might encourage hope (pp. 6-7).

Temp.: *Ariel.* The Marriners *all* under *hatches* ¹⁷ stowed, Who, with a Charme joynd to their suffred *labour* I have left *asleepe* (I, ii, 270-72).¹⁸

Jourdan.: All our men, being utterly spent, tyred, and disabled for longer *labour*, were even resolved, . . . to shut up the *hatches*. . . . They were so over-weared . . . with long fasting, and continuance of their *labour*, that for the most part they were fallen *asleepe* in corners, and wheresoever they chanced first to sit or lie (pp. 9-10).

Temp.: We *split*, we *split* (I, i, 72).

Strach.: There was not a moment in which the sodaine *splitting*, or instant oversetting of the Shippe was not expected (p. 8).

Temp.: All *lost* (I, i, 60).

Strach.: Who gave her now up, rent in pieces and *absolutely lost* (p. 10).

(3) Condition of ship.

Temp.: Take in the *toppe-sale* (I, i, 12).

Downe with the *top-Mast* (I, i, 43).

Strach.: We still spared him our mayne *top-sayle* (p. 42).

We . . . had now purposed to have cut *downe the Maine Mast* (p. 12).

their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away."

One is reminded of Antonio's line: "We are meerly cheated of our lives by drunkards." (I, i, 65).

¹⁷ Strachey mentions *hatches* three times, pp. 10 (twice) and 13. Halliwell-Phillipps (*Selected Notes upon the Tempest*, London, 1868, p. 25) cites *The Coblér of Canterburie* (1608), "bestowed the mariners under *hatches*."

¹⁸ Shakspeare reverts to the picture twice, in "Marriners asleepe Under the *Hatches*" (V, 111-12), and "we were dead of sleepe, And (how we know not) all clapt under *hatches*" (V, 275-76).

Temp.: Bring her to Try with Maine-course (I, i, 44).¹⁹

Set her two courses off to Sea againe (I, i, 57-8).

Strach.: Wee bore but a Hollocke, or halfe forecourse (p. 7).

(4) *Personnel, and relations between classes on board.*

The King, the Duke, and their entourage correspond roughly to the Governor, the Admiral, and their gentlemen aboard the Sea Adventure.

Temp.: Enter a Ship-master, and a Boteswaine. (first stage direction).

Strach.: Master, Masters Mate, Boateswaine (p. 8).

Temp.: *Boats. to Seb.* Worke you then (I, i, 51).

Strach.: Then men might be seene to labour, I may well say, for life, and the better sort, even our Governour, and Admirall themselves, not refusing their turne (p. 9).²⁰

Temp.: *Alon.* Good Boteswaine have care: where's the Master? Play the men²¹ (I, i, 17-8).

Strach.: Our Governour was . . . both by his speech and authoritie heartening every man unto his labour (p. 10).

Temp.: *Ste.* Every man shift for all the rest,²² and let No man take care for himselfe (V, 305-6).²³

Strach.: The common sort . . . kept . . . their thoughts and hands working, . . . testifying how mutually willing they were, yet by labour to keepe each other from drowning, albeit each one drowned whilst he laboured (pp. 9-10).

¹⁹ For Shakspeare's knowledge of seamanship as evinced in this and the following quotation, consult notes in Variorum, pp. 16-18. Furness quotes passages from Hakluyt and Smith which parallel Shakspeare's expression. See also L. G. Carr Laughton's essay on "The Navy: Ships and Sailors," in *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, I, 141-69. B. Nicholson (*New Sh. Soc. Trans.* 1880-82, pt. I, 53-55) gives further information in "Shakspeare and Sea-Glasses."

²⁰ The idea is repeated two pages later: "Such as in all their life times," etc.

²¹ This interesting expression, "play the men," is twice used by Marlowe in *Tamb.*, Part II. See III, iii, last line; and III, v, 14.

²² A close parallel is found in a passage from Erasmus' *Naufragium* (quoted by John D. Rea, *Mod. Phil.*, XVII, 285): "Let everie man shift now for himselfe."

²³ Luce (*Arden Temp.*, p. 165) finds it necessary to "quote the opposite doctrine preached by a rebel of the crew, 'how much we were therein bound each one to provide for himself'." But surely the Strachey passage quoted immediately below contains the doctrine itself.

(5) *Ariel and St. Elmo's fire.*

Temp.: *Pro.* Hast thou, Spirit,
 Performd to point, the *Tempest* that I bad thee.
Ar. To every Article.
 I boarded *the Kings ship*: now on the Beake,
 Now *in the Waste*, the Decke, in every Cabyn,
 I *flam'd amazement, sometime I'd divide*
 And burne in many places; *on the Top-mast,*
The Yards and Bore-spritt, would I flame distinctly,
Then meete, and joyne. Jove's Lightning, the precursors
 O'th dreadfull Thunder-claps more momentarie
 And *sight out-running* were not
Pro. My brave Spirit,
 Who was so firme, so constant, that this coyle
 Would not infect his reason? (I, II, 226-42)

Strach.: Opening the Ship in the waste (p. 9).

Onely upon the thursday night Sir George Summers being upon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and *streaming along with a sparkeling blaze*, halfe the height *upon the Maine Mast*, and shooting *sometimes* from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the foure Shrouds: *running sometimes along the Maineyard* to the very end, and then returning Upon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, *they lost the sight of it*, and knew not what way it made. The superstitious Seamen make many constructions of this Sea-fire, which neverthesse is *usuall* in stormes: the same (it may be) which the Graecians were wont in the Mediterranean to call Castor and Pollux, of which, *if one onely appeared without the other, they tooke it for an evill signe of great tempest* The Spaniards call it Saint Elmo, and have an authentique and miraculous Legend for it. . . . Could it have served us now miraculously to have taken our height by, it might have *strucken amazement*, and a reverence in our devotions, according to the due of a *miracle*. But it did not light us any whit the more to our knowne way, who ran now (as doe hoodwinked men) at all adventures (pp. 11-2).²⁴

²⁴ Gayley (*Op. cit.*, p. 56) says with some justification that "descriptions of St. Elmo's fire Shakespeare might have found in Tonson of 1555 or in a half-dozen other sources, but in none just that chrysalis of the ethereal creature

By making Ariel act in the strange "apparition," the poet has skilfully linked his spirit-land with the well-known superstition.

(6) *Prospero and the safe landing.*

Similarly Shakspeare makes Prospero assume the rôle of God, for it was the Almighty whom the mariners regularly thanked for deliverance from storm.

Strach.: (whether it were the feare of death in so great a storme, or that it pleased God to be gracious unto us) That night we must have perished: but see the goodnesse and sweet introduction of better hope, by our mercifull God given unto us. . . . Yet it pleased our mercifull God, to make even this hideous and hated place, both the place of our safetie, and meanes of our deliverance (pp. 11-4).²⁵

'flaming amazement' who glorifies this second scene of *The Tempest*." It must, however, be remembered that few superstitions were so familiar as this one.

Douce (*Illustrations of Shakspeare*, London, 1839, p. 3) cites its appearance in Pliny, Seneca, Erasmus, Schotti, Eden, and Batman. It is mentioned also by Hakluyt, Purchas, Thevet, Le Loyer, and as illustration in prose or verse it was used by Chapman, Phineas Fletcher, Gomersall, Bacon, Fulke Greville, Drayton, Thomas Watson, Drummond, Lodge, and Thomas Heywood. I am inclined to believe, therefore, since the idea was obviously so current, that Gayley has slightly overestimated Shakspeare's indebtedness to this particular version. That Strachey recalled it to his mind I have no doubt. But the features mentioned are common in the other versions. Le Loyer (*Treatise of Specters*, London, 1605, fol. 67^v), for instance, speaks of men who "see the fire . . . to flie uppon their shippe, and to alight *uppon the toppe of the mast*." And Hakluyt, as Luce remarks (Arden ed., p. 163), has "beak" and "it would be in two or three places at once."

Similarly, Rea (*Mod. Philol.*, XVII, 281) overemphasizes the uniqueness of Erasmus' version: "It is to be especially noted that in none of the other accounts from which Shakespeare is sometimes said to have drawn is the fire described as descending from the mast and running about the lower parts of the ship."

The account in Pliny (Holland's trans., 1635 ed., p. 18), having the lights "settle also upon the crosse Saile yards and other parts of the ship," "leaping to and fro," falling "upon the bottome of the keele," with its description of the light first as burning singly, then "two and two together," is just as close to Shakspeare as Erasmus.

²⁵ For other instances of this gratitude, see *A True Declaration*, pp. 10, 11, and 24. See also *A Newyeeers Gift to Virginea* (1609-10). Extracts reprinted by Alex. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 2 vol., Boston, 1890. See I, 365.

Temp.: *Pros.* The direfull spectacle of the wracke which touch'd
 The very vertue of compassion in thee:
 I have with such provision in mine Art
 So safely ordered, that there is no soule
 No not so much perdition as an hayre
 Betid to any creature in the vessell (I, II, 33-38).³⁶

Pro. But was not this *nye shore*?³⁷

Ar. Close by, my Master.

³⁶ Gonzalo refers to it as the "miracle, (I meane our *preservation*.)" (II, II, 9-10). Jourdan has these words: "Our delivery was not more strange in falling so opportunely and happily upon the land, as our feeding and *preservation* was beyond our hopes." (p. 10).

³⁷ Luce implies (Arden, p. 164) that at this point the *True Declaration* is closer than Strachey to Shakspeare, contending that "neere land" of the former account is "almost Shakspeare's phrase." But taken in its context, it is no closer than Strachey. Thus, "if it had not bene so neere land, their companie or provision had perished by water" (p. 11). Whereas Strachey uses not only the expression *neere the land* but also the very word *shoare*. There are other details of Shakspeare's reproduction of the wreck which, it seems to me, Luce has misinterpreted. (See Arden, pp. xiv-xvi). I cannot take space fully to indicate my objections to his theory that all "is vague, ideal, supernatural;" I shall examine only two or three passages which seem to me capable of other interpretations. He says for instance: "Then follows Prospero, who describes the occurrence as a wreck, and immediately afterwards as a sinking in deep water." But surely, the lines to which he alludes,

There is no soule

No not so much perdition as an hayre

Betid to any creature in the vessell

Which thou heardst cry, which thou saw'st sinke (I, II, 36-39),

can just as well mean that the *people* and not the ship sank. "All but Mariners," as Ariel says in his description of the same scene, (I, II, 246) "Plung'd in the foaming bryne, and quit the vessell." And even if the *which* does refer exclusively to *ship*, I see no real inconsistency between the ship's being, in Miranda's words, "dash'd all to peeces" and its being "swallowd." It could be dashed on the rocks and then, falling back, be engulfed.

Further Luce says, "to be in danger of running aground (a suggestion, no doubt, of the narratives) is also to be strangely near shore, especially at two o'clock in the day; nor in all these distressing circumstances have the sailors been summoned to their posts." The first mistake is contained in the implication that if they were so near shore, the sailors should have seen it before, "especially at two o'clock in the day"; where he obviously forgets another "suggestion of the narratives," namely "(preparing for no lesse all the blacke night before) the cloudes gathering thicke upon us, . . . a dreadfull storme . . . did beate all light from heaven; which like an hell of darkenesse turned blacke upon us." And *A True Declaration* stresses the same conditions: "The heavens

Pro. But are they (Ariell) *safe*?

Ar. *Not a haire perishd:*

On their sustaining garments not a blemish (I, II, 252-56).²⁸

Strach.: But having no hope to save her by comming to an anker in the same,²⁹ we were inforced to runne her ashoare, as neere the land as we could, which brought us within three quarters of a mile of shoare and by the mercy of God unto us . . . we had ere night brought all our men, women, and children . . . safe into the Iland (p. 13).

(7) *The Harbor.*

Temp.: *Ar.* *Safely in harbour*

Is the Kings shippe, in the deepe Nooke (I, II, 266-67).

Strach.: Within there are many faire *harbours* for the greatest English Ship: yea, the Argasies of Venice may ride there with water enough, and *safe* land-lockt (p. 17).

(8) *Sounding.*

Temp.: Therefore my Sonne i' th *Ooze*³⁰ is bedded; and I'll seeke him deeper then ere *plummet sounded* (III, III, 125-26).

I'll breake my staffe,

Bury it certaine *fadomes* in the earth,

And deeper then did ever *Plummet sound*

were obscured, and made an Egyptian night of three daies perpetuall horror" (p. 10). The second mistake occurs in the sentence immediately following: "On the other hand, the gale—according to the boatswain—was one that the ship might easily weather." What the boatswain actually says is, (I, I, 13-14) "Blow till thou burst thy winde, if roome enough," the defiant shout of the weathered seaman who is trying to cheer on his men.

²⁸ Jourdan specifies that they "had time and leasure to save some good part of our goods and provision, which the water had not spoyled" (p. 10). Cf. with this Gonzalo's words: "Our Garments being . . . rather new dy'de then stain'd with salte water" (II, I, 65-68).

²⁹ Cf. Gonzalo's exhortation: "Make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our owne doth little advantage" (I, I, 39-40).

³⁰ A word much used in the narratives. Cf. *A True Declaration*, 14; James Rosier, *True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage made this present yeere 1605 by George Waymouth*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collec., Third Series, VIII, (1843), 130. Also *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, in Collec. Maine Hist. Soc., Portland, 1853, III, 287 and 292. The latter reads: "They *sounded* and had sixty *fathome ooze*."

He drowne my booke (V, 61-64).³¹

Strach.: The Boateswaine *sounding* at the first, found it thirteene *fathome* . . . ; and presently heaving his *lead* the third time, had ground at foure *fathome* (p. 13).³²

(9) *Miscellaneous.*

Luce³³ calls attention to, "who ran now, as doe *hoodwinked* men" (*hudwinke* in IV, 232), "matter of admiration" ("top of Admiration" in III, I, 49), "All her Trimme should bee about her" ("in all our [her] trim," V, 281), and one of the company "made much *profession* of Scripture . . . one of the chief *perswaders*" ("this Lord . . . hath here almost *perswaded* (For hee's a Spirit of *perswasion*, onely *Professes* to *perswade*)," II, I, 251-55). Gayley³⁴ remarks that "Though every drop of water . . . gape at widest to *glut* him" (I, I, 69-70)—cf. Strachey's "*glut* of water" (p. 7)—contains the poet's solitary use of the word *glut*. And one last expression which Strachey uses three times,³⁵ Shakspeare parallels in Stephano's command: "therefore *beare up*, and boord em" (III, II, 4-5).

II. COLONIZATION AND THE VIRGINIA PROJECT

The best passage to indicate Shakspeare's attitude towards colonization in general and towards the Bermuda-Virginia project in particular is the word-play between Gonzalo-Adrian and Sebastian-Antonio at the beginning of the second act.¹ Gayley² has shown plausibly that the dramatist took a keen interest in the Virginia colony, which then stood in great need of an able defender. Few projects have ever been so decried if we

³¹ For this decided tendency to parallelisms in the play, see A. H. Gilbert *J. E. G. P.*, XIV, 63-74.

³² Later (p. 42) when the ship was approaching mainland, the account reads: "The eighteenth about midnight wee *sounded*, with the *Dipsing Lead*, and found thirte seven *fadome*," in which we have the poet's spelling of *fadomes*.

³³ Arden *Temp.*, pp. 163-65. He also points out "not one eye of Sturgeon" and "with an eye of greene in't." He gives (pp. 162-69) other parallels from Strachey, Jourdan, and *A True Declaration*, which seem to me less important.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

³⁵ *True Repertory*, pp. 10, 12, and 13.

¹ Montégut considers this scene to represent the rivalry between Shakspeare and his fellow-dramatists. See "Une Hypothèse sur *La Tempête*" in *Essais sur la Littérature Anglaise*, Paris 1883, p. 191.

² *Op. cit.*, see esp. pp. 8-80.

are to judge by the negative evidence contained in the barrage of tracts issued in its defense. *A True Declaration* added on its title page, "with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise." *The New Life of Virginea*³ uttered the rebuke that "not only the ignorant and simple minded are much discouraged, but the malicious and looser sort (*being accompanied with the licentious vaine of stage Poets*) have whet their tongues with scornfull taunts against the action it selfe." Another pamphlet, *A True and Sincere Declaration*,⁴ speaks of the "imputations and asperitions, with which ignorant rumor . . . daily cullumniate our industries, and the successe of it." In fact, the feeling ran so high against these detractors that the death penalty was imposed on them.⁵

Two of these defences are particularly noteworthy because they arraign *players* specifically. Thus Hamor:⁶ "Alas let Sanballat and Tobiah, Papists and *Plaiers*, Ammonites and Horonites, the scumme and dregges of the people, let them mocke at this holy Businesse." And W. Crashaw, in a sermon preached before De la Warr February 21, 1610,⁷ just before that Lord left to assume the governorship of the Colony:

As for *Plaiers* . . . they play with Princes and Potentates, Magistrates and Ministers, nay with God and Religion, and all holy things; nothing that is good, excellent or holy can escape them: how then can this action? But this may suffice, that they are *Players*: they abuse Virginea, but they are but *Players*.

³ Published originally in 1612. Reprinted in *Collec. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Boston 1826, Second Series, VIII, 200.

⁴ See p. 2.

⁵ See *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*, London 1612, Force's *Tracts*, III, 12. To prove to what extent it was thought necessary to defend the colony, consult also *Nova Britannia* (1609), Force's *Tracts*, I, 10; *Historie of Travaile* (1612), Hak. Soc. ed., London 1849, p. 1; de Bry's edition of Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and True Report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590), reprint, Manchester 1888, see p. 5; *Publication by the Counsell* (1610), reprinted *Genesis*, I, 354-6; and Purchas' *Pilgrimage* (1613), p. 633; *True Relation of Such occurrences and Accidents of Note, as hath Hapned in Virginia* (1608), see *Am. Hist. Leaflets*, no. 27, p. 10.

⁶ *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* by Raphe Hamor. London, 1615. To the Reader. Reprinted Albany, 1860.

⁷ Printed as *A New-yeeres Gift to Virginea*. See *Genesis*, I, pp. 366-67.

If we assume with Gayley that Shakspeare's relation with the project was an intimate one, we may conjecture that he heard Crashaw's sermon. And it may well be that he penned the scene in *The Tempest* partly to show Crashaw that a player could speak well of colonization and partly to add his defence to the numerous others. But his defence was no one-sided picture of a Terrestrial Paradise. He weighed the evidence and discounted both sides. The extravagant idealist came in for his share of censure as well as the hard-headed and soft-bodied skeptic, though the former had eventually more right on his side.

Those who favored the colony were laughed at by the others. The author of *Nova Britannia*⁸ speaks of,

the blind diffidence of our English natures, which *laugh to scorne* the name of Virginia, and all other new projects, bee they never so probable, and will not beleve till wee see the effects.

And W. C. in his dedication to *A Plaine Description*:⁹

If any had said seven yeares agoe, the Barmuda Ilands are not only *accessible* and *habitable*, but also... a safe, secure, *temperate*, rich, *sweet*, and healthfull habitation for Man, . . . ; oh *how loudly would he have beene laughd at*, and hist out of most mens companies!

We recall that Gonzalo *was* laughed at for just this sort of defence:

Gon. I . . . did it to minister occasion to these Gentlemen, who are of such sensible and nimble Lungs, that they alwayes use to laugh at nothing.

Ant. 'Twas you we laughed at (II, I, 179-83).

And we remember, too, that Adrian was greeted with a derisive laugh when he maintained the paradox implied in the passage from *A Plaine Description* quoted above:

(1) *Temp.*: *Adr.* Though this Island seeme to be *desert*.

Seb. Ha, ha, ha.

Ant. So: you'r paid.

Adr. *Uninhabitable*,¹⁰ and almost *inaccessible*

.....

⁸ p. 10.

⁹ p. 5.

¹⁰ Prospero speaks (I, II, 331-32) of its being "not honour'd with A humane shape," and Ariel (III, III, 77-78), of "this Island, Where man doth not inhabit." Cf. Jourdan (pp. 10-11): "The Ilands of the Barmudas . . . were never *inhabited* by any Christian or Heathen people." And the first folio (p. 19) has "The Scene, an un-inhabited Island."

It must needs be of subtle, tender, and delicate *temperance* (II, I, 39-47).

A True Declaration: If any man shall accuse these reports of partiall falshood, supposing them to be but Utopian, and legendarie fables, because he cannot conceive, that plentie and famine, a *temperate* climate, and distempered bodies, felicities, and miseries can be reconciled together, let him now reade with judgement (p. 14).¹¹

Ibid.: The Bermudos, a place *hardly accessible* . . . *an uninhabited desert* (pp. 10-11).¹²

(2) *Temp.:* The ayre breathes upon us here most *sweetly* (II, I, 50.)
Nova Britannia: The ayre . . . most sweete (p. 11).

A True Declaration: Virgin and temperat (cf. I. 47 above) aire (p. 14).¹³

Harriot: The ayre there is so temperate (p. 32).¹⁴

(3) *Temp.: Adr.* The ayre breathes upon us here most sweetly.

Seb. As if it had Lungs, and rotton ones.

Ant. Or, as 'twere perfum'd by a *Fen* (II, I, 50-52).

A True Declaration: For the healthinesse and temperatenesse of the Clymate . . . much neede not be related. . . . No man ought to judge of any Countrie by the *fennes* and marshes (such as is the place where James towne standeth) . . . In our particular, wee have an infallible proove of the *temper* of the Countrie . . . of all these two hundred, there did not so much as one man miscarrie: when in

¹¹ Harriot speaks of "*divers and variable reportes* . . . bruited abroad by many that returned from thence." See *Briefe and True Report*, p. 5.

¹² One of the charges which *A True Declaration* answers (see p. 9) is "barrennesse of the countrie."

¹³ Gayley (*Op. cit.*, pp. 54-5) maintains that "the temperate air of the island" is "specifically mentioned by Jourdan alone." But the poet probably had in mind the whole colony, not Bermuda alone.

¹⁴ For other allusions to same, see *New-yeeres Gift*, p. 363; Brereton's *Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia* (1602), reprinted 1843, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Third Series, VIII, see p. 93; and Thevet's *New Found Worlde*, London 1568, p. 70. Many of these allusions are to Virginia; but in reflecting the conditions of colonization, Shakspeare made no distinction between Virginia and Bermuda. Travelers often alluded to the sweet air wafted from the shore of islands and mainland. Cf. Strachey, p. 42, "we had a marvellous sweet smell from the shoare," Eden's and Willes' *History of Travayle*, London, 1577, fol. 173v, "fragrant savoure of spices whiche proceded from the Ilandes," *Historie of Travaile*, p. 43, "before we come in sight of yt thirty leagues, we smell a sweet savour," and Thevet, p. 35, "Drawing neere to America, within fiftie leagues we began to smell the ayre of the lande . . . a sweete and pleasant smell."

James Towne, at the same time, and in the same moneths, 100. sickned, and halfe the number died¹⁶ How is it possible that such a virgin and *temperat aire*, should work *such contrarie effects*, but because our fort is most part invironed with an ebbing and flowing salt water, the owze of which *sendeth forth an unwholsome and contagious vapour?* (p. 14).

- (4) *Temp.*: *Gon.* How lush and lusty the grasse lookes? How greene? (II, I, 56-7).

This is Shakspeare's only use of the word *lusty* in this sense.

Nova Britannia: The soile is strong and *lustie* (p. 12).

The Historie of Travaile: The *vesture of the earth* doth manifestly prove the nature of the soyle, in most places, to be *lusty* and very rich (p. 31).

Brereton: The soil is fat and *lusty* meadows full of *green grass* (pp. 88-89).

There is a later speech of Gonzalo's¹⁶ in which he sets up a Utopia, which also seems to me a direct reflexion of the voyagers.¹⁷ It has been unequivocally established that Shakspeare got his wording for the passage from Florio's translation of Montaigne's "Des Cannibales." But the very travelers' accounts which we know he was using contain the same material; and it is therefore likely that he took the idea from them and resorted to Montaigne only for a convenient and succinct phrasing of that idea. From them, for instance, we learn that the new world was customarily thought of as a sort of Terrestrial Paradise. *Nova Britannia*¹⁸ speaks of "this earthly Paradice," and *A Plaine Description*¹⁹ says, "It is one of the sweetest Paradises that be upon the earth."

- (5) *Temp.*: *Gon.* I would with such perfection governe Sir:

T'Excell *the Golden Age*: (II, I, 174-5).

Fer. So rare a wondred Father, and a wise Makes *this place Paradise* (IV, 137-38).

Fer. No name of Magistrate: Letters should not be knowne: (II, I, 155-56).

¹⁶ Practically these same words are used by Strachey. See pp. 58-59.

¹⁸ II, I, 153-75.

¹⁷ My interpretation of this passage differs in essentials from that of Gayley or Luce. See *Shakespeare and the Founders*, pp. 66-69, and *Arden Tempest*, p. xliv.

¹⁹ p. 8.

¹⁹ p. 5.

Eden's *History*: Among them the lande is as *common* as the sunne and water, and that Myne and Thyne (the seedes of all myscheefe) have no place with them . . . : they seeme to lyve in the *golden worlde without toyle* . . . they deale truly one with another *without lawes, without bookes, and without judges* (fol. 24).

(6) *Temp.: Gon.* Tilth, Vineyard none:

.....
No occupation, all men idle, all:

.....
All things in *common* Nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavour (II, I, 158-67).

Strach.: What England may boast of, having the faire hand of husbandry to manure and dresse it, God, and *Nature* have favourably bestowed upon this Country, . . . no Countrey yeeldeth goodlier *Corne*, nor more manifold increase . . . wee have thousands of goodly *Vines* . . . wee might . . . make a . . . fruitfull *Vintage* in short time (pp. 47-48).²⁰

A True Declaration: All things committed to the earth, do multiply with an incredible usurie. . . . Our gardens yeilded *with little art and labour* (pp. 12-13).

Ibid.: A land that floweth with all manner of plenty. . . . In Virginia there is nothing wanting, but onely mens labours (p. 25).

Thevet: As touching the grounde or lande of America, it is very fruitfull in trees bearing very excellent fruite *without labour* (p. 43).

Hamor: I know no one Country yeelding *without art or industry* so maniefruites (p. 22).

Strach.: There being neither that Fish, Flesh, nor Fowle, which here (*without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs* . . .) at ease, and pleasure might be injoyed (p. 29).

Hariot: One man may prepare and husbane so much ground *with less then foure and twentie houres labour*, as shall yeelde him victuall in a large proportion for a twelve moneth (p. 15).²¹

²⁰ To gain an idea of how far these praises went, we should read one whole account, such as that in *A True Declaration*, p. 22ff.

²¹ Cf. also Montaigne *Essays*, London, 1892-3, I, 226-27: "To this day they yet enjoy that naturall ubertie and fruitfulness, which *without labouring toyle*, doth in such *plenteous abundance* furnish them with all necessary things."

- (7) *Temp.: Gon.* Nature should bring forth
Of it owne kinde, all foyzon,²² all *abundance*
To feed my innocent people (II, I, 169-71).
Jourdan: Uses *abundance* five times on two pages (pp. 11-12).²³
Strach.: *Abundance* by Gods providence of all manner of good
foode (p. 31).
A True Declaration: There is . . . in Virginia a sufficient meanes
(in all *abundance*) to sustaine the life of man (p. 12).²⁴
New Life of Virginea: Which groweth there *naturally* in endlesse
abundance (p. 210).
And *Nova Britannia:* The land yeeldeth *naturallie* for the susten-
tation of man, *aboundance* of fish . . . , of land and water
fowles, infinite store . . . The soile . . . sendeth out
naturally fruitfull Vines (pp. 11-12).
Ibid.: Vines that *naturally* grow there in great *abundance* (p. 16).
(8) *Temp.: Gon.* No use of Mettall, Corne, or Wine, or Oyle (II, I, 159).
Strach.: No Countrey yeeldeth goodlier *Corne:* . . . wee have
thousands of goodly *Vines* (p. 48).
Thevet: As for golde and silver they use none (p. 69).
Ibid.: In America no use of *corne* [marginal note] (p. 92).
Hariot: Neither use they any digging (p. 23).
*A True Declaration*²⁵ mentions "corne and oyle" together; it is
significant to note that *oil* is the only product named by Gonzalo which
we miss in Montaigne.

It was against just those idealists who felt the land would yield naturally without labor, "all men idle, all," that Shakspeare inveighed. Antonio's rebuke, "All idle; Whores and knaves" (II, I, 173), is no meaningless one. *Nova Britannia* warns that "no man must live idle there" (p. 21). And it was very possibly by Strachey's eloquent appeal that the poet was inspired:

²² We should think, too, of the words of the masque:

"Earths increase, foyzon plentie,

.....

Vines, with clustring bunches growing" (IV, 122-24).

²³ On the previous page he said, "Our feeding and preservation was beyond our hopes, and all mens expectations, most admirable."

²⁴ Cf. Gonzalo's "Here is every thing advantageous to life" (II, I, 53). Hamor speaks (*True Dicourse*, p. 16) of "that plenty of foode, which every man by his owne industry may easily, and doth procure." And *The Historie of Travaile* (p. 115) alludes to the "commoditie . . . for the sustenance of mankind."

²⁵ p. 19.

"With this *Idleness*, when some thing was in store, all wastfull courses exercised to the heighth, and the headlesse multitude . . . not employed to the end for which they were sent hither, no not compelled (since in themselves unwilling) to sowe Corne for their owne bellies. . . . In this neglect and sensual Surfet, all things suffered to runne on, to lie sicke and languish; must it be expected, that health, plentie, and all the goodnesse of a well ordered State, of necessitie for all this to flow in this Countrey? (p. 47)²⁶

Shakspeare's attitude obviously was the one expressed in *A True Declaration*²⁷, that "Adam himselfe might not live in paradise without dressing the garden."

Now it is to be observed that in all this argument Gonzalo has eventually more right on his side. He is later "holy Gonzallo, Honourable man."²⁸ But Antonio and Ferdinand, villains as they are, serve as a proper antidote for his unreasoning idealism.²⁹

III. CONDITIONS ON THE ISLAND

This portion of my study will concern itself with the conditions which the shipwrecked party found on the island. And first, the whole background of Act II, Scene 2, is one of thunder and lightning. The emphasis is particularly on the swiftness with which the storms passed. Trinculo says first, "another Storme brewing" (II, II, 22), then "the storme is come againe" (II, II, 40), and finally, "Is the Storme over-blowne?" (II, II, 117). Throughout, however, the thunder keeps up its rumble. The

²⁶ *A True and Sincere Declaration* (p. 25) speaks of "Idle and wicked persons such as shame, or feare compels into this action." And *A True Declaration* (p. 25) says there is "nothing wanting, but onely mens labours, to furnish both Prince State and merchant, without charge or difficulty."

²⁷ p. 15.

²⁸ V, 74.

²⁹ We should notice one other small point about the Gonzalo-Antonio controversy. Gonzalo explains to the doubting Adrian that "This Tunis Sir was Carthage" (II, I, 86). Batman *Upon Bartholome* (London, 1582, p. 232) has the line, "The country where it [Carthage] stode is now called Thunyse"; and Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, London, 1807, I, 8, 14) has made it reasonably clear that the dramatist used Batman elsewhere in *The Tempest*. In connection with his discussion of Carthage, Gonzalo mentions Dido, and Sebastian adds Aeneas. It is of passing interest to note that both are mentioned in the Strachey narrative (pp. 55-56), which Shakspeare was following more closely than any other.

first stage direction is "(a noyse of Thunder heard)." And Trinculo says:

- (1) *Temp.*: If it should thunder, as it did before, I know not where to hide my head: yond same cloud cannot choose but fall by paile-fuls (II, II, 25-27).¹

Tri. This is no fish, but an Islander, that hath lately suffered by a *Thunderbolt* (II, II, 38-39).²

Tri. I tooke him to be kil'd with a *thunder-strok* (II, II, 115).

Strach.: These Ilands are often afflicted and rent with tempests, great strokes of thunder, lightning and raine in the extremitie of violence . . . the stormes continually raging . . . I saw . . . the mightiest blast of lightning, and most terrible rap of thunder that ever astonished mortall men . . . Wee had . . . thunder, lightning, and many scattering showers of Raine (which would passe swiftly over, and yet fall with such force and darknesse for the time as if it would never bee cleere againe) (pp. 15-16) ³

¹ Strachey had said: "It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Rivers did flood in the ayre" (p. 7).

² Trinculo follows this with the lines, "Alas, the storme is come againe: my best way is to creepe under his Gaberdine: there is no other shelter hereabout." Possibly Shakspeare thought of the island monster's using the Palm Tree of which "so broad are the leaves, as an Italian Umbrello, a man may well defend his whole body under one of them, from the greatest storme raine that falls. For they being stiffe and smooth, as if so many flagges were knit together, the raine easily slideth off." (Strachey, p. 19).

³ This is the passage, together with one from Jourdan's *Plaine Description* (p. 11), which very probably was the immediate suggestion for the famous "still-vexed Bermoothes." Of course, the islands' reputation was a matter of general knowledge. See *True Declaration*, p. 10, Delawarr's *Despatch*, printed in *Historie of Travaile*, London, 1849 (Hak. Soc.), pp. xxiii-xxxvi, p. xxx, May's *A Brief Note*, p. 202, Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav. X*, 427 (this is Raleigh's allusion), Purchas' *Pilgrimage*, p. 746, and Stow's *Annales*, London 1615, pp. 943-44. R. Garnett (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XL, 231) reproduces a passage from Robert Dudley's *Voyage to the West Indies*, and Hunter quotes Lord Brooke (*Coelica*, 57 Sonnet):

"Whoever sails near to Bermuda coast,
Goes hard aboard the monarchy of Fear."

The spelling *Bermoothawes* in Rich's ballad, *Newes from Virginia*, 1610, (reprinted London, 1865), has long been noted.

As for the rest of Ariel's speech, "Thou calldst me up at midnight to fetch dewe From the still-vext Bermoothes" (I, II, 268-69), it is of interest to compare a passage from Eden's *Treatyse of the Newe India*: "In this Ilande is no freshe water: but they gather the dew which in the night season falleth upon certayne leaves." (See *The First Three English Books on America*, ed Arber; p. 38).

- (2) *Temp.*: *Ste.* I will helpe his [Caliban's] *Ague* (II, II, 101).
Ste. How do's thine *Ague*? (II, II, 144).
Strach.: Our people, who are indeede strangely afflicted with
Fluxes and *Agues* (p. 58).⁴
- (3) *Temp.*: *Cal.* I lov'd thee
 And shew'd thee all the qualities o'th' Isle,
 The *fresh Springs*, *Brine-pits*; *barren place* and fertill
 (I, II, 396-98).
Cal. I'll shew thee [Trinculo] the *best Springs* (II, II, 169).
Cal. He [Trinculo] shall drinke nought but *brine*,⁵ for Ile
 not shew him where the *quicke Freshes* are (III, II, 69-70).

It is obvious that "the quicke Freshes" were not easily found. And so it was with Strachey's crew. The fresh water they eventually found was "close aboard to the backe side of our Iland" (p. 39).⁶

Strach.: There are no Rivers nor running *Springs of fresh water* to bee found upon any of them: when wee came first wee digged and found certaine gushings and soft bubblings, which . . . soone sinketh into the earth . . . ; for according as their raines fell, we had our Wels and *Pits* (which we digged) either halfe full, or *absolute exhausted and dry*, howbeit . . . we found . . . standing Pooles, continually . . . full of fresh water . . . He had procured Salt to bee made with some *Brine* (p. 20).

In the lines immediately following those quoted above, Caliban brings down a curse on Prospero's head:

- (4) *Temp.*: All the Charmes Of Sycorax: *Toades*, *Beetles*, *Batts* light on you. (I, II, 399-400).

Shortly before the fresh springs Strachey had mentioned "Toade" and "Beetell" (pp. 17-18) within eight lines of each other, and "Battes" four pages later (p. 22).

⁴ Repeated in Delawarr's *Despatch*. See *Hist. of Travaille*, xxxv.

⁵ It is the same curse which Prospero uses with Ferdinand: "Sea water shalt thou drinke" (I, II, 539).

⁶ The same difficulties were encountered when they got to Jamestown which, "hath no fresh water Springs . . . but what wee drew from a Well . . . fed by the brackish River owzing into it, from whence I verily beleeeve, the chiefe causes have proceeded of many diseases" (p. 58) . .

- (5) *Temp.*: Cal. to Pro. A Southwest blow on yee (I, II, 382).

Strach.: . . . the wind comming *South-west* a loome gale (p. 43).

The Historie of Travaile: The wyndes here are variable: from the *so-west* come the greatest gusts, with thunder and heat (p. 30).

Thevet: *Southe winde and yll token* . . . And this fulnesse and abundance of troubles of the braine . . . commeth of the ayre, and *southwindes* hot and moyst very common in America (p. 71).⁷

- (6) *Temp.*: Thou . . . wouldst give me Water with *berries* in't (I, II, 393-94).

I'll plucke thee *Berries* (II, II, 169-70).

Strach.: They are full of Shawes of goodly Cedar, . . . : the *Berries*, whereof our men seething, straining, and letting stand some three or foure daies, *made a kind of pleasant drinke* (p. 18).

Now berries are often mentioned by the travelers,⁸ one of whom, Hariot, mentions also an extraordinary number of other flora and fauna used in the play. He speaks of nuts, apple-crabs, "berrie in forme of Acornes," oaks, cedars,⁹ muscles, tortoises, bears, lions and "wolvish Dogges;" and all of these are mentioned within five pages.¹⁰ Brereton also lists several of them. The lake¹¹ is "full of small tortoises" and there is "great

⁷ Archer speaks (*Letter*, Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, XIX, 1) of being "crost by *South-west windes*." Elsewhere Shakspeare's allusions are simply to the *south*, not *southwest*, as bringing ill health. (Cf. *Cymb.* II, III, 135, *Troilus*, V, I, 20, *A. Y. L. I.* III, v, 50). The experience of Strachey and others may have caused him to change it.

Douce quotes Batman, XI, 3. Luce (Arden, 34) thinks the use here is due to its being "an English wind, more pestilential in those days, which Shakespeare makes to blow in all quarters of the globe."

⁸ E. g. Strachey, pp. 23, 24, Hariot, p. 18, *Hist. of Travaile*, p. 293, Brereton, p. 87.

⁹ In connection with Prospero's boast (V, 54-55) that he "by the spurs pluckt up The Pyne, and Cedar," cf. May in his *Briefe Note*, p. 201: "*Cedar* is the chieftest wood." It is of some interest to note that in the passage of Golding's Ovid from which Prospero's words are taken (see Arden, pp. lxiii-lxiv) there is no mention of particular trees, and that oak and cedar (both mentioned by P.) are found together in Strachey, p. 40.

¹⁰ *Briefe and True Reporte*, pp. 18-23.

¹¹ This is here called "a standing lake of fresh water." We remember Sebastian's words: "I am standing water" (II, I, 236).

store of ground-nuts"¹² as well as "muscles."¹³

- (7) *Temp.* I 'prethee let me bring thee where *Crabs* grow; and I with my long nayles will digge thee *pig-nuts*; show thee a *Jayes nest*, and instruct thee how to snare the nimble *Marmazet*: I'll bring thee to clustring *Philbirts*, and sometimes I'll get thee young *Scamels from the Rocke* (II, II, 177-81).

Luce¹⁴ quite aptly cites "Ralph¹⁵ Hamor's record of the year 1610," where we find,¹⁶ "Some *filberds* I have seene, *Crabbes* great store." But it should be mentioned that "Hamor's record of the year 1610" was not published until 1615, that it carried the account to June 18, 1614; and that therefore unless we assume that Shakspeare had access to the first part of the manuscript, as he did in the case of Strachey, he could not have used Hamor as a source.¹⁷

Caliban has spoken (1.178) of "a *Jayes nest*." Jays do not appear in the lists of birds in either Strachey¹⁸ or in *A True Declaration*.¹⁹ But Eden's *Historie*²⁰ speaks of "dyvers kyndes of *Popingjayes*;" and Thevet²¹ mentions the bird in connection with its nest: "There is a multitude of other *Popengayes* that are in the woodes . . . and they make their *nests* in the toppes of trees." In the margin is a note: "Great plenty of *Popengayes* in America."

Eden has also the next item in Caliban's list. In his book of contents²² he puts a "mountayne inhabited onely with *Monkyes*

¹² Rosier also speaks of "ground-nuts." See *True Relation*, p. 157. Note that Caliban says "will digge thee pig-nuts."

¹³ *Briefe and True Relation*, all on p. 89.

¹⁴ Arden *Tempest*, p. 162.

¹⁵ Spelled *Raphe* on the original title page.

¹⁶ *True Discourse*, p. 23.

¹⁷ Luce says also, "In Strachey are muscles, and trees with their 'huskes that the swine ate' (I, II, 463); also the wild cats (IV, 263); and notably the 'Geese, Brants' of IV, 250." There is something wrong with the note here. There are no muscles in Strachey, and no huskes. Hamor (p. 23) has "huske like unto a Chesnut."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

and *Marmasettes*." And in the margin²³ opposite the passage itself: "*Marmasets. Monkeyes*."²⁴ He mentions the animal again on page 49: "tayle lyke a *marmasette*."

- (8) *Temp.*: Cal. And sometimes I'll get thee young *Scamels*²⁵ from the *Rocke* (II, II, 180-81).

Strach.: A kinde of webbe-footed Fowle there is, of the bignesse of an English greene Plover, or *Sea-Meawe*, which all the *Summer wee saw not* . . . : which Birds with a light bough in a darke night (as in our *Lowbelling*) wee caught Our men found a prettie way to take them, which was by standing on the *Rockes* (p. 22).²⁶

Lowbelling means *fowling by night*, used by Shakspeare elsewhere in the play. After Gonzalo has implied the coming of darkness, Sebastian says they would, "then go a *Batfowling*" (II, I, 192).

- (9) *Temp.*: No more dams I'll make for fish²⁷ (II, II, 190).

Sir Sidney Lee²⁸ has a very plausible theory of the exact significance of this threat. He shows the extent to which the colonizers were dependent on the Indians' peculiar knowledge of constructing dams or weirs for fish.

Two incidental parallels may be mentioned here. Ceres speaks of,

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁴ Topsell *History of Foure-footed Beastes*, London, 1607, p. 3, has "*Marmosits*." Both Luce (Arden, p. 76) and Furness (Variorum, p. 138) cite only "*Maundevile's Travels*."

²⁵ The *N. E. D.* recognizes *seamel* as a variant of *sea-mall* (= *seamew*), and there is little doubt that *Scamels* is a misprint in the first folio for *Seamels*.

²⁶ Oviedo likewise saw sea-mews near the Bermudas. Cf. Eden's translation in *The First Three English Books*, p. 233.

²⁷ One other animal of which Caliban had previously spoken (II, II, 13) was the hedgehog, not mentioned by the voyagers. But there is mention of hogs. Luce, correcting Sir Sidney Lee, says (Arden, p. 151): "The trouble of hogs in the above . . . may be derived from some authority I have not met with . . . ; but in the accounts that I have read, the hogs were a boon to the castaways." Lee had spoken of their being "sorely tried by the hogs which overran the island." He probably had in mind Strachey's (p. 18), "but the Hogs breaking in, both rooted them [plants] up and eate them."

²⁸ *Scribners Magazine*, September 1907, "American Indian in Elizabethan England," vol. 42, pp. 313-30. See pp. 328-29.

- (10) *Temp.*: My *boskie*²⁹ acres (IV, 90).
Strach.: Wee have *Boske* running along the ground (p. 48).³⁰
- (11) *Temp.*: By this *Bottle* which I made of the *bark* of a *Tree*, (II, II, 130-31).
Rosier.: They [Indians] shewed us great *cups* made very wittily of *bark* (p. 142).
Strach.: They have found the way to cover their houses: now (as the Indians) with *barkes* of *Trees* (p. 57).

IV. THE CONSPIRACIES

Gayley¹ has carefully followed the progress of the mutiny which probably suggested to Shakspeare many details of the Ferdinand-Antonio conspiracy as well as that of Caliban—Stephano—Trinculo against Prospero. In this section I shall consider the verbal reminiscences of the account of the mutiny and touch upon a few problems of broader nature which Gayley failed to emphasize.

The relation of the Governor to his men has pretty clearly suggested situations in *The Tempest*.

- (1) *Temp.*: Enter Ferdinand (bearing a Log)
Fer. There be some Sports are painfull; and their *labor*
 Delight in them set off: Some kindes of basenesse
 Are nobly undergon; and *most poore matters*
Point to rich ends: this my *meane* Taske
 Would be as heavy to me, as odious, but
 The Mistris which I serve, quickens what's dead,
 And makes my labours, pleasures (III, I, 2-9.)
- Strach.*: The Governour dispensed with no travaile of his body, nor forbare . . . to fell, *carry* and sawe *Cedar* . . . (for what was so *meane*, whereto he would not himselfe set his hand) . . . his owne presence and hand being set to every *meane labour* . . . made our people at length more diligent (p. 28).²

²⁹ Luce's speculation (Arden, 108) as to "how large a growth the boscage or the shrubbery may be," is thus partially answered at least.

³⁰ It is Shakspeare's only use of the word.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 61-69.

² It is of passing interest that Shakspeare's indebtedness to *Die Schöne Sidea* has been based in part on the circumstance of Prince Engelbrecht's carrying logs (see Variorum *Tempest*, pp. x and 333). But we have in the above quotation from Strachey a very possible suggestion for Ferdinand's rôle.

- (2) *Temp.*: Prospero starts sodainly and speakes

Pro. I had forgot that foule *conspiracy*
Of the beast Calliban, and his *confederates*
Against my life:³ the minute of their plot
Is almost come: Well done, avoid: no more (IV, 158-63).
Ste. I do begin to have *bloody* thoughts [referring to the
"conspiracy" above] (IV, 247).

Strach.: In these dangers and divellish disquiets thus in-
raged amongst our selves, to the destruction each of other,
into what a mischiefe and misery had wee bin given up,
had wee not had a Governour with his authority, to have
suppressed the same? Yet was there a conjuration a
foote, deadly and *bloudy*, in which *the life of our Governour*,
with many others were *threatned* (p. 32).

For ten pages,⁴ Strachey is electric with *conspiracy* and
confederates. Thus, "a *conspiracy* was discovered" (p. 29),
"to be of the *conspiracy*" (p. 31), "the *confederates* were divided"
(p. 33), and "in a *Confederate*" (p. 34).

- (3) *Temp.*: *Ste.* Wee will *inherit here* (II, II, 184).

Fer. Let me *live here ever* (IV, 136).

Cal. Do that good mischeefe, which may *make this*
Island, Thine owne for ever (IV, 243-44).

Strach.: Whether, the desire *for ever to inhabite heere*, or what
other secret else moved them thereunto, true it is, they
sent an audacious and formall Petition to our Governour,
. . . . intreating him, that they might *stay heere* (p. 35).⁵

- (4) *Temp.*: Enter Ariell, loaden with *glistering apparell* [which the
conspirators try to steal] (IV, 219).

Strach.: They [conspirators] had now purposed to have made a
surprise of the Store-house, and to have forced from
thence, what was therein (p. 32).

³ One of the means suggested by Caliban is, "Or with a logge Batter his
skull" (III, II, 94-95). Strachey mentions, "A Saylor, being villanously killed by
the foresaid Robert Waters, (a Saylor likewise) with a shovell, who strake him
therewith under the lift of the Eare" (p. 38).

⁴ pp. 28-38.

⁵ In Virginia itself one trouble was the search for gold. Luce shows (Arden
Tempest, pp. 169-70) how the men were beguiled by talc which they took for
gold, how they frittered away their time instead of planting, and how the poet
may have rebuked them in Caliban's words:

"What doe you meane

To doate thus on such luggage?" (IV, 256-57).

Lawes, Divine: He that shall rob the store of any commodities therein . . . whether provisions of victuals . . . *Apparrell* . . . shall bee punished with death.⁶

- (5) Much of the diabolical scheming of Stephano and Caliban proceeded from their drunkenness.

Strach.: That *Beere* purloyned, and stolne perhaps, either from some particular supply, or from the generall store (p. 50).

- (6) *Temp.:* *Gon.* Now *blasphemy*, That swear'st Grace ore-boord, not an *oath* on shore (V, 260-61).⁷

Laws, Divine: That no man *blaspheme* Gods holy name upon paine of death, or use unlawful *oathes* (p. 10).

A New-yeeres Gift: Make Atheisme and other *blasphemie* Capitall . . . And though vaine swearing . . . be the common and crying sinne of England, your land will flourish if this be repressed (p. 371).

- (7) *Temp.:* If you prove a mutineere, the next Tree (III, II, 36-37).

Strach.: Our Governour . . . condemned him to be instantly hanged. . . . He was . . . appointed to be hanged the next day, . . . but being bound fast to a Tree all night, . . . his fellow Saylers . . . cut his bands (pp. 34-38).

- (8) *Temp.:* Ile *manacle* thy necke and feete together (I, II, 538).

Strach.: The Prisoner was brought forth in *manacles* (p. 31).

At one stage of the conspiracy⁸ only two men, Carter and Waters, held out against the Governor. One thinks of Stephano and Trinculo.

V. THE WHITE MAN AND THE INDIAN

As the previous section dealt with the relation between the Governor and mutinous elements in his colony at mirrored in the conspiracies against Prospero, so this section will deal with the relation between white man and Indian as reflected in that

⁶ *Lawes, Divine, Morall and Martiall* (Force, III, 12).

⁷ Cf. *A True Declaration*, "they neither feared God nor man, which provoked the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, and pulled downe his judgements upon them" (p. 18).

⁸ *True Reportory*, p. 37. The conspiracies never got very far because some one always gave them away. E.g., "Stephen Hopkins . . . brake with one Samuel Sharpe and Humfrey Reede (*who presently discovered it to the Governour*)" (p. 30). Reede here is virtually playing the rôle of Ariel, who overhears the plot of Stephano and Caliban against Prospero and says, "This will I tell my Master" (III, II, 122);

of Prospero and Caliban.¹ Caliban's resentment at being dispossessed was a natural one:

This Island's mine by Sycorax my mother, Which thou tak'st from me. (I, II, 391-92).

And Prospero's arrogant assumption that he

most strangely
Upon this shore (where you were wrackt) was landed
To be the Lord on't (V, 185-87),

might justly anger the native.

The pamphlets were at some pains to justify the white man's high-handed procedure. Thus:

A True Declaration: It is not unlawfull, that wee possesse part of their land and dwell with them (p. 6).

The New Life: God . . . did likewise move her Princely mind to proffer that light to this blinde and miserable people (p. 202).²

The first form which this imposed education was to take was naturally the teaching of language, the desire to "take their children and traine them up with gentlenesse, teach them our English tongue."³ We remember that Prospero makes the claim to Caliban that he,

Took pains to make thee speake, taught thee each houre
One thing or other: when thou didst not (Savage)
Know thine owne meaning (I, II, 416-18).

¹ Gayley (*op. cit.*, pp. 62-63) gives the latest information about the derivation of this name and others. He quotes (pp. 63-65) from Strachey's account in which one Stephen Hopkins was, like Stephano, a prime mover in the conspiracy. And he indicates how the names of both Gonzalo and Ferdinand may have been suggested by Strachey's mention of *Gonzalos Ferdinandus Oviedus*. He might also have noticed Strachey's allusion (p. 54) to "Sir Ferdinando Weinman." Luce (*Arden Tempest*, pp. xviii-xix and 177-79) gives a few additional details about names.

As for *Selebos*, Farmer long ago pointed out its probable derivation from Eden's *History of Travayle*.

² For other instances, cf. *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609), reprinted in J. P. Collier's *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature*. (London 1864) II, 23; *Nova Britannia*, p. 13; and *Hist. of Travaile*, p. 17.

³ *New Life*, p. 215.

But we remember also Caliban's quick rejoinder:

You taught me Language, and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse: the red plague rid you
For learning me your language (I, ii, 425-27).

As he thrust at the Utopians in the Gonzalo-Antonio argument, so here Shakspeare thrusts at the colonizers who were not intellectually honest enough to confess their real purpose. He saw clearly that much of what the white man taught his red brother was of a deleterious nature. This conviction may have been formed on the suggestion of Montaigne,⁴ who speaks of "people of the other [old] world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours)."⁵ And the idea may have been driven home by the example of the big Indian to whom the Frenchman's sympathy went out when he talked with him at "Roane in the time of our late King Charles the ninth:"

Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce . . . were at Roane.⁶

Münster alludes with similar qualms to the process of "civilizing" natives elsewhere:

The marchaunts of Englande and Denmarke do not suffer them [people of Iceland] to be content with their owne but by reason of the great fishinge there, they repayre thither oftentimes and with their marchaundize they carrye thither their vices and enormities . . . They [natives] have learned nowe of late to brewe with malte and have left the drinkinge of plaine water.⁷

Be it remembered that it was not till after Stephano had given Caliban to drink of his "fire water" that the murder of Prospero was hatched.

Other matters which the Indian was taught concerned the sun and moon. Caliban refers gratefully to Prospero's having instructed him how,

⁴ A. H. Gilbert (*Romanic Review*, V, pp. 357-63) develops the influence of Montaigne on *The Tempest*, showing that much of the contrast between savage and civilized man may have been suggested by the *Essays*.

⁵ *Essays*, I, 225.

⁶ *Essays*, I, 231.

⁷ *Briefe Collection*, fol. 22.

To name the bigger Light, and how the lesse That burne by day,
and night (I, II, 395-96).

But this kind of instruction also is diverted to evil purposes
for when he asks Stephano, "Ha'st thou not dropt from
heaven?" (II, II, 145) Stephano replies,

Out o'th Moone I doe assure thee. I was the Man ith' Moone, when
time was.

Cal. I have seene thee in her: and I doe adore thee: My Mistris shew'd
me thee, and thy Dog, and thy Bush (II, II, 146-49).

Elsewhere⁸ he speaks of his new master as "a brave God,"
and beseeches him to "be my god".⁹ This concern with sun and
moon and the worship of white men as gods are definite re-
flections of the voyagers' accounts. Thus:

A True Relation: He [an Indian] suffered me to proceed in a dis-
course of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the
sunne, moone, starres and plannets (p. 11).

Thevet: Some [Indians] have acknowledged the *Sunne* for sover-
aigne, others the *Moone* (fol. 4.3).

The Historie of Travaile: We understand they give great reverence
to the sun (p. 93).¹⁰

Hariot: Who [God] . . . made first other goddes of a principall
order . . . ; and afterthe *Sunne, Moone, and Starres*, as
pettie goddes (p. 25) . . . Some people could not tel
whether to think us gods or men (p. 29).

Prin. Navigations: By signes I came to understand that the thing
which they most esteemed and reverenced was the *Sunne*:
and I signified unto them that I came from the *Sunne*.
Whereat they marvelled.¹¹

The hoax succeeded then as it did with that "most poor
credulous monster," Caliban. Earlier in his life Caliban had,
according to his own belief, been similarly deceived by Prospero:

⁸ II, II, 124.

⁹ II, II, 158.

¹⁰ For other instances, see *Good Speed*, p. 20, Purchas' *Pilgrimage*, pp. 589
and 643.

¹¹ Fernando Alarcon. See *Prin. Nav.*, IX, 287. Almost the same happened to
Magellan in Patagonia, and to Sir Francis Drake on the coast of California.
For other similar instances, consult *Briefe and True Reporte*, p. 29, *New Found
Worlde*, p. 44, Hamor's *True Discourse*, p. 36, and Purchas *His Pilgrimes*
XVIII, 427.

When thou cam'st first
 Thou stroakst me, and made much of me :
 and then I lov'd thee
 And shew'd thee all the qualities o'th' Isle (I, II, 392-97).

These are the amicable relations¹² with the Indians mirrored by the travelers at first.

They [Indians] are very charitable. . . . Sosoone as they shal see any a farre off, enter into theyr countrey, they will present unto them victualls.¹³

They are generally very loving and gentle,¹⁴ and doe entertaine and relieve our people with great kindnesse.¹⁵

We are reminded at once of the words of the idealistic Gonzalo

(For certes, these are people of the Island)
 Who though they are of monstrous shape, yet note
 Their manners are more gentle, kinde, then of
 Our humaine generation you shall finde
 Many, nay almost any (III, III, 42-46).

"They passe us," says de Bry,¹⁶ "in many thinges."

But the good relations were unfortunately short-lived; and the voyagers begin to fill their accounts with vituperative abuse. Hamor¹⁷ calls the natives "revengefull implacable Indians," and later¹⁸ alludes to their "mallice and trechery."¹⁹ Also:

The Historie of Travaile: They [Indians] are soone moved to anger, and so malitious that they seldome forgett an injury; they are very thievish (p. 69). . . . Their chief attempts are by stratagems, surprizes, and trecheries (p. 107).

¹² Rachel M. Kelsey (*Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* XIII, pp. 98-103) shows how the Indians danced to entertain their white brothers, and how a passage in the account of the Weymouth expedition may have suggested details in Ariel's song, I, II, 441 ff. She further argues very plausibly that Shakspeare may have seen parts of *The Proceedings* (1612) before they were published together by "W. S.", and used them in his description of the dance, III, III, 24 ff.

¹³ Thevet's *New Found Worlde*, p. 69.

¹⁴ For the emphasis on this side of the Indians' nature, see Eden's *History*, p. 38, *Good Speed* p. 19, Montaigne, I, 221 ff., Rosier's *True Relation*, pp. 137, 156, Brereton's *Briefe and True Relation*, p. 92, and Hariot's *Briefe and True Report*, XXIII.

¹⁵ *Nova Britannia*, p. 11.

¹⁶ *Briefe and True Report*, To the Gentle Reader.

¹⁷ *True Discourse*, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁹ Prospero (I, II, 430) calls Caliban "Malice."

Strach.: It did not a little trouble the Lieutenant Governour, who since his first landing in the Countrey (how justly soever provoked) would not by any meanes be wrought to a violent proceeding against them [Indians], for all the practises of villany, with which they daily indangered our men, thinking it possible, by a more tractable course, to winne them to a better condition: but now being startled by this [murder of a white man] he well perceived, *how little a faire and noble intreatie workes upon a barbarous disposition*, and therefore in some measure purposed to be revenged (pp. 62-63).²⁰

This is precisely in the spirit of Prospero's speech:

Thou most lying slave,²¹
Whom stripes may move, not kindnes: I have us'd thee
 (Filth as thou art) with humane care,
 Abhorred Slave,
 Which any *print of goodnesse* wilt not take,
 Being capable of all ill: I *pittied* thee,
 Took pains to make thee speak,
 But thy vild race
 (Tho thou didst learn) had that in't, which good natures
 Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou
 Deservedly confin'd into this Rocke (I, II, 405-23).

Shakspere may have had in mind at the same time the relation between Governor Gates and his rebellious men. Strachey speaks of the latter as those, "who had not conscience nor

²⁰ My interpretation at this point differs from that of Sir Sidney Lee ("American Indian" *Scribner's*, 1907, pp. 327-29), who believes that the two opposite portraits Shakspere gives of the Indian are due to their various characters in different parts of America. I cannot help feeling they are due rather to that change of attitude which took place after the first treacheries were perpetrated, a change often alluded to by the voyagers. The poet probably intended to satirize the two extremist conceptions of the people as he had those of their land.

²¹ Luce sees in Caliban a three-fold division, (see Arden *Tempest*, xxxii-xxxviii), as the embodiment of the supernatural, as a negro slave, and as a dispossessed Indian. I seriously question whether Shakspere had the second in mind as distinct from the third. The Indian served in the capacity of slave, and "this Thing of darkenesse," which Luce quotes in substantiation, surely alludes to nothing but Caliban's parentage, "got by the *divell himselfe* Upon thy wicked Dam" (I, II, 378-79). Cf. the common expression, *Prince of darkness*, for the devil.

knowledge, to draw in the *yoke of goodnesse*. . . . He did now *pittie* them" (pp. 36-37).

Pity is the quality in the Governor constantly emphasized by Strachey,²²

One further detail possibly suggested by the relations between Gates' men and their officers is Caliban's general surliness. Prospero says:

Wee'll visit Caliban, my slave, who never Yeelds us kinde answer (I, ii, 364-65).

There was the case of one Henry Paine who,

did not onely give his said Commander evill language, but strucke at him. . . . The said Paine replyed with a setled and bitter violence (p. 33-34).

One last feature of the relation between whites and reds concerns the practice of carrying Indians back to London. Says Stephano of Caliban:

If I can recover him, and keepe him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a Present for any Emperour (II, ii, 73-75).

From the time a Brazilian cacique was exhibited at the court of Henry VIII, it was a regular practice so to exhibit Indians in London. A passage in Rosier's *True Relation*²³ implies that every voyage was expected to bring back its quota, it "being a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage. Thus we shipped five savages, two canoes, with all their bows and arrows."

Lee²⁴ gives a long list of Indians taken in this manner, and shows how many of them died in England. One instance he gives in his *Life of William Shakespeare*²⁵ is particularly significant: "A native of New England called Epenew²⁶ was brought

²² Cf. p. 30, "Our Governour (. . . at all times sorry in the punishment of him . . .)"; p. 38, "had his tryall respited by our Governour"; p. 52, "The *pitty* hereof moved our Governour."

²³ p. 145.

²⁴ "American Indian," *Scribner's*, September, 1907, pp. 316-24. See also supplementary material in "Caliban's Visits to England," *Cornhill Magazine*, March 1913, esp. pp. 338-41.

²⁵ London, 1915, p. 432, n. 1.

²⁶ It has been suggested that he is the one referred to in *Henry VIII*: "Or have we some strange Indian with the great tool come to court?" (V, iv, 33-35).

to England in 1611, and 'being a man of so great a stature' was 'showed up and down London for money as a monster (mis-quoted for *wonder*).'²¹

Shortly before Stephano's lines quoted above, Trinculo had said:

When they [people of England] will not give a doit to relieve a lame Begger, they will lay out ten to see²² a dead Indian²³ (II, II, 34-36).

VI. MONSTERS

The first of the three classifications into which Luce¹ put Caliban was that of a monster. Prospero addresses him as,

Thou poysonous slave, got by the divell himselfe Upon thy wicked Dam (I, II, 378-79).

Judged from that point of view he is nothing but the conventional figure so familiar in the current demonologies. For instance, the question is asked in King James' *Daemonologie*,²

²¹ See John Smith's *Travels and Works*, Edinburgh, 1910, 2 vol., II, 701. *The Historie of Travaile* (finished before the close of 1612) has this contemporary reference to the same event (see pp. 172-73): "Captain Harlow, the same who brought away the salvadges at this tyme shewed in London, from the river of Canada."

There is no doubt about Epenow's being one of the five (see Smith's *Travels*, II, 697); but there is unfortunately some doubt about the date. Alexander Brown (see *Genesis*, II, 911) gives it as "in the spring of 1612."

²² Douce (Illustrations 1839, p. 9) appositely quotes Batman (1582): "Of late years there hath been brought into England, the cases or skinnnes of such crocodiles to be seene, and much money given for the sight thereof; the policy of strangers laugh at our folly, either that we are too wealthy, or else that we know not how to bestow our money."

²³ Luce (Arden *Tempest*, p. 169) conjectures that the Pocahantas-Smith episode may have suggested some details in the relation between Miranda and Ferdinand, her intercession for him with her father. Elsewhere (p. 160) he quotes a passage from Smith's *True Relation* wherein we see possible prototypes of Miranda and Caliban: "Powhatan . . . sent his daughter . . . the only *Nonpareil* (sic) of his Country; this hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person."

This use of *nonpareil*, by which Shakspeare describes Miranda (III, II, 105), appears to have been the regular term in England for the Indian princess. Thus Hamor (*True Discourse*, p. 4); "Pocahuntas, (whose fame hath even bin spread in England by the title of *Nonparella* of Virginia)."

¹ Arden *Tempest*, pp. xxxii-xxxv.

² Edinburgh 1597, p. 68. This is connected with the old theory of *incubi* and *succubi*. For other allusions and explanations, see Jean Bodin's *De la Demono-*

How is it then that they say sundrie monsters have bene gotten by that way [by engendering with devils]?

And Mandeville³ has a passage which is a reflection of this same belief:

The fiends of hell came many times and lay with the women of his generation and engendered on them diverse folk, as *monsters and folk disfigured*.

Gayley⁴ follows Luce in pointing out the many objects with which the monster Caliban is identified:

Strachey's description of the "*Tortoise* . . . such a kind of meat, as a man can neither absolutely call *Fish nor Flesh*, keeping most what in the water, and feeding upon Sea-grasse like a *Heifer*,"—and Shakespeare's invention of Caliban, who is for Prospero "tortoise," for Trinculo, "Man or a fish? A strange fish!", for Stephano "mooncalf" on all occasions.

Fish was apparently used often for *monster*.⁵ As for tortoises, we must notice that Le Loyer⁶ says, "the Tortoise is armed with

manie des sorciers, Paris, 1587, p. 4, Le Loyer's *Treatise of Specters*, p. 14, and Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) London 1886, p. 26. Le Loyer (p. 107) tells of the case of a monster born of a woman because her husband had been acting a devil's part in a play, and went to her "clad in the same attire wherein he had played the divell." For a general review of the whole subject see T. A. Spalding's *Elizabethan Demonology*, London, 1880.

³ *Travels*, London, 1900, p. 145.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁵ Cf. note, Arden *Tempest*, p. xxxv. Luce (p. 170) quotes Trinculo's description of Caliban, (II, II, 36-37), "Leg'd like a man; and his Finnes like Armes," and then offers a possible source. But his comments are misleading. Under the heading of *Other References to the Bermudas*, he says, "More important is the following first sketch (circa 1597; Purchas, II, 1556) of the sole inhabitant of the Bermudas:—'A sea-monster . . . armes like a man without haire, and at the elbows great Finnes like a fish.' " This passage is surely ambiguous. Luce should have made it clear that the monster described has absolutely nothing to do with Bermuda. It was seen by dos Sanctos on his journey to the coast of East Africa. (See Purchas *Pilgrimes*, IX, 255).

One case of a sea-monster which was connected with the Bermudas is recounted by Job Hortop (see *Princ. Nav.*, IX, 461): "When we came in the height of Bermuda, we discovered a monster in the sea, who shewed himselfe three times unto us from the middle upwards, in which parts he was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato, or tawny Indian."

⁶ *Treatise*, fol. 77^v.

deceit and imposture;" and that the Bermuda travelers give the animal a prominent place.⁷

Another feature which links Caliban with the monster world is his "long nails."⁸ "And I with *my long nayles* will digge thee pig-nuts" (II, II. 177).

We must take Trinculo's "this puppi-headed Monster," which he has used just before Caliban's speech, and compare a passage from Batman,⁹ where he mentions men "with houndes heades":¹⁰

And they barke as hounds, and speake none otherwise: . . . and they are armed with theyr nayles and teeth.

Münster likewise has a pertinent sentence:

Our auncestors have fained many monsters in this country, as people with heades like unto dogs armed onelye with nailles . . . havinge no kinde of mans speach but onelye a kinde of barking.¹¹

We should recall that Prospero,

Took pains to make thee speak . . . when thou didst not (Savage) Know thine owne meaning; but wouldst gabble, like A thing most brutish¹² (I, II, 416-19).

The quotation from Münster given above is taken from a translation of extracts called *A Briefe Collection and compendious Extract of straunge and memorable thinges, gathered out of the Cosmographie of Sebastian Munster*. It was published, an octavo of one hundred and two folios, in London in 1572 and again in 1574; and was a convenient digest of Münster's monumental work, precisely the sort of compendium which the busy Shakspeare would use.¹³ He might have derived nearly every monster

⁷ *A True Declaration*, (p. 11) has "plentie of Tortoises," Strachey (p. 24) has the passage quoted by Gayley above, and the *Historie of Travaile* (p. 127) speaks of "Tortoyes here (such as in the Bermudas)."

⁸ Konrad Meier (*Die Neueren Sprachen*, XV, 326) reproduces the picture of a fish-like man with long nails from Gesner's Fish-book.

⁹ *Upon Bartholome*, fol. 228.

¹⁰ Trinculo's allusion was primarily figurative.

¹¹ *Briefe Collection*, fol. 82.

¹² Cf. *Troilus* (III, III, 265-66), "He's grown a very land-fish, languageless, a monster."

¹³ In spite of its obvious usefulness, the book is almost never mentioned by modern editors of Elizabethan texts. It is very rare, never having been reprinted.

There are further parallels in it which I hope to publish in a special article on the demonology in *The Tempest*.

alluded to in *The Tempest* from that one book alone. It is further noticeable that most of them are taken from one page, fol. 100.

The monster world is present throughout the scene, (II, II) where Trinculo and Stephano first stumble upon Caliban, the dramatist incidentally taking this opportunity to gibe the travelers who, "nere did lye, Though fooles at home condemne 'em" (III, III, 37-38).

Ste. This is some Monster of the Isle, with foure legs (II, II, 70).

Foure legges and two voyces. (II, II, 97).

This is precisely the sort of monster about whom the voyagers¹⁴ were forever bringing back weird tales.

Ste. Thy eies are almost set in thy head (III, II, 9-10).

Tri. Where should they bee set else? hee were a brave Monster indeede if they were set in his taile.

Münster¹⁵ has strange peoples with "two eyes behind them." And these are cousins germane to "Such men Whose heads stood in their brests" (III, III, 63-64). One of the closest parallels with the above is from Münster,¹⁶ a parallel which has never been mentioned: "Other people there are *which have their faces in their breastes.*"

In the same speech, Gonzalo mentions,

Mountayneeres,

Dew-lapt, like Bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
Wallets of flesh (III, III, 61-63).

This has ordinarily been interpreted to allude to the goitre or the pouched ape.¹⁷ If, however, we take it with the parallel passage in *A Midsummer Nights Dream*,

¹⁴ Münster (*Briefe Collection*, fol. 82 ff.) has a list of such abortions. Also Mandeville (*Travels*, 105, 133-34, 180, 233) and Batman (*Upon Bartholome*, pp. 223-24, 228). The ultimate provenience of most of these creatures was Pliny's *Natural History*.

¹⁵ *Briefe Collection*, fol. 100. Douce (*Illustrations*, 1807, 1, 19) calls attention to a cut in Caxton's edition of Aesop's fables.

¹⁶ *Briefe Collection*, fol. 100^v. Batman *Upon Bartholome* (p. 224), also not mentioned, has this: "There be other, that be called Bennij, and it is said, they have no heads, but *they have eyes fixed in theyr breasts.*" Luce (*Arden Tempest*, p. 97) cites Mandeville, Hakluyt, Raleigh; Furness (*Variorum Tempest*, p. 179) adds Holland's Pliny; and Halliwell-Phillipps (*Selected Notes*, p. 48) adds Montaigne.

¹⁷ See *Arden Temp.*, p. 97, and *Variorum*, p. 179.

Their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew;
Crook-knee'd, and dew-lapp'd like Thessalian bulls
(IV, I, 122-24),

we may assume that Shakspeare has in mind to some extent in both passages the people with enormous ears whom Münster includes among his strange peoples: "And some to have so great ears that they hang down even to the feete."¹⁸

Sebastian refers to two other monsters:

Now I will beleeve
That there are *Unicornes*: that in *Arabia*
There is one *Tree*, the Phoenix throne, one *Phoenix*. (III,
III, 31-33).

Unicorns and the phoenix were, of course, stock in trade; but it is worth mentioning that no source thus far cited¹⁹ describes both creatures on the same page, as Münster does.²⁰

Only two more creatures will concern us here. Caliban says to Trinculo:

We shall loose our time, And all be *turn'd to Barnacles*, or to *Apes*
(IV, 272-73).

As we have seen,²¹ Luce directed attention to the "geese brants" of Hamor's record; and on p. 121 of the Arden *Tempest* he gives other possible sources of the barnacle superstition. He fails to mention its appearance in Münster:²²

¹⁸ Mandeville (*Travels*, p. 134) also tells of people with great ears "that hang down to their knees." Cf. likewise Thevet (*New Found Worlde*, fol. 112^v): "In high Africa, there was people that had eares hanging downe to there haies."

¹⁹ Among these have been Pliny, Mandeville, Lyly, and Batman.

²⁰ *Briefe Collection*, fol. 60. The passage about the phoenix is as follows: "The *Phenix* is a noble byrd, and is *but one in the worlde which is not much seene*, . . . Shee maketh her neste of Cassia and braunches of frankinsence *tree* . . . This birde as Pliny sayth, is commonlye in *Arabia*." On fol. 100^v Münster again mentions the phoenix and unicorn together, and says at the bottom of the same page: "Many other such . . . incredible thinges the Jewes doe fable uppon the lande of Preto Jhoan, which are so farre beyonde all credite and likelyhoode of truth, that I thought it better to omit them." We should remember that Sebastian was purposely alluding to "incredible thinges," or, as Antonio puts it in the next speech, "what does else want credit."

²¹ See III, n. 17.

²² *Briefe Collection*, fol. 3.

In Scotlande there be certaine Trees which bringe foorth a fruite folded and wrapped up in the leaves, and that fruite when in conveniente time it falleth into the water runninge by the tree, it reviveth and taketh life and is transformed into a livinge fowle, which some call a goose of the tree or a *Barnacle*.²³

As for changing into apes, Topsell,²⁴ whose book appeared in London just four years before *The Tempest*, has this significant sentence:

Of the Poets it is fained that there were two bretheren most wicked fellows, that were *turned into Apes*.²⁵

ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY

²³ Mandeville, most frequently cited in explanation of Shakspeare's lines, spells the word *Bernake*. Gerarde has *barnakles*.

²⁴ *History of Foure-footed Beastes*, pp. 2-3.

²⁵ I hope soon to publish the material I have collected concerning the influence of the voyagers on the entire drama between 1550 and 1642.

XXXVII

IMPROVING SHAKESPEARE: SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE RESTORATION ADAPTATIONS

SEVERAL bibliographies have been compiled, during the last fifty years, of those altered versions of Shakespeare's plays which form so illuminating a chapter in the history of the Restoration stage, and indeed of the English theatre in general. Unfortunately, the most scholarly of these lists have usually been minor appendices to works of wider scope, and are not unnaturally here and there inaccurate in detail. Perhaps the best is the most recent, Miss Bartlett's, in her handy bibliography, *Mr. William Shakespeare*; but there is no entirely trustworthy list, since all of them neglect to include at least one important item, the altered *Hamlet*, and most of them do include several plays which are either not adaptations of Shakespeare or not adaptations at all. I propose, therefore, to supply a more accurate bibliography, preceding it by a list of those now available, and supplementing it with a statement of the reasons for not counting as Shakespeare adaptations certain dramas which have long held their places in this inglorious roll of theatrical ineptitude.

A. BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE RESTORATION ALTERATIONS.

Bibliographies of these versions may be found in the following works, often with useful commentary:

1. Henrietta C. Bartlett, *Mr. William Shakespeare*, New Haven, 1922.
2. Thomas P. Barton, *Shakespeariana*, MS. in the Boston Public Library.
3. Henry T. Hall, *Shakspeare's Plays: The Separate Editions of, with the Alterations done by various hands*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Eng.), 1880.
4. W. H. Hudson, "Early Mutilators of Shakespeare," *Poet-love*, vol. 4 (June-July, 1892), pp. 360-371.
5. William Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography*, Stratford-on-Avon, 1911. The altered versions are not listed separately but appear chronologically as regular editions of the original plays.

6. Frederick W. Kilbourne, *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*, Boston, 1906.

7. Thomas R. Lounsbury, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, New York, 1901.

8. George C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, New York, 1920. (See vol. 1.)

9. "Stage Adaptations of Shakespeare," *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 8 (July, 1863), pp. 48-58.

10. Montague Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations*, London, 1922.

11. G. F. Vincke, "Bearbeitungen und Aufführungen Shakespeare'scher Stücke vom Tode des Dichters bis zum Tode Garrick's," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, vol. 9 (1874), pp. 41-54.

12. H. B. Wheatley, "Post-Restoration Quartos of Shakespeare's Plays," *Library*, 3rd series, vol. 4, pp. 237-269.

B. FIRST EDITIONS OF ALTERED STAGE VERSIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS (1660—1710)¹

1. The D'Avenant-Dryden *Tempest*:

The *Tempest*, or the Enchanted Island. A Comedy. As it is now Acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre. London, Printed by J. M. for Henry Herringman at the Blew Anchor in the Lower-walk of the New-Exchange. MDCLXX.

2. D'Avenant's *The Law Against Lovers*²:

Pp. 272-329 of The Works of Sr William Davenant K^t Consisting of Those which were formerly Printed, and Those which he design'd for the Press: Now Published Out of the Authors Originall Copies. London: Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman, at the Sign of the Blew Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. 1673.

3. D'Avenant's *Macbeth*³:

Macbeth, A Tragaedy. With all the Alterations, Amendmants, Additions, and New Songs. As it's now Acted at the Dukes Theatre. London, Printed for P. Chetwin, and are to be Sold by most Book-sellers, 1674.

¹ That is, from the reopening of the theatres to the death of Betterton and the establishment of the Cibber-Wilks management. The texts of the versions made during this period are less difficult of access than is commonly supposed. For instance both the Harvard College Library and the Boston Public Library have excellent collections and together a complete one.

² An adaptation of *Measure for Measure*, with an infusion of the Benedick-Beatrice plot from *Much Ado about Nothing*.

³ The quarto of 1673 does not represent D'Avenant's version. See my "D'Avenant's *Macbeth* and Shakespeare's," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n of Am.* XL, 619-644.

4. The D'Avenant-Dryden-Shadwell operatic *Tempest*:

The *Tempest*, or the Enchanted Island. A Comedy. As it is now Acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre. London, Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman, at the Blew Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New-Exchange. MDCLXXIV.

5. The altered *Hamlet*⁴:

The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark. As it is now Acted at his Highness' the Duke of York's Theatre. By William Shakespeare. London. Printed by Andr. Clark, for J. Martyn, and H. Herringman, at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and at the Blue Anchor in the lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1676.

6. Dryden's *All for Love*⁵:

All for Love: Or, The World well Lost. A Tragedy, As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal; And Written in Imitation of Shakespeare's Stile. By John Dryden, Servant to his Majesty [Quotation]. In the Savoy: Printed by Tho. Newcomb, for Henry Herringman, at the Blew Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New-Exchange, 1678.

7. Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*:

The History of Timon of Athens, the Man-Hater. As it is acted at the Dukes Theatre. Made into a Play. By Tho. Shadwell. Licensed, Feb. 18. 1678/7. Ro. L'Estrange. London, Printed by J. M. for Henry Herringman, at the Blue Anchor, in the Lower Walk of the New-Exchange, 1678.

8. Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*:

Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late. A Tragedy As it is Acted at the Dukes Theatre. To which is Prefix'd, A Preface Containing the Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy. Written by John Dryden Servant to his Majesty. [Quotation.] London, Printed for Jacob Tonson at the Judges-Head in Chancery-lane near Fleet-street, and Abel Swall, at the Unicorn at the West-end of S. Pauls, 1679.

9. Otway's *Caius Marius*⁶:

The History and Fall of Caius Marius. A Tragedy. As it is Acted at the Duke's Theatre. By Thomas Otway. [Quotation.] London, Printed for Tho. Flesher, at the Angel and Crown in S. Paul's Church-yard. 1680.

10. Crowne's *Misery of Civil War*⁷:

The Misery of Civil-War. A Tragedy, As it is Acted at the Duke's Theatre, by His Royal Highnesses Servants. Written by Mr. Crown.

⁴ Probably by D'Avenant. See my "Hamlet under the Restoration," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n of Am.*, XXXVIII, 770-791.

⁵ Strictly speaking, an imitation in another kind, rather than an alteration, of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

⁶ A perversion of *Romeo and Juliet*.

⁷ Largely based on 2 *Henry VI*, Acts IV and V, and 3 *Henry VI*.

London, Printed for R. Bentley, and M. Magnes, in Russel-Street in Covent-Garden, 1680.

11. Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part*⁸:

Henry the Sixth, The First Part. With the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. As it was Acted at the Dukes Theatre. Written by Mr. Crown. London, Printed for R. Bentley, and M. Magnes, in Russel-Street, in Covent-Garden. 1681.

12. Tate's *King Lear*:

The History of King Lear. Acted at the Duke's Theatre. Reviv'd with Alterations. By N. Tate. London, Printed for E. Flesher, and are to be sold by R. Bentley, and M. Magnes in Russel-street near Covent-Garden, 1681.

13. Tate's *Richard II*:

The History of King Richard The Second Acted at the Theatre Royal, Under the Name of the Sicilian Usurper. With a Prefatory Epistle in Vindication of the Author. Occasion'd by the Prohibition of this Play on the Stage. By N. Tate. [Quotation.] London, Printed for Richard Tonson, and Jacob Tonson, at Grays-Inn Gate, and at the Judges-Head in Chancery-Lane near Fleet-street, 1681

14. Tate's *Ingratitude*:

The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth: Or, the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal. By N. Tate. [Quotation.] London, Printed by T. M. for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Black-Bull in Cornhill. 1682.

15. D'Urfey's *Injured Princess*⁹:

The Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager: As it was Acted at the Theatre-Royal, by His Majesties Servants. By Tho. Durfey, Gent. London: Printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes in Russel-street in Covent-Garden, near the Piazza. 1682.

16. Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*:

Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia. Acted at the Theatre Royall, A Tragedy, Alter'd from Mr. Shakespears Works, By Mr. Edw. Ravenscroft. Licensed, Dec. 21, 1686. R. L. S. London, Printed by J. B. for J. Hindmarsh, at the Golden-Ball in Cornhill, over against the Royal-Exchange. 1687.

17. *The Fairy Queen*¹⁰:

The Fairy-Queen: an Opera. Represented at the Queen's-Theatre By Their Majesties Servants. London, Printed for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges-Head, in Chancery-Lane. 1692.

⁸ Largely based on 2 Henry VI, Acts, I, II, and III, and not (as it appears in Jaggard) on 1 Henry VI.

⁹ An alteration of *Cymbeline*.

¹⁰ An operatic alteration of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

18. Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*:

Sauny the Scott: or, The Taming of the Shrew: A Comedy. As it is now Acted at the Theatre-Royal. Written by J. Lacey, Servant to his Majesty. And Never before Printed. [Quotation.] London, Printed and Sold by E. Whitlock, near Stationers-Hall. 1698.

19. Gildon's *Measure for Measure*:

Measure for Measure, or Beauty the Best Advocate. As it is Acted At the Theatre in Lincolns-Inn-Fields. Written Originally by Mr. Shakespear: And now very much Alter'd; With Additions of several Entertainments of Musick. London: Printed for D. Brown, at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar; and R. Parker at the Unicorn Under the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill. 1700.

20. Cibber's *Richard III*:

The Tragical History of King Richard III. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal. By C. Cibber. [Quotation.] London, Printed for B. Lintott at the Middle Temple-Gate, in Fleet-street, and A. Bettesworth at the Red Lyon on London Bridge. [1700. Advertisement.]

21. Granville's *Jew of Venice*:

The Jew of Venice. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn-Fields, by His Majesty's Servants. London, Printed for Ber. Lintott at the Post-House in the Middle Temple-Gate, Fleetstreet, 1701. [Advertisement.]

22. Dennis's *Comical Gallant*:

The Comical Gallant: or the Amours of Sir John Falstaffe. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane. By his Majesty's Servants. By Mr. Dennis. To which is added, A large Account of the Taste in Poetry, and the Causes of the Degeneracy of it. London, Printed, and Sold by A. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms in Warwicklane. 1702.

23. Burnaby's *Love Betrayed*:¹¹

Love Betray'd; or, The Agreeable Disappointment. A Comedy. As it was Acted at the Theatre in Lincolns Inn Fields. By the Author of The Ladies Visiting-Day. [Quotation.] London: Printed for D. Brown at the Black-Swan without Temple-Bar, F. Coggan in the Inner-Temple-Lane, Fleet-Street, W. Davis at the Black-Bull, and G. Strahan at the Golden-Ball against the Exchange in Cornhill. 1703.

C. PLAYS SOMETIMES MISTAKEN FOR ALTERED VERSIONS OF SHAKESPEARE

1. Caryl's *English Princess*.

Miss Bartlett begins her bibliography of Restoration adapta-

¹¹ An incredibly inept alteration of *Twelfth Night*.

tions¹² with John Caryl's *The English Princess, or, the Death of Richard III*. This play was printed in 4to in 1667¹³ and acted by Betterton in the same year. It is ascribed to Caryl by Gerard Langbaine.¹⁴ That grand old Roman, John Downes, for half a century Betterton's prompter, describes the original production by the Duke's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields, as follows:

Richard the Third, or the English Princess, Wrote by Mr. Carrol, was Excellently well Acted in every Part; chiefly, King Richard, by Mr. Betterton; Duke of Richmond, by Mr. Harris; Sir William Stanly, by Mr. Smith, Gain'd them an Additional Estimation, and the Applause from the Town, as well as profit to the whole Company.¹⁵

In his prologue the author bluntly declares his sources. Disdaining "foreign toys," he assures his patrons that

But to plain Hollinshead and down-right Stow
We the coarse Web of our Contrivance owe.

To Shakespeare's play Caryl's rhymes are little, if at all, indebted. He begins with the approach of Richmond, and emphasizes a love interest which becomes the chief motive of the play. Richard woos the Princess Elizabeth, but after his repulse orders her execution. The Yorkist heir, who loves Richmond, is saved for him by another lady, also in love with him, who is disguised as Elizabeth's page. The play is not, then, an alteration, though Caryl's inspiration may conceivably have been the Shakespearean scene in which Richard proposes for his brother's daughter.

The English Princess was produced not later than March 7, 1667, when Pepys saw it. The warrant book of the lord chamberlain contains an entry indicating that it was acted on March 3

¹² *Mr. William Shakespeare*, p. 71. Capt. Jaggard also lists the play as an alteration (*Shakespeare Bibliography*, p. 370).

¹³ This edition may have escaped Professor Odell's notice, or perhaps his printer errs in specifying 1677 (*Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, I, 43); I should of course assume the latter to be the case were it not that Professor Odell appears to suppose that the play was printed some years after its production. The catalogue of the British Museum lists editions in 1667 and 1674; Capt. Jaggard gives only 1667.

¹⁴ Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), p. 530; Langbaine-Gildon, *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* (c. 1699), p. 160.

¹⁵ John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (Knight's ed.), p. 27.

"at ye theatre," i.e., not at court. This entry appears in a bill presented on behalf of Lady D'Avenant covering all the plays acted in the royal presence by the Duke's company between October, 1666, and August 7, 1668. Performances given at court were billed at £20, and those at the regular theatre at £10. This note, discovered by Professor Allardyce Nicoll, seems to be incorrect because March 3 was a Sunday.¹⁶ At any rate, Pepys saw *The English Princess* on the 7th, when he pronounces one of his choicest opinions: "a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good, but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedies are. Only," he continues,

little Mis. Davis¹⁷ did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it came in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; and, the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's house in boy's clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other.

Genest considers it unlikely that Shakespeare's *Richard III* or any alteration of it was presented on the Restoration stage until Colley Cibber's famous version in 1700.¹⁸ Caryl's play, he thinks, may have held the boards till rhymed tragedies went out of fashion. He assumes, I think rightly, that Downes's mention of Richard III as one of Betterton's parts must refer to Caryl's play.¹⁹ The latter is, in fact, not at all a despicable performance; it is vastly superior to its rhymed co-mate, the *Henry V* of Orrery, and though not remotely approaching Shakespeare's plane, does at least present two or three scenes of genuine power.

2 Orrery's *Henry V*.

This history²⁰ has sometimes been taken for an alteration of Shakespeare.²¹ But the two plays have little in common. Orrery's is a rhymed account of the rival loves of Henry and his

¹⁶ Allardyce Nicoll, *Times Literary Supplement*, Sept. 14, 1922, p. 584. Also his *Restoration Drama*, p. 308.

¹⁷ "Moll" Davis, Nelly Gwyn's rival as dancer and as mistress of Charles II.

¹⁸ Nor was any separate edition published during this period.

¹⁹ Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, II, 214.

²⁰ Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, *The History of Henry the Fifth*, London, 1672.

²¹ Capt. Jaggard, for instance, lists it, like the adaptations, among the regular editions of the play.

friend Owen Tudor for the Princess Katharine. The historical interest is much slighter than in Shakespeare's play. There is no comedy. The fighting is narrated—we are vouchsafed no glimpse of Agincourt.

Shakespeare's *Henry V* seems never to have been acted on the Restoration stage. In Sir Henry Herbert's list (November 3, 1663) of plays and fees occurs the following item: "Henry the 5th . . . £2." This must have been Orrery's play, since the regular charge for a revived play was only £1.

Pepys saw the noble lord's effusion on August 13, 1664. His delirious approval is worth quoting for the sake of comparison with his customarily restrained reviews of Shakespearean performances:

A most noble play . . . wherein Betterton [as Owen Tudor], Harris [as King Harry], and Ianthe's [Pepys's pet name for Mrs. Betterton, who played Katharine] parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense, that ever I heard.

There is, it is true, much sententiousness in the play. But the central idea, the King's pleading his rival's suit, is rather silly, and as Pepys himself in a later entry admits not consistently handled.

The play was nevertheless a great success: Downes lists it among the principal stock pieces at Lincoln's Inn Fields.²² On its first production, which was elaborately mounted, it had the then remarkable run of ten days. For this occasion King Charles lent his coronation suit to Betterton, and the Duke of York allowed Harris to wear his. Wheatley states that Orrery's play displaced Shakespeare's. This way of putting the case is not quite accurate, since it appears that Shakespeare's *Henry the Fifth* had never been revived. Sometimes a new play displaced Shakespeare's—Otway's *Caius Marius*, for example; in other cases the new play failed—such was the deserved fate of D'Avenant's *The Law against Lovers*; in still others, the new play and the old both held the stage: a good instance of the last situation is Banks's *Anna Bullen*, which neither failed, nor replaced *Henry the Eighth*.

²² Downes, p. 23.

As we have seen, however, aside from the use of the same historical personage, though not even as the central figure, the *Henry V* of Orrery bears practically no relation to Shakespeare's play.

3. Banks's *Vertue Betray'd: or Anna Bullen*

Though occasionally referred to by bibliographers as an alteration, Banks's *Anna Bullen* owes almost nothing to any of Shakespeare's plays; it might be described as a bungling sequel to *Henry the Eighth*. It was acted at the splendid Dorset Garden theatre in 1682;²³ Downes mentions it as a stock play of the Duke's company.²⁴ Genest notes several interesting performances, which may serve to illustrate the vogue of this piece. On May 9, 1702 it was acted at Drury Lane for the benefit of Captain Griffin, who played Henry.²⁵ Mrs. Knight, likewise, chose it for her benefit at the same house during the season 1705-6.²⁶ The title role became a vehicle for the great Mrs. Oldfield, as indeed it had been for the great Mrs. Barry. Davies notes, in the 1789 edition of the *Roscius Anglicanus*, that *Anna Bullen* had not been revived since Mrs. Oldfield's death.²⁷

John Banks was a popular playwright, whose *The Unhappy Favorite*, or *The Earl of Essex*, another adventure in English history, long held the stage. Yet he never reached, even in the estimation of his contemporaries, the first rank among the poets, but as Langbaine has it, "bore up" in the second.²⁸ "He seems," says the *Cambridge History*, somewhat less charitably, "to have been an admirer of Lee, and faithfully reproduced that author's worst characteristics."²⁹ Cibber's opinion is still more unflattering. He describes *Anna Bullen*, *The Earl of Essex*, and *Mary Queen of Scots* as "written in the

²³ Genest, I, 357.

²⁴ Downes, p. 37.

²⁵ Genest, II, 274.

²⁶ Genest, II, 340.

²⁷ John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. 1789, p. 47.

²⁸ Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), p. 7. For a list of Banks's plays consult Mr. Allardyce Nicoll's invaluable "Hand-list of Restoration Plays," in his *Restoration Drama*, p. 352.

²⁹ *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VIII, 194.

most barren, barbarous Stile that was ever able to keep Possession of the Stage."

The first member of this historical trilogy was printed in 1682, with the following title page:

Vertue Betray'd: or, Anna Bullen. A Tragedy. Acted at His Royal Highness the Duke's Theatre. Written by John Banks. Crescit sub Pondere Virtus. London: Printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes, in Russel-Street in Covent-Garden. MDCLXXXII.

Captain Jaggard fails to mention other editions, but the catalogue of the British Museum gives 1692, 1715, 1727, 1776, and 1781.

The following synopsis of the plot indicates the independent character of Banks's treatment.

Act I. Anna Bullen has consented to marry King Henry because Northumberland, Piercy's father, and Rochford, her own brother, have deceived her into believing that Piercy, whom she loves, has married Lady Diana Talbot. Wolsey has risen again and is now high in favor with the King; aided by the Lady Elizabeth Blunt, a disappointed aspirant for the royal hand, he plots to overthrow Queen Anna, whom as a Protestant he finds he cannot tolerate.

Act II. At the beginning of this act there is a reminiscence of the *Henry VIII* of Shakespeare and Fletcher, in the rebuff of Rochford when he attempts to speak to the moody King. The latter gladly receives Wolsey, who with complete success has thrown in the King's way the dazzling Jane Seymour. Henry now demands that the Cardinal shall make a third marriage feasible; this Wolsey assures him can be accomplished by a papal dispensation, and quiets the King's scruples by charging Anna with adultery. Piercy, the co-respondent, has been absent from court; he now returns and in a protracted and unconvincingly emotional scene learns that Anna has married the King. In his desperation he accepts with enthusiasm his father's arrangements for his marriage with Lady Diana Talbot.

Act III. As a part of the plot against Anne, Lady Elizabeth Blunt pretends love for Rochford, whom she induces to send her love letters disguised as from brother to sister. In the mean time the King finds Anna unaccountably deficient in connubial warmth, and turns against her. Piercy appears and reproaches her for her disloyalty to him. He then consents to wed Lady Diana, with whom he makes a compact to live not as lovers but as companions in wretchedness.

Act IV. Anne resolutely refuses to see Piercy, but Lady Blunt persuades Rochford to urge her to grant an interview. This she does,

and at last Piercy learns that the Queen's marriage was brought off by guile. After a long scene in which he pleads his love, Anne swoons in the time-honored fashion, to be surprised (in the same fashion) by the Cardinal, as her lover supports her. Piercy foolishly allows himself to be persuaded to flee; Rochford's letters to Lady Blunt are produced and alleged to be addressed by him to his sister the Queen, who is thereupon accused of adultery and incest, and arrested along with her brother.

Act V. In the last act the future sovereign, the little Princess Elizabeth, makes an unsuccessful effort to avert the King's vengeance. Finally, we see Rochford and the Queen in turn led forth to the block, after which Piercy winds up the tragedy by dying of grief.

The play thus provides several opportunities for extensive emotional portraiture, but these scenes are so protracted that unless they were seriously cut it is difficult to imagine that they could have been sustained successfully. In the hands of great actresses like Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Oldfield the character of Queen Anna was doubtless a lachrymose triumph; but the emotion is laid on with a trowel, and there is not the slightest attempt at any save the broadest characterization.

As *Henry the Eighth* deals with the fall successively of Buckingham, Katharine, and Wolsey, *Anna Bullen* adds another name to the roll of the bluff-King's victims. Banks's tragedy is in no sense an adaptation of the earlier play.

4. Sedley's *Antony and Cleopatra*

This play, the last of the heroic dramas in couplets,³⁰ is sometimes, like the preceding, termed an adaptation.³¹ It was licensed on April 24, 1677, and was acted at least as early as February 12,³² at the new house of the Duke's company in Dorset Garden. Sedley's play is quite independent of the great Jacobean tragedy, of which I have found no record of performance during the Restoration.

³⁰ *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VIII, 139.

³¹ Miss Bartlett includes it in her bibliography of adaptations, although she notes correctly that it is an original play. (*Mr. William Shakspeare*, p. 74.) Capt. Jaggard describes it as "founded on Shakespeare," *Bibliography*, p. 282.

³² This date was discovered by Mr. Allardyce Nicoll in a list of plays in the lord chamberlain's records. (See his *Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare*, p. 34). See *Term Catalogue*, May, 1677, (Arber's ed., I, 273.)

Sir Charles's rhymes were spouted by the following cast: Caesar, Smith; Agrippa, Jevon; Maecenas, Harris; Lucilius, Norris; Thyreus, Crosby; Antony, Betterton; Canidius, Medbourne; Photinus, Sandford; Memnon, Percival; Chilax, Gillow; Cleopatra, Mrs. Mary Lee; Octavia, Mrs. Betterton; Iras, Mrs. Gibbs; Charmion [*sic*], Mrs. Hughes. As Genest remarks, the part of Photinus seems to have been written especially for Sandford, who was the leading villain of the time.²³ The reader will also notice that Mrs. Betterton played Octavia, not Cleopatra; the former character is in this play at least the equal of the latter. Compared with Shakespeare's Cleopatra Sedley's lacks subtlety; she is a woman in love and therefore, in accordance with the best neo-classical canons, never varies in her love. So Antony, who is aptly described by one of his former allies as "a meer soft Purple Asian Prince." The verse is fairly easy, but not in any way distinguished.

The plot runs as follows:

Act I. Scene i. The play begins after the sea-fight at Actium. Maecenas urges Caesar to avenge the wrongs of Octavia, but Agrippa persuades him to offer Antony peace. Scene ii. Memnon and Chilax, Egyptian lords, express concern for their country and hatred of Antony, who subsequently accepts with meekness the reproaches of Canidius and Photinus for his desertion of the fleet, and decides to take the field. He parts from Cleopatra with nothing but love in his speeches or in hers.

Act II. Scene i. Photinus, the villain of the piece, plots Antony's death and his own ascension of the throne, which he promises to share with Iras, whom he woos. To his proposal she responds with engaging frankness,

"I will do anything to be a Queen;

I could love one whom I had never seen."

Scene ii. Photinus has sent his legions to Caesar. Again Maecenas urges an attack on Antony; but Octavia appears, pleads for her wayward spouse, and at last, convinced that she is the *casus belli*, tries to kill herself. She is prevented by Maecenas, who now informs her of his own passion. She threatens suicide unless he agrees to promote a peace, and leaves him on the horns of a neat dilemma; for, he says,

"whilst he [Antony] lives I never can enjoy [Octavia]
And if he dies she will her self destroy."

²³ Genest, I, 208.

Act III. Scene i. Caesar, Maecenas, and Agrippa discuss the conduct of the imperial black sheep; Caesar finally decides to assume absolute rule. Canidius and Photinus advise Antony to accept the terms offered; he refuses, and Cleopatra confirms his refusal. Thyreus arrives with Caesar's overtures to the Queen. While presenting them he declares his love, but is overheard by Antony, who orders him whipped. Antony's own soldiers rebel at this indignity to a Roman, and compel him to relent.

Act IV. Scene i. Octavia pleads to Caesar for her husband, but in vain. Scene ii. In a sally Antony meets and kills Thyreus, who assures him of Cleopatra's faithfulness. Maecenas and Caesar then attack, respectively, Canidius and Antony. The last is on the point of victory when a messenger arrives to tell him that

"Agrippa's got between the Town and you;
Which Strategem when Cleopatra found,
She Sally'd out, and is incompast round.
Photinus stays behind to awe the Town,
And keeps those of the pop'lar faction down."

To rescue his mistress Antony decides to forgo his victory. Scene iii. He does so. Then the scene shifts to the town, now in the hands of Photinus, who prepares to take Iras and the throne, and to that end wins over Memnon, Chilar, and the rabble. Scene iv. Antony, Cleopatra, and their forces find the gates barred against them. Scene v. They gain the town. Photinus clears himself by convincing Antony that to save his own skin he was forced to head the rebels.

Act V. Scene i. Antony is beaten on land and sea. News reaching him of the Queen's death, he determines to end the civil war by killing himself. He stabs himself, only to be informed by the diabolical Photinus that the Queen still lives,

"And I the Story of her Death contriv'd,
To make thee kill thyself, which has arriv'd
Just as I wish't."

The wounded Antony departs to find the Queen. Caesar enters and like a good executive repudiates the treacherous Photinus. News comes of Octavia's death. Canidius and his troops make a final attack; defeated, the general commits suicide. The scene changes to the monument, where the lovers take their everlasting farewell. Antony dies, after speaking the following lines.

"Dearest Queen,
Let my Life end before your Death begin.
O Rome! thy freedom does with me expire,
And thou art lost, obtaining thy desire."

Cleopatra applies the asp and kneels by Antony's body.

"To thy cold Arms take thy unhappy Queen,
Who both thy ruine and her own has been:
Other Embrace than this she'l never know,
But a pale Ghost, pursue thy shade below.
Good Asp bite deep and deadly in my Brest,
And give me sudden and eternal Rest."

She dies; Iras tries to run away, but the more heroic Charmian "stings her, then puts it to her own Breast." Caesar and the rest come in. Fearing betrayal of his designs on the crown, Photinus kills Iras. Caesar orders his execution.

This treatment of the immortal theme does not appear to have had much success.³⁴ It was eclipsed almost immediately by Dryden's much finer version, *All for Love*, the defects of which, without its modest virtues, are also present in Sedley's play. Neither in structure, characterization, or diction is the latter derived from Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*.

5. The Bettertonian *Henry IV*.

One of the most popular plays on the early Restoration stage was Shakespeare's *King Henry the Fourth* as it was acted by that sterling band of veterans, the old Theatre Royal under Killigrew. The *First Part* (presumably) was performed by them frequently up to the union of the companies in 1682, whereupon Betterton assumed Hotspur, which he played with great success for a number of years.³⁵ As age crept upon him the fiery Percy

³⁴ Sedley's play was reprinted, with some additions and the change of the villain's name from Photinus to Achilles, in the 1702 edition of Sedley's *Miscellaneous Works*, under the title: "Beauty the Conquerour: Or, the Death of Mark Antony. A Tragedy. In imitation of the Roman way of Writing. Written by Sir Charles Sedley, Baronet. Never before printed. London: Printed and Sold by John Nutt, near Stationers-Hall. 1702."

³⁵ *King Henry the Fourth* was probably the third Restoration revival of Shakespeare, having been preceded by *Pericles* and *Othello*. The Revels list of Sir Henry Herbert contains the item "Henry the Fourthe. First Play acted at the New Theatre." (Adams, J. Q., *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 116.) This, it is clear from the context, was Killigrew's house in Vere Street, Clare Market. Pepys saw the play there on December 31, 1660, but was not pleased with it, perhaps as he says because he had the book. On June 4, 1661 he saw it again, and curtly pronounces it "a good play."

King Henry the Fourth appears in Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus* twelfth (incorrectly numbered XIII) on the list of "Principal Old Stock Plays" acted by the members of the Theatre Royal 1663-1682; the actors named are Winter-

doubtless attracted him less and less; perhaps the play had been shelved for several reasons when he determined to revive it, and to undertake the greatest of all comic rôles. This was during the season of 1699–1700, when Betterton and his fellow rebels against Rich were playing at Little Lincoln's Inn Fields.³⁶

Genest has several references to performances of *Henry IV* during the opening decades of the eighteenth century; unfortunately these seldom specify the part. I know of no evidence that Betterton either altered or acted in the second Part, except that *The Sequel of Henry the Fourth* was printed c. 1719 with alterations attributed to him, though Genest assumes that it was produced at Little Lincoln's Inn Fields soon after the *King Henry IV*. The title page of Betterton's version (published in 1700) is as follows:

K. Henry IV. With the Humours of Sir John Falstaff. A Tragi-comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn Fields by His Majesty's Servants. Revived with Alterations. Written Originally by Mr. Shakespear. London . . . 1700. . . .³⁷

The fact that no Part is indicated in this title seems to be a clue to the real situation. It seems likely that of the *Henry IV* material Betterton produced only this play, and that our various references to the performance of *Henry IV* are all to this version of *Part One*. It is, as a matter of fact, not an alteration at all, but an acting edition cut for the stage.

sel as the King; Burt, the Prince; Hart, Hotspur; Cartwright, Falstaff; Shatterel, Poin. Pepys saw the play three times at Drury Lane: Nov. 2, 1667, Jan. 7, 1668, and Sept. 18, 1668. Our only clue to which *Part* he saw comes in his entry for Nov. 2, 1667: "To the King's playhouse, and there saw *Henry the Fourth*; and contrary to expectation, was pleased in nothing more than in Cartwright's speaking of Falstaff's speech about 'What is Honour?' " This famous passage occurs in V i of *Part One*. Since there is nothing in Pepys's other references to indicate that he saw a different play, and from the absence of other records of performances, it seems probable that only *Part One* was acted during this period.

What the text was we do not know; probably it was one of the later quartos. No Restoration separate edition was printed till 1700, and this text represents the Bettertonian stage version. We are warranted therefore in asserting that the stage version of the old Theatre Royal was probably not an alteration.

³⁶ Cf. Genest, II, 219 ff.

³⁷ Besides the edition of 1700 Jaggard lists one c. 1710, but fails to locate any copy. Wheatley lists only 1700.

Before considering it further, we shall do well to glance at the piece hitherto commonly linked with it, though I believe incorrectly, *The Sequel* of c. 1719. Its title page reads:

The Sequel of Henry the Fourth: With the Humours of Sir John Falstaffe, and Justice Shallow. As it is Acted by His Majesty's Company of Comedians, at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Alter'd from Shakespear, by the late Mr. Betterton London: Printed for W. Chetwood. . . . [n.d.].

This edition is in octavo. The date is usually said to be 1719; e.g., Catalogue of the British Museum, Catalogue of the Barton Collection in the Boston Public Library, *Biographia Dramatica*, and Jaggard (p. 332). Genest, however, asserts that it must have been printed after December 17, 1720.

The cast of characters includes Barton Booth as King Henry, Wilks as the Prince, Theophilus Cibber as Clarence, Mills as Falstaff, Colley Cibber as Shallow, and Norris as Pistol.

Shakespeare's Induction is omitted, and also the opening scene of conference among the rebels. The action begins with Falstaff, the Page, and the Chief Justice. It then proceeds exactly as in the original,³⁸ though with severe but warrantable and skilful cutting of dialogue, up to the parting of Hotspur from his Lady. This scene is omitted entirely, and the beguiling of Falstaff immediately follows Prince Hal's proposal of it. The next scene, with the apostrophe to sleep and the King's decision for war, is also omitted, and we pass at once to Justice Shallow's house.

Thereafter the play proceeds unaltered (except for reduction of dialogue) up to the conclusion of the fighting. The editor of *The Sequel* was not unmindful of the beauty of the great apostrophe already noted as missing, and inserts it at the end of the next scene, the first in which the King appears after the battle. Since this speech is altered more seriously than is usual with

³⁸ The adapter follows the text of the folios, not of the quarto of 1600. This aberration from the normal practice of the Restoration reworkers may be explained by the relatively archaic condition of the old quarto. The editor of *The Sequel* is almost invariably faithful to his source except for occasional modernizations. Walter Wrage (*Englische Bühnenbearbeitungen von Shakespeares "King Henry IV. Part I,"* Hamburg, 1910, p. 32) is positive that the source is F 4.

this editor, I quote it, as typical of his not very radical extreme. Shakespeare's *The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*.³⁹

How many thousand of my poorest Subjects
Are at this howre asleepe? O Sleepe, O gentle Sleepe,
Natures soft Nurse, how haue I frighted thee,
That thou no more wilt weigh my eye-lids downe,
And steepe my Sences in Forgetfulnesse?
Why rather (Sleepe) lyst thou in smoakie Cribs,
Vpon vneasie Pallads stretching thee,
And huisht with bussing Night, flies to thy slumber,
Then in the perfum'd Chambers of the Great?
Vnder the Canopies of costly State,
And lull'd with sounds of sweetest Melodie?
O thou dull God, why lyst thou with the vilde,
In loathsome Beds, and leau'st the Kingly Couch,
A Watch-case, or a common Larum-Bell?
Wilt thou, vpon the high and giddie Mast,
Seale vp the ship-boyes Eyes, and rock his Braines,
In Cradle of the rude imperious Surge,
And in the visitation of the Windes,
Who take the Ruffian Billowes by the top,
Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
With deaff'ning Clamors in the slipp'ry Clouds,
That with the hurley, Death it selfe awakes?
Canst thou (O partiall Sleepe) giue thy Repose
To the wet Sea-Boy, in an houre so rude:
And in the calmest, and most stillest Night,
With all appliances, and meanes to boote,
Deny it to a King? Then happy Lowe, lye downe,
Vneasie lyes the Head, that weares a Crowne.

The Sequel of Henry the Fourth.⁴⁰

How many Thousands of my meanest Subjects
Are at this Hour in Sleep—O! gentle Sleep;
Natures soft Nurse, How haue I frighted thee,
That thou no more wilt weigh my Eyelids down,
And steep my Senses in Forgetfulness?
Why rather dost thou dwell in smoaky Cottages,
Upon uneasie Pallads stretching Thee;
And hush'd with buzzing Night Flies to thy Rest,

³⁹ Quoting Sir Sidney Lee's facsimile of F 1.

⁴⁰ Q c. 1719, p. 52.

Than in the Perfum'd Chambers of the Great?
 Under the Canopies of Tyrian Purple,
 And lull'd with Sounds of melting Melody.
 Wilt thou upon the high and shaking Mast,
 Seal up the Sea-Boys Eyes and rock his Brain,
 In Cradle of the rude imperious Surge?
 Canst thou, O! partial Sleep, give thy Repose
 To the drench'd Sailor, in an Hour so rude
 And in the calmest, and the stillest Night;
 Deny it to a King that Courts thy Charm.
 O! the sharp Thorns that interline a Crown,
 Banish the Nurse of Nature from my Breast.

In all conscience this is far enough from those perfect sentences of Shakespeare; yet as compared with the high crimes and misdemeanors of the adapters from 1660 to 1710, the offence is trifling. And it illustrates this editor at his worst.

The following scene (Falstaff *et al.* at Justice Shallow's) is omitted. Instead we have the next scene at Shallow's (F 1, V iii). It is followed by F 1, V ii, in which we learn of the King's death and see the new ruler's new behavior. Poor Doll's discomfiture is left out, and the next scene is the rebuff to the fat knight. To this is added a version of *Henry the Fifth*, I i, the undertaking of the adventure in France.

In fine, the play is hardly more than a well-cut acting version of 2 *Henry IV*, with the addition of an adaptation of *Henry V* I i, and some, but not much, verbal tampering. That the cutting was done by Betterton is not impossible, but I incline to doubt it. If it had been produced about the same time as his stage version, *King Henry IV*, (1) why was that play so entitled? (2) why was the publication of *The Sequel* delayed for twenty years? (3) why has no reference been found to Betterton's producing *The Sequel*?

It appears, then, that our various references to the acting of *Henry IV* in the decade 1700-1710 are probably all to the stage version of *Part One*, printed in 1700. Estcourt, who had joined the company within a month, played Falstaff on November 8, 1704 at Drury Lane;⁴¹ and the day after, Betterton assumed the role at Little Lincoln's Inn Fields.⁴² On October 26, 1706 the play was acted at the Haymarket with Betterton

⁴¹ Genest, II, 317.

⁴² Genest, II, 326.

as Falstaff, Vérbruggen as Hotspur, and Wilks as the Prince.⁴³ At a performance in the same theatre on November 19, 1707 Booth played Hotspur, and Cibber Worcester.⁴⁴ On October 28, 1708 it was advertised to be acted by the reunited company at Drury Lane, with Betterton as Falstaff; Powell, Hotspur; Keen, King Henry; Wilks, the Prince; Cibber, Glendower.⁴⁵

With his customary and invariably charming enthusiasm Dr. Doran calls the Bettertonian *Henry IV* "an unhallowed outrage." We must recognize the justice of the adjectival portion of this soft impeachment, for hallowed the version certainly is not. The present writer, either on the stage or in the study, has never seen an acting version of Shakespeare that appealed to him as consecrated in the slightest. But *outrage* is too harsh a name for what is really a perfectly respectable stage version. One must deplore, to be sure, the loss of many a line that only Shakespeare could have written; yet this editor was no tamperer. Almost without exception the text is faithful, except for cutting, to that if the folios—it is not, like most of the Restoration versions, derived from the last pre-Wars quarto, in this case the quarto of 1639.

The action proceeds without structural alteration up to (F 1) Act III, Scene i, of *1 Henry the Fourth*; in Betterton's version this is chopped off (Q 1700, p. 32) immediately after the agreement on parceling the land, the entrance of the ladies being cut. This omission is certainly no great loss. There is no further structural change till (F 1) Act IV, Scene iv, the brief expository scene in which the Archbishop of York appears. This is excised. The action is thereafter unchanged till (F1) Act V, Scene iii, the first part of which is omitted. It begins (Q 1700, p. 52) with the entrance of Hotspur. There is no other structural change.

While I have not collated the texts exhaustively, I can safely assert that there is practically no tampering with Shakespeare's language. Even the stage directions of the folio are followed verbatim. It is a pleasure to report that Thomas Betterton,

⁴³ Genest, II, 357.

⁴⁴ Genest, II, 392.

⁴⁵ Genest, II, 409. Genest suggests that this performance was probably not given, since the playhouse was closed by the death of Prince George of Denmark.

if like any actor he was willing to cut scenes and parts of scenes, did so sparingly; and that unlike some of his literary betters he did not feel that overmastering urge to improve Shakespeare's diction. Since *The Sequel of Henry the Fourth* does tamper with language, even though not extensively, we have still another reason against attributing it to Betterton. In my opinion the two versions are probably not from the same hand.

This concludes the list of plays often mistaken for alterations of Shakespeare. By way of postscript I should like to add my humble protest to that of Professor Brander Matthews⁴⁶ against the inclusion of Thomas Duffet's nauseous travesties, either in bibliographies of the altered versions of Shakespeare's plays or, what is worse, in reprints of them.

HAZELTON SPENCER

⁴⁶ *N. Y. Times Book Review and Magazine*, May 21, 1922, p. 9.

XXXVIII.

THE ESSAYS ON FREDRIKA BREMER IN THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

BETWEEN April, 1843, and the same month of the following year, the *North American Review* published three long unsigned articles on the works of the Swedish novelist, Fredrika Bremer, which had just appeared in English and American translations. They were written in the characteristically elaborate style of the time, and revealed a knowledge and sympathy beyond that obtained from a mere reading of the translations. This is particularly true of the last review (April, 1844), which in its linguistic comparisons of the relative merits of the English and American translations—the latter by Mary Howitt—showed some intelligent acquaintance with the Swedish and Norwegian languages¹—at least an ability to use

¹ That the author of this review actually did know some Swedish and Norwegian, or at least consulted dictionaries in writing it, will be seen in the following extract from the review itself:

"It will not be difficult to prove, that Mrs. Howitt makes all her own translations chiefly from the German, and that, if she understands Swedish at all, her knowledge of it must be limited and superficial. We select some examples of wrong translation from the very first pages of her version of 'Strife and Peace.' In the very first page, (89 of Harpers' reprint), there are four blunders. *Fjellstuga*, (mountain-house,) is translated 'rock-house.' *Rykande*, (reeking, smoking,) she has changed to 'rushing.' She has here been misled by the German translation, where it is rendered "*rauchende*," which she mistook, probably, for *rauschende*. Her acquaintance with German is hardly superior to her knowledge of the Swedish, if we may judge from this specimen. The word *fruktansvärdt*, (fearful, fearworthy) is metamorphosed into 'fruitful'. Mrs. Howitt falls into this error whenever she meets the word, and, in one instance (page 90), where it is applied to a thunderstorm, she adroitly extricates herself from a dilemma by substituting for the original substance the shadowy platitude of 'the affluent pomp of the storm'! On the same page, following a blunder in the German, she turns *Budeja* into a proper name; and, in the next line, depending on the same unsafe authority for the meaning of *Fjös jente*, she metamorphoses a hapless *milkmaid* into a 'cowboy.' On page 93, she makes Susanna 'scold,' although there is no such imputation in the original. . . ."

Thus the reviewer goes on for two pages, enumerating blunders in translation. The Norwegian words are found in the Swedish original, the scene of the work being in Norway.

the dictionaries for these dialects—and with Swedish culture and conditions in general. This article was attributed to James Russell Lowell by Horace Elisha Scudder in 1901 in his authoritative Lowell biography. But did Lowell, though he knew German, know any Scandinavian language? Was it not more plausible to conclude that the author was Longfellow? He had been in Sweden, had acquired a thorough reading knowledge of Swedish, had made translations from the language, and upon his return from Europe had brought back to the Harvard College Library, among other Swedish books, the *Sketches* by Fredrika Bremer.

On January 6, 1843, also, Longfellow had written to Ferdinand Freiligrath about the publication of Miss Bremer's *The Neighbors*:

. . . Mrs. Howitt's translation from the Swedish (or did she translate from a German version? I suspect she did, for she uses such expressions as "Fetch me the devil," which is very different from "Devil take me"!)—this translation, *The Neighbors*, has been republished here, and is very much liked. It is printed as an extra number of *The New World*, a newspaper, and sold for four groschen! In this form it will be scattered far and wide over the whole country. A handsomer and dearer edition is also in press.²

On November 24, 1843, Longfellow wrote again to Freiligrath announcing that he was "beginning the publication of a volume of specimens of foreign poetry,—being a section of the best English translations from the Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, etc."³

In view of Longfellow's interest in Miss Bremer's work and in Scandinavian literature in general, at about the time when the reviews in question were being prepared or published, one might readily infer that he had written them, and that Scudder, and others, had made a mistake in assuming or accepting any other author. Also, the writer of the first review (of April, 1843) had pointed out, just as Longfellow had done in his letter to his German poet friend, that Mrs. Howitt had probably made her translation from the German—which was actually the case, so far as her first renderings from Swedish literature were con-

² Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, II, 10-11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

cerned. Here was a bit of internal evidence which seemed to indicate Longfellow as the author.

For these and other reasons some European scholars have, quite naturally, questioned Lowell's authorship and have, independently, come to the conclusion that Longfellow wrote all three reviews. Ellen Kleman and Klara Johanson, the Swedish editors of the recently published Bremer correspondence,⁴ state this conviction in no uncertain terms:

Longfellow had been in Sweden during the year 1835 and had learned the [Swedish] language. He had also brought back some Swedish literature for the Harvard library, including the *Sketches* by Fredrika [Bremer]. For various reasons we conclude that he was the author of the three comprehensive articles in the famous *North American Review* (of April and July, 1843, and April, 1844) dealing with her works, which just at that time flooded the American book-market in a veritable shower of translations. A letter to Freiligrath of January 6, 1843 proves his early interest in *The Neighbors* We are fully aware that in this contention we collide with an authority, H. E. Scudder, who in his bibliographical appendix to his authentic Lowell biography lists the article of 1844; but we can scarcely believe that Lowell would to that extent have plowed with Longfellow's heifers. It is doubtful whether Fredrika ever received the pleasure of reading these cultured and sympathetically searching [American] essays, which stand out in such striking contrast to the lukewarm, deficient criticisms by her native land. This is all the more remarkable since the reviews measured her work by the standards of a literature (the English) which was already rich in productions of the same genre.⁵

These arguments seemed so logical and obvious that the writer, when he first read the reviews three years ago, was inclined to accept them as incontestable, as final.⁶ At present, however, I am not so certain about the authorship; in fact, I am practically convinced that Longfellow did not write any of the disputed articles, though Lowell, in the essay attributed to him, may in some degree have "plowed with Longfellow's heifers," as the Misses Kleman and Johanson express it. It is the purpose

⁴ *Fredrika Bremers Brev*, samlade och utgivna av Klara Johanson och Ellen Kleman, I-IV, 1915-1920.

⁵ Tr. from the notes to *Fredrika Bremers Brev*, III, 534.

⁶ See my article "American Appreciation of Fredrika Bremer," *Scand. Studies and Notes*, VIII, 18-19. This article contains an account of the Bremer essays in the *North Am. Review*, pp. 16-20.

of this paper, therefore, to give the arguments for the conclusions reached and accepted by Americans and to point out why any other conclusions are untenable. Let us examine the evidence. Since the available diaries and letters by Lowell and Longfellow⁷ make no reference to the subject we must turn elsewhere for information. During the late '70's William Cushing, A.B., compiled an index of authors for the *North American Review*, covering all issues from the first number, in 1815, down to the year 1877. This difficult task was carried through with surprising success and published at Cambridge in 1878. According to Cushing the authors of the three Bremer articles were as follows:

G. S. Hillard—review of *The Neighbors*, April, 1843 (vol. 56, pp. 497 ff.).

W. B. O. Peabody—general review of other writings of Miss Bremer, July, 1843, (vol. 57, pp. 128 ff.).

J. R. Lowell—review of Bremer works that had appeared subsequently, but before the spring of 1844, April, 1844, (vol. 58, pp. 480 ff.).

Let us first consider the scope and reliability of this index. Says Cushing in his preface:

I have spared no pains to make it [the index] complete and accurate, The fullest sources of information, in regard to the past and present writers, have been opened to me by the past and present editors, by the late and present publishers. I am able to furnish the names of the writers of nearly all the principal articles; and of nearly all the critical notices, except during the editorship of Dr. Palfrey [whose editorship ended with the year 1842], who is too infirm to give me any information.

⁷ It is a curious coincidence that in 1843 and 1844 both Lowell and Longfellow were afflicted with eye trouble, for which they seem to have been treated in New York by the same specialist, though without necessarily coming in contact with each other. This will account in part for the paucity of correspondence and other first-hand sources during this period. In August, 1843, as we are told, Longfellow wrote with the eyes and hands of another—his wife; and in March, 1844, he could use his eyes for only an hour or two during the day. Would he be likely to write a philological criticism, with foreign words in it, during these conditions? And it must have been in March, 1844, or earlier that the alleged Lowell contribution of the following month was being prepared. This supports the Lowell authorship, for, so far as I have been able to learn, Lowell's eyes were much better in the spring of 1844 than Longfellow's. I am mentioning this for whatever it may be worth.

His method consisted chiefly in interviewing and communicating with all living people who were having or had had in the past anything to do with the *North American Review*. When he had learned the name of an author of an unsigned article, he verified it by all sources at his command before he accepted it as final; and if his quest was unsuccessful, he left a blank space in the author's column of the printed compilation. We may assume, then, that Cushing was absolutely sure of the facts which appeared as such in the Index.⁸

The next question is: How many of the writers concerned were living in 1877 so that Cushing had an opportunity to interrogate them before he published his index? Hillard died in 1879; Peabody, in 1847; Lowell, in 1891; Longfellow, in 1882; and Francis Bowen, the editor of the *North American Review* during the years 1843-44, in 1890. We observe at once that all authors mentioned were living in 1877, except Peabody, including the editor for the period covering the Bremer articles. The compiler had been able, therefore, in cases where there was any doubt involved, to consult at least one person who could speak with authority on the matter. And in every case but one, both the author and the editor of the Bremer article were living at the time of the compilation of Cushing's index. We may infer, also, from Cushing's preface, that those living were of sound mind in 1877; only Dr. Palfrey was too infirm to give any information, and his testimony does not concern us. Mr. Bowen, the editor, was in 1877 only sixty-six years old. The fact that the vast majority of these men were active in the seventies, and could be interviewed directly, is in itself, it would seem, sufficient proof to establish authorship.

With regard to the authorship of the first two Bremer essays in the *North American* (which did not demand a knowledge of Swedish) the ascription in Cushing's Index may be accepted

⁸ American bibliographers have not found occasion to question the accuracy of this work. *Poole's Index* for 1882, obviously relies on Cushing for the authorship of the last two Bremer articles—the first article is not mentioned. P.K. Foley, *American Authors 1795-1895* (1897), instead of including any articles from the *North American Review* under the name of a given writer, confidently refers the student to Cushing's index. Mr. Scudder, as we have seen, must have accepted Cushing's results in his Lowell biography; and in 1906 George Willis Cooke included the essay on "The New Translations of the Writings of Fredrika Bremer" (April, 1844) in his *Bibliography of James Russell Lowell*.

without the slightest hesitation. G. S. Hillard was a writer who in 1843 had already contributed reviews on Germanic scholars and Germanic literary subjects; Peabody was likewise an occasional writer on Scandinavian and German topics. He and Lowell contributed many more articles than Longfellow to the *North American Review*.

In the case of the third Bremer essay, however, the problem is more difficult, and the evidence in support of Cushing's ascription is not so clear. Before proceeding to consider the question of Lowell's authorship of this essay it is necessary to take account of certain cultural facts about the United States of the '30's and '40's. In many ways the writers and teachers of that period were broader, more open-minded in their intellectual sympathies than they are to-day, and this is particularly noticeable in their attitude toward foreign literary works. Publishers allowed twenty or thirty pages for an article on Fredrika Bremer, for example. This proportionately large interest in certain foreign writers naturally prompted, within restricted circles, some interest in the language of the original; and while the teaching of modern languages was not as general eighty years ago as it is now, the groundwork in the classical tongues obtained by the few college-bred people made the acquisition of a modern dialect relatively easy; and the number who took advantage of their fundamental background is, I believe, greater than we have imagined. We know the names of several men and women who in those days learned languages that were not offered in any college curriculum. There was more individual and private study. There were several New Englanders who attained notable linguistic distinction, and they accumulated their knowledge quietly without feeling that the fact was remarkable enough to boast about or even mention. Ticknor and Longfellow were not the only language scholars in the United States in 1840. Nor did Americans confine themselves to a study of French, German, Spanish and Italian. Besides Longfellow, George P. Marsh, Caroline Crane Marsh, Elihu Burritt (who had never been inside a college), James Gates Percival, Bayard Taylor, Willard Fiske, and Barclay Pennock, all read, before 1860, one or more of the Scandinavian languages, for example.⁹ And we

⁹ Cf. my article, "The Beginning of American Interest in Scandinavian Literature," *Scand. Studies and Notes*, VIII, 135 ff.

shall see that there were others. Marsh and Taylor spoke Swedish with fair fluency. Poe was undoubtedly something of a language scholar, and behaved in one or two of his reviews as though he knew some Swedish.

There was, also, some historical and philosophical interest in the North, at least more than we might expect. Emerson's enthusiasm for Swedenborg is well known. Marsh, a lawyer, learned Swedish because of his interest in the history of the Swedish provincial laws, which had served, it seems, as a basis for some of the English laws. Washington Irving, in the *North American Review* for October, 1832, wrote a long article on "The Northmen," a review which was subsequently reprinted in Allen Thorndike Rice's essays from that periodical, where it occupies forty pages. Even granting that the length of some of the articles in the magazines of the time was in part prompted by a so-much-per-line commercialism, it required some interest, nevertheless, and some uncommon knowledge, to write intelligently on Northern topics. The articles are worth reading, too, even to-day.

Accordingly, there is no *a priori* reason for surprise if a man like Lowell should be found to possess wider interests and more linguistic ability and accomplishments than he is ordinarily credited with, or more even than he himself has ever publicly acknowledged. In his essay on Percival, Lowell, in referring to the former's phenomenal power of absorbing languages, does not consider this such a great achievement, since it is a gift depending largely on memory and the faculty of imitation. So Lowell himself may well have known some Norwegian and Swedish without publishing the fact from the housetops. Moreover, Lowell was an excellent scholar in German, and after all, a student with a knowledge of Latin, English and German, and a philological attitude of mind, can at least make intelligent use of a Swedish dictionary.

But let us turn to the consideration of more specific arguments in favor of J. R. Lowell. In the first place, the whole Lowell family was one of poets, travelers, and linguists. Lowell's mother, who, according to Charles F. Briggs,¹⁰ was of Danish origin, her ancestors having emigrated to America

¹⁰ *Homes of American Authors*, p. 360.

from Kirkwall in the Orkneys, was a woman of "remarkable mind, and possessed in a eminent degree the power of acquiring languages," a faculty, which as we shall see was inherited by her children. Mary White Lowell, wife of the poet, and herself a poet, was likewise an accomplished linguist. Lowell himself succeeded Longfellow, as we know, as professor of modern languages at Harvard (1855), and as an undergraduate he had come in contact with Professor Longfellow. It was while Lowell was a student at Harvard, that Longfellow had returned from his sojourn in Sweden and other countries; and Edward Everett Hale tells us that "without forming any close companionships" Longfellow used to talk intimately, walk, and smoke with the undergraduates.¹¹ It is possible therefore that Lowell, during his last years in college, obtained from Longfellow some of the knowledge of Sweden¹² which appeared a few years later in the Bremer article.

But it would not have been necessary for Lowell to go outside the family for knowledge of Swedish. The "special mentor and confidante" of Lowell in his younger years was his elder sister Mary (later Mrs. S. R. Putnam), who was born in 1810 and lived until 1898. Mary Lowell Putnam acquired a knowledge of so many languages that some men writers considered it a calamity for any woman to be able to talk in so many tongues. She conversed in French, German, Italian, Polish, Swedish, and Hungarian, and is said to have been acquainted with twenty other dialects.¹³ She traveled extensively abroad and became in 1848-50 a contributor to the *North American Review* on Polish and Hungarian literature. By the year 1844, Mary Lowell knew Swedish and knew it well; early in that very year she published a highly poetic translation from the Swedish of Fredrika Bremer's only dramatic work, *Trälinnan*, under the name of *The Bondmaid*. And she translated directly from the original,

¹¹ *James Russell Lowell and His Friends*, p. 20.

¹² Lowell in his article on *Witchcraft* (1868) includes an account of witchcraft in Sweden—a description of the witches' flight to "Blockula" (Blåkulla) and of the executions at "Mohra" (Mora) in the seventeenth century. This article does not of course presuppose any special knowledge of Swedish, but the place names are spelled in a way that would seem to indicate the reproduction of some *viva voce* narrative.

¹³ See Ferris Greenslet, *James Russell Lowell*, p. 14, note. Quoted from Briggs, *op. cit.*

which was more than could be claimed, as we have seen, for the English translator of Miss Bremer's works. *The Bondmaid*, let it further be noted, was included among those translations from Fredrika Bremer which were compared with those of Mrs. Howitt in the *North American Review* essay of April, 1844. In replying to the charge that American translations were poor and unfaithful to the original, Lowell, then, would have had not only a general literary interest, but a personal interest as well. That it was the poet's sister who translated Miss Bremer's *Trälinnan* has hitherto escaped the notice of writers and students—myself among them—due to the fact that in bibliographical references the title-page of the book is usually quoted verbatim, and on the title-page of *The Bondmaid* the name of the translator appears as "M. L. Putnam."¹⁴

In view of all these considerations I now feel that Cushings ascription of the third Bremer essay to J. R. Lowell must be accepted. At the same time, it is quite possible that Lowell may at some time or other have received some suggestion, or direct aid even, from Longfellow. Indeed, a clue pointing in this direction may perhaps be found in the remark in regard to drunkenness in Sweden at the time, which is appended to the Bremer article. The note begins with the words: "*A friend who has travelled in Sweden informs us, . . .*"¹⁵ This clearly implies that the author himself had not been in Sweden, thus excluding Longfellow but fitting the case of Lowell who had never been in the Scandinavian countries. The "friend" indicated, however, was presumably Longfellow.

ADOLPH B. BENSON

¹⁴ Cf. Gust. N. Swan, *Svensk litteratur i engelsk öfversättning*, in *Prärieblomman* for 1903 (Rock Island, Ill.), p. 211. It was in this Swedish article by the Swedish vice-consul of Sioux City, Iowa, that I first discovered the connection between "M. L. Putnam" and "Mary Lowell Putnam." Some authorities, among them *The New International encyclopedia*, maintain that Mary Lowell also translated Miss Bremer's *The Neighbors*. Says Briggs, *op. cit.*: "Mrs. Putnam made the first translation into English of Fredrika Bremer's novel *The Neighbors*, from the Swedish. The translation by Mary Howitt was made from the German." It is doubtful, though, that it was ever published, and if it was, it was probably anonymous.

¹⁵ *North Am. Rev.*, April 1844, p. 484, footnote. The italics are my own.

STEDMAN, ARBITER OF THE EIGHTIES

ROUGHLY speaking, the year 1880 marks the shifting of the literary capital of the United States to New York from Boston. With the new capital, there arose also the need for a new monarch of letters—a new authority in criticism. Lowell and Henry James were abroad; Howells was still comparatively insignificant. And so the editors of the *Century Magazine*, which was rapidly assuming the place of the *Atlantic Monthly* as our leading literary organ, cast about for a new critic. They found him in the New York Stock Exchange.

At no other period, I think, could Edmund Clarence Stedman have been accepted, as without question he was during this period, as our leading literary critic. His biography hardly looks like that of a literary genius. Born in Connecticut, he left New England after his expulsion from Yale, ventured for a few years as a minor poet and newspaper man, and finally settled down, in the late sixties, to a career of stocks and bonds. For forty years he struggled on as a rather mediocre financier, constantly casting back longing glances at literature, yet never able to return to his chosen pursuit. There is to me something slightly ridiculous in the oceans of sympathizing tears shed by his friends over this hard fate. It is not the kind of career one expects for a literary dictator.

Nor does his actual critical production seem quite up to the reputation it supports. Compared with the work of most famous critics Stedman has written very little. Three volumes—*Victorian Poets*, *Poets of America*, and *The Nature and Elements of Poetry*—constitute his complete critical works. Swell this out with his two anthologies, *Victorian* and *American*, with his editorial labours on *The Library of American Literature*, and we still have very little to show for him. Of course, mere productivity counts for nothing. There are critics of one essay, just as there are poets of one poem. Aristotle himself survives in criticism mainly by a slender volume of a hundred pages. All of Poe that is read nowadays you can slip into your pocket.

But with Stedman the deficiency in size is counterbalanced by no extraordinary richness of quality. There are no pages in his three volumes that have the pedagogic weight of Arnold, the flashing certainty of Hazlitt, the pregnant theorizing of Poe, or the stylistic bravado of Lowell. Stedman is, I regret to say, dull reading. His reputation, one is forced to believe, is out of all proportion to his actual merit. Here is a mystery—until one realizes that Stedman is one of those fortunate persons who make a reputation, not because they are great, but because they are representative. He sums up, in himself and in his three volumes, a whole stream of tendencies in American literature. He is to be considered, not as a great critic, but as an interesting and indicative symptom.

It was an age of silent revolution, and Stedman was the mildest, quietest, of revolutionaries. Until 1880, American criticism was written almost wholly in New England. The exceptions, like Poe, were out of the main current, practically devoid of influence. This New England criticism, the criticism of the early *North American Review*, was marked by the Puritan suspicion of pleasure and beauty as ends, was colored by the Puritan ethical prepossession. The dictum enunciated by the *North American* in 1827, "The theory which treats of beauty as of something independent of moral effect, is still without advocates among us," could have been reasserted with almost equal truth in the sixties and early seventies. Even Lowell, free as he is from many of the prejudices of his friends and neighbors, feels at times compelled to bow to this weight of opinion, and justify the morals of his authors. But with Stedman comes a change. His ideal, and that of the poets most closely associated with him, Aldrich and Taylor, was beauty for its own sake, Tennysonian finish of workmanship. It seems to us nowadays a rather incomplete ideal; it resulted in a good deal of futile prettiness in writing; but it was in the eighties a revolutionary doctrine, and a necessary step in the liberalization of American letters. The cult of Tennyson, the writing of ballades and roundels, the importation of Dobson, Gosse, and Lang through the columns of the *Century*—these were the signs of the times. American literature had done with sermons; now was the time for sonnets.

Curiously enough, the root of this revolt of Stedman's from ethics to æstheticism sprang from his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics—those strange and wonderful human documents, that in spite of the layers of pedantry under which they are commonly buried, do somehow manage, now and then, to effect the mental liberation of him who loves them. Stedman's pages are filled with classical echoes. One of the dreams of his life was the making of a verse translation of Theocritus. From Theocritus and the Greeks Stedman learned, as Arnold had learned, to love beauty, to reverence form and finish. In fact, Stedman was trying, in a far feeble way, to preach to America the same gospel of Hellenism that Arnold was so strenuously dinning in the ears of British Philistines.

It was the age of gentlemanliness in criticism. The art had traveled a long way since the days of Jeffrey and the Edinburgh Reviewers. Whatever the faults of that group of critics, no one could ever complain of them that he did not understand what they were trying to say. When they thought an author bad, they said so, plainly. But they had suffered the misfortune of condemning, in very plain terms, certain authors who in 1880 were ranked with the immortals; and thereby they had become infamous. Therefore the memory of "This will never do," and the essay that did not kill Keats haunted the critics of the nineteenth century, and they became afraid to condemn any book, however bad they privately thought it. After all, it might prove to be a great hidden work of genius. And so criticism grew gentler and gentler from year to year. Lowell occasionally revolted, and vented some of his temper on a Percival; but Stedman's soft-spokenness never failed. Nor was this a matter of temperament only. Stedman was gentle on principle. Of Poe's criticism, which was not notable for its sweetness, he remarks: "I hold it a sign of progress that criticism by force of arms would now be less effective."

It is curious to observe the workings of this gentle school of criticism when applied to Longfellow. Reading carefully between the lines, one eventually makes out the fact that Stedman recognized Longfellow as a second-rate poet. But there is not a sentence in Stedman's essay on Longfellow which could give pain to Longfellow's most devoted admirer. The chapter opens in a peculiarly apologetic strain, deprecating the attacks

that were beginning to be made, even then, on the poet. Stedman goes on to explain Longfellow's alleged plagiarisms as a necessary step in the importation of European culture. And his didacticism is likewise excused as a necessary sugar-coating, for an American audience, of the unsavory pill of undiluted beauty. Of *Evangeline*, Stedman remarks:

There are flaws and petty fancies and homely passages in "Evangeline;" but this one poem, thus far the flower of American idylls, known in all lands, I will not approach in a critical spirit. There are rooms in every house where one treads with softened footfall.

A very pretty sentiment, but when criticism thus abdicates its functions, it seems to me to become nothing at all. Yet here and there Stedman lets his real opinions peep out. There is a hint of a sharpness rare with him in the little aside, "He [Longfellow] often taught by choice the primary class." It seems perfectly clear to me, after several readings of the essay, that Stedman knew exactly what was the matter with Longfellow—that he saw plainly Longfellow's lack of vitality and profound passion, his platitudinousness of thought, his excessive bookishness, his weak didacticism. But the knowledge is well concealed; and one can praise Stedman's taste only at the expense of his critical sincerity.

Whittier receives similar treatment. Stripped of its verbiage the chapter dealing with him really says that he wasn't much of a poet, but that the critic, considering his exemplary life and his devotion to a great cause, should overlook mere poetic failings. And again, criticism abdicates.

"Stripped of its verbiage." That implies a great deal, for Stedman is of all critics whom I know, the most verbose. His thought is concealed under page after diffuse page of prettily turned, impressive sounding, but almost meaningless sentences. There are two reasons for this diffuseness, verbosity, muddiness. The first is the continual conflict going on in Stedman's mind between his true critical taste, which was both sound and sure, and his principle of speaking softly. Stylistically, he is the exact opposite of Arnold. With Arnold, one often feels that the writer is in a positive agony lest his meaning should not be perfectly clear. Stedman seems to fear equally that his opinions might become known. He is continually forced by his principles and attitude into apologizing, palliating, excusing, toning down.

The second cause of this stylistic muddiness is that strange critical tradition, which still prevails, that when one criticizes poetry, one must do it in poetic prose. I think, though I am not sure, that this tradition originated with Coleridge. It is noticeable in Shelley; it nearly wrecked Lowell in his earlier days; it quite ruined Swinburne as a critic. With Stedman it becomes a vice. Like the elegant periphrasts of the eighteenth century, he never calls a spade a spade. A poet is a "bard" or a "singer," or even a "minnesinger." A group of poets is a "choir." Particularly poetic, in their richness of imagery, their splendor of diction, their profundity of thought, are the sentences with which Stedman opens his essays.

It is my design to trace the current of poesy, deepening and widening in common with our streams of riches, knowledge, and power; to show an influence upon the national sentiment no less potent, if less obvious than that derived from the historic records of our past; to watch the first dawning upon an eager people of the happy, heavenly vision men call Art; to observe closely and to set down with an honest hand our foremost illustrations of the Rise of Poetry in America. Such is my purpose, and I deem it not a mean one.

Listening to the concert of modern song, a critical ear detects the note of one voice which possesses a distinct quality and is always at its owner's command.

Death has summoned with his impartial touch young and old alike from the cycle of poets considered in our original review. [With, as a marginal comment, "Stilled Voices"].

The earliest, the best known, and the most valuable of Stedman's three critical volumes is *Victorian Poets*, published in 1875. In this volume Stedman applies to the study of Victorian poetry the method of Taine, attempting to trace general tendencies in the period, and to account for these tendencies by social, economic, and intellectual changes. In part, this is excellently done. Stedman's labelling and characterization of the "idyllic" method; his demonstration that the greater part of Victorian poetry is the result of a crossing of Wordsworth and Keats, are excellent critical hits. The extended parallel of Tennyson and Theocritus is a genuine piece of comparative criticism. The chapter on Landor, whom Stedman, both by his classical sympathies and by his admiration for pure finish of form, was well-fitted to appreciate, is at once

Stedman's masterpiece, and the best critique of Landor that I have seen. But as soon as Stedman leaves the regions of pure form and ventures into discussions of intellectual currents, neither his mind nor his style will stand the strain. His discussions of the effect of scientific agnosticism on Tennyson, of religious doubt on Arnold, of the revolutionary spirit and the neo-pagan movement on Swinburne, are pitifully inadequate. He is much bothered, all through the book, by the question of the relation of poetry and science, to which he devotes a large section of his introductory chapter. Now to handle a topic like that requires above all things precision of thought and clear-cut sharpness of statement. The quality of Stedman's discussion may be deduced from the passage I quote below.

A pagan saw the morning as Guido has painted it. The Sun God in very truth was urging on his fiery-footed steeds. The clouds were his pathway; the early morning Hour was scattering in advance flowers of Infinite prismatic hues, and her blooming and radiant sisters were floating in air around Apollo's chariot; the earth was roseate with celestial light; the blue sea laughed beyond. Swiftly ascending Heaven's archway, the retinue swept on; all was real, exuberant life and gladness; the gods were thus in waiting upon humanity, and men were the progeny of the gods.

This seems to me neither good sense nor good prose.

There are other blemishes in the book. The chapters on the minor poets are very apt to degenerate into mere catalogues of almost forgotten names. There is always in evidence Stedman's desire to have a kind word for everyone. And I find it hard to forgive his lumping together, in one chapter, and treating as of equal value, Hood, Matthew Arnold, and Bryan Waller Procter. But for all that, the book is certainly the most inclusive, and probably the most valuable survey of Victorian poetry that has yet been made.

It was not until ten years later, in 1885, that Stedman found time to produce his second volume, *Poets of America*. In this volume, in which he passes in review the leaders of American poetry, from Bryant to Bayard Taylor, Stedman manifests, even more fully than in his former work, his peculiar critical characteristics. While the tone of *Victorian Poets* is usually gentle, it does occasionally mount into something like a vigorous attack on poetic vices. Mrs. Browning is rather severely

handled; her husband is attacked for his barbarism of taste. But these were foreign poets, viewed with the detachment of distance. One can say of them with impunity things one hesitates to say of one's contemporaries and compatriots. And for all his revolt, Stedman was still susceptible to the pressure of the New England tradition. It may have been the contact of the literary world about him; it may have been merely a desire to avoid giving pain to a number of estimable and still-living gentlemen; it may be that soft-spokenness, like other vices, grows with age—whatever the cause, *Poets of America* has less of severity, less of condemnation, more of a positively radiant kindness, than any other volume of criticism I have seen.

The critic, says John Middleton Murray, should not like too many things. His judgment should be selective; it is a part of his business to set up an unattainable ideal, and to refuse to be satisfied with anything short of it. If this be the true notion of the critic, Stedman is a very bad critic indeed. Rare is the poet in whom he cannot find some excellence worth praising. Throughout his work I can find no trace of a genuinely violent literary dislike. And yet, this comprehensiveness was not altogether a defect; it was a part of Stedman's function, as a literary dictator, to help in the freeing of American letters from the narrowness of preceding generations. And in this work his inclusiveness was a help. It preserves him from Lowell's great weakness—a total failure to recognize genius under new forms. Although Stedman's own preferences were for the productions of the art-school, for work of the Keats-Poe-Tennyson type, he could see the weakness of that form, and the possibilities of good in other forms. Alone in his day he recognized, and stated repeatedly, although without the emphasis necessary to catch the ear of his contemporaries, that the art-school was dying of inanition, that the idyllic method had been worked to its limit: and in spite of his love for that method, he saw clearly that what poetry most needed was an infusion of new life and passion. He censures, very mildly of course, the coolness of Tennyson, the passionlessness of Longfellow, the hot-house scents of Poe, the eclecticism of Taylor; and hails, as the best augury for the future, the work of Whitman.

It is a relief to turn from the critical beating-about-the-bush which forms so large a part of *Poets of America* to the chapter on

Whitman. Here Stedman, free from the traditions which he dislikes, yet against which he did not venture to revolt openly, exhibits himself at his best. The critic whose major admirations are Theocritus and Landor and Tennyson, and yet who can thoroughly give himself up to Whitman, is not the commonest of phenomena. The essay, indeed, is one of that rarest of things in criticism—the tribute of a lover of a recognized and conventional sort of excellence to an excellence of a new and disturbing kind. One element in Whitman, to be sure, Stedman does not like. Idealist that he is, he can hardly be expected to view with great pleasure Whitman's daring excursions into the realm of the carnal. But that, after all, is a matter of taste, even yet. Aside from this, the essay is filled with critical dicta of surprising keenness. I suspect that one reason why Stedman was so willing to accept Whitman comes from the fact that he viewed Whitman, not as something new and strange, but as a revival of a very old literary fashion, tracing its descent from the Hebrew prophets, the Oriental rhapsodists, the translators of the King James version, and William Blake. Equally good is his recognition of the fact, commonplace enough knowledge now, but a discovery in the eighties, that Whitman has a definite technique. Above all, he was, I think, the first critic to perceive that in spite of all Whitman's efforts to be the poet of democracy, his poetry is not a poetry of the people, but is the fruit of an excessive refinement, appealing mainly to a public so thoroughly acquainted with the traditional poetic forms as to be somewhat weary of them, and eager to learn some new thing. The concluding paragraph of the essay, with its careful balancing of praise and blame, its definiteness and soundness of idea, is a tiny masterpiece, sufficient of itself to place Stedman, not perhaps among the great, but at least among the great might-have-beens of criticism.

For seven years after the writing of *Poets of America* Stedman kept silence. Finally, in 1892, his third and last volume appeared. All his life—all, that is, except that major part which the stock exchange had claimed—Stedman had devoted to the study of poetry. He had read poetry, read enormously. He had, in his two previous volumes, surveyed minutely the poetry of England and America in the nineteenth century. He now proposed a final volume, his master-work, which should perform

the task so often attempted by critics great and small, from Aristotle down, yet never carried out with any great measure of success. He would construct a theory of poetry. The result was the volume bearing the imposing title, *The Nature and Elements of Poetry*. It is a volume that one opens with considerable apprehension. The process of literary abstraction, the formation of literary theories, demands the utmost clarity of thought, the utmost precision of expression. Now it is for the lack of just these qualities that Stedman is conspicuous. He was, apparently, doomed to failure from the start.

The book is diffuse. There are, stretching through, vast Saharas of words. The whole first chapter is a dull, stupid, and useless delimitation of the provinces of science and poetry—a problem that seems to have greatly troubled Stedman. And yet, this is, in general, Stedman's best piece of prose writing, often clear-cut, abounding in sharp-edged statements, fairly well stripped of Stedman's usual semi-poetic figures. A glance at the origin of the book helps to explain the improvement. These chapters were first written as a series of lectures to be delivered at Johns Hopkins.

But the influence of the lecture halls of Johns Hopkins is insufficient to account for the sudden growth in ideas which this book evidences; for the book has ideas, sensible, logically developed, far beyond anything of which Stedman had previously showed himself capable. When a man of sixty, whose critical writings have up to that time been rather conspicuous for weakness in reasoning power, turns to one of the most difficult tasks in the field of criticism, and develops in the course of that task such unexpected ability to think as is manifested in this volume, we have either a miracle or a mystery. Not that the ideas here set forth are inconsistent with Stedman's earlier criticism. The main thesis of the volume, the thesis that was implicit in his earlier critical works, is that poetry is the creation of pure beauty, independent of all considerations of moral effect. He sounds again, though softly, the tocsin of the anti-Puritan revolt. He asserts, in opposition to Puritan suspicion of the emotions, that passion is an end, a good, in itself. He handles very neatly the question of didacticism in poetry, arriving eventually at the conclusion that "a prosaic moral is injurious to virtue by making it repulsive"—about as sensible an utter-

ance on that vexed question as I have seen, and one that has the added advantage of turning the moralist's guns against himself. All this is, of course, quite consistent with Stedman's earlier work. But the new and strange feature of the volume is the constructive ability with which a theory of poetry is framed to include these ideas. It was, however neither a mystery nor a miracle.

Stedman had long been a student of Poe. He had collaborated with Professor Woodberry in writing a life of Poe. He was probably one of the few scholars of his day who was acquainted with Poe's critical writings. And his indebtedness to those writings is the key to his sudden revelation of constructive ability in this book. *The Nature and Elements of Poetry* is nothing more nor less than *The Poetic Principle* and *The Rationale of Verse*, enormously expanded in expression, profusely illustrated by quotations for ancient and modern poetry, with a few errors removed, and a few sharp edges filed off.

This, I realize, is a serious charge. To prove it conclusively within the limits of this study is impossible. I shall merely point out certain of the most striking resemblances. The nature of Stedman's handling of Poe is well suggested by the definitions of poetry formulated by the two men. Poe says, "Poetry is the rhythmical creation of beauty." Stedman repeats, and expands; "Poetry is rhythmical, imaginative language, expressing the invention, taste, thought, passion, and insight, of the human soul." Stedman does in some respects alter Poe's principles. He adds to the elements of poetry, passion, so strangely, and perhaps so wisely ruled out by Poe. On the other hand, he lightly waves aside Poe's statement that there is no such thing as a long poem. But in most respects the correspondence between the two is extremely close. In his insistence on concrete beauty as "the one indispensable in poetry;" in his unflinching opposition to didacticism; in the major articles of his poetic creed, Stedman repeats Poe exactly. "Evanescence," says Stedman, "is an unflinching cause of charm. Sorrow and regret are the most effective of poetic emotions. "The sweetest sound in music is a dying fall." This is Poe, at his most idiosyncratic point. Straight from Poe comes Stedman's distinction between the fancy and the imagination; he even

borrows Poe's illustrations of the contrasted qualities—"The Culpit Fay" and some lines out of Shelley.

There is, of course, no reasonable objection to Stedman's making use of Poe. I think, indeed, that he deserved something of Poe, for it is partly due to his services, both as editor and as critic, that Poe's reputation was preserved through a period of general neglect. That Stedman recognized the excellence of Poe's theories of poetry is one of the many bits of evidence which lead me to conclude that his critical taste and judgment, when allowed to function freely, were extraordinarily sound and sure. But again, I am compelled to praise his judgment at the expense of his honesty. His fault lies not in his use of Poe, but in his complete failure to acknowledge the debt. The only mention he makes of Poe as a critic is the slighting remark I have quoted above.

That Stedman had many of the qualities of a great critic is, I think, unquestionable. His theory of poetry was as good as any such theory is apt to be; his reading—within his limited field of poetry—was encyclopedic; his eagerness, unfailing; his taste, both sure and catholic. His contribution to the advance of American literature, by his recognition of Poe and Whitman; by his constant advocacy of a more civilized view of literature; by his opposition to the Puritanic blight on art; by his praise of beauty and workmanship for their own sake; lastly, by his prophetic forecast of a new school of poets when he saw that the art-school had done its work—his contribution was of genuine value. But for all that, he has left us nothing which entitles him to rank with the great critics—with Hazlitt and Sainte-Beuve and Arnold; nothing even up to the standard of his compatriots, Lowell and Henry James. Potentially great in many respects, he fails of attaining greatness in criticism. Part of this failure is due to his personal failings—intellectual feebleness, the lack of courage to speak his mind, mental dishonesty; part is due to the vicious critical tradition of his day, to which he obediently bowed. For twenty years he approached as near as anyone the position of literary dictator of the republic. Today there remain of him only a portrait, a colorless page or two in the *Cambridge History* two useful but impersonal anthologies, and three blue volumes gathering dust on the shelves.

G. E. DEMILLE

XL.

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY AND DONALD G. MITCHELL

IN THE interest of literary accuracy, I venture to comment upon several statements about the literary relations between James Whitcomb Riley and Donald G. Mitchell in the first volume of Marcus Dickey's biography of the poet.¹ I quote in page order:

In the spring of 1875 he [Riley] made another bid for eastern recognition. Purchasing a sample copy of *Hearth and Home* at a news-stand, he concluded to try his luck with the doughty Ik Marvel, who had charmed him with *Reveries of a Bachelor*. He sent him *A Destiny*, which twenty years later was given the title *The Dreamer in A Child-World*. . . . When Riley received the issue of *Hearth and Home* containing his poem and a letter commending his verse, together with a draft for eight dollars, "he proceeded . . . to build a full-sized air castle."²

[Later] he sent a "bulky envelope," a second sample of his "fancy work," to *Hearth and Home*. The venture was disastrous. "By the time my effusions reached them," said Riley, "the hand of Fate had closed the institution like a telescope." The verse came back, but the sting was taken away somewhat by the letter from Donald G. Mitchell.³

To the "disastrous venture" in *Hearth and Home* lovers of Riley verse are largely indebted for *The Shower*. . . . On receiving the *Hearth and Home* letter, Riley was more interested in Ik Marvel than ever. [According to Mr. Dickey, *The Shower* was inspired by a paragraph in Mitchell's *Wet Days at Edgewood* beginning, "Will any of our artists ever give us on canvas a good, rattling, saucy shower?"]⁴

Soon after he [Riley] reached his majority, he found a paragraph in *Hearth and Home*, an editorial note by Ik Marvel, which served him as a standard of living almost two score and ten years.⁵

Prior to writing Longfellow, Riley had had the letter from Donald G. Mitchell about a "very graceful poem," with the accompanying hope that he would "not be discouraged from further exercise of his literary talent."⁶

¹ *The Youth of James Whitcomb Riley*, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1919.

² *Youth of Riley*, 229.

³ *Ibid*, 246.

⁴ *Ibid*, 232.

⁵ *Ibid*, 316.

⁶ *Ibid*, 233.

"About two years since I sent a poem to *Hearth and Home*, and it was received and published with illustrations" [Riley informed Longfellow in a letter dated November 20, 1876]. "I had *given* them the poem, but they paid me for it, a small though handsome sum to me, and I was encouraged to send another, which I did, but the journal was just suspending as it reached them. My manuscript was returned with a kindly note from Donald G. Mitchell, the retiring editor, advising me to continue the exercise of what he was pleased to term 'my literary talent'."

Before the publication of Mr. Dickey's volume, Edmund H. Eitel had written as follows:

Mr. Riley once wrote: "It is strange how a little thing sometimes makes or unmakes a fellow. In these dark days I should have been content with the twinkle of the tiniest star, but even this light was withheld from me. Just then came the letter from McGeechy; and about the same time arrived my first check, a payment from *Hearth and Home* for a contribution called *A Destiny*. . . . The letter was signed 'Editor' and unless sent by an assistant it must have come from Ik Marvel, himself, God bless him! I thought my future made. Almost immediately I sent off another contribution, whereupon to my dismay came this reply: 'The management has decided to discontinue the publication and hopes that you will find a market for your worthy work elsewhere'.'"*

Mr. Eitel also makes the statement⁹ that Riley "received from that magazine his first check, amounting to either six or eight dollars. They [the verses] were printed in the issue of April 10, 1875."

A long and careful study of Mr. Mitchell's life enables me to correct the chief error on the part first of Riley himself, and through him, of Mr. Eitel and Mr. Dickey. Mr. Mitchell was editor of *Hearth and Home* from the first issue, December 26, 1868, to that of September 24, 1870, when the publication passed into the hands of Orange, Judd & Company. Riley did read in the issue of *Hearth and Home* for June 4, 1870, not an editorial note by Ik Marvel, but this brief sentence "filler":

A man's true greatness lies in the consciousness of an honest purpose through life, founded on a just estimate of himself and everything else, on frequent self-examination, and a steady obedience to the rule which

⁷ *Youth of Riley*, 318.

⁸ *Riley's Works*, Biographical Edition, i, 376-377.

⁹ *Ibid*, iv, 558.

he knows to be right, without troubling himself about what others may think or say, or whether they do or do not do that which he thinks and says and does.

This sentence appears in the lower left-hand corner of page 377, just opposite the editorial page; it is unsigned; one cannot say positively that Mitchell wrote it. Undoubtedly he wrote many of these "fillers." I believe that he wrote the one in question, but my belief is based entirely upon the evidence of content and of style.

As to the letter, there is no doubt whatever. In the capacity of editor of *Hearth and Home* Mitchell neither received a contribution from Riley nor had any correspondence with him, for the simple reason that never, after September 24, 1870, did Mitchell have any connection with the magazine. The letter signed "Ex-Editor of *Hearth and Home*" is not in Mitchell's handwriting.¹⁰ I am sure that Mitchell did not write it. I am as familiar with Mitchell's handwriting as one can be, and I know that never at any period of his life did he write such a hand.

Why, then, did Riley believe that Mitchell had accepted, published, and paid for *A Destiny* in 1875, and returned another poem in 1876? To me the explanation is simple enough. As a young man of twenty-one, Riley came across the issue of *Hearth and Home* for June 4, 1870, and therein saw it stated that Donald G. Mitchell was editor. In 1875 Riley evidently was not aware of Mitchell's retirement from the editorship almost five years before. Riley believed that he sent *A Destiny* to Mitchell; he believed that Mitchell accepted it; he believed that his later contribution was returned by Mitchell in the capacity of ex-editor. I am convinced that Riley was sincere and positive in his belief. I understand that near the end of Mitchell's life Riley called at Edgewood and assured Mitchell that he was the first to pay for a Riley poem. Of course Mitchell could not gainsay this. As editor he must have examined thousands of contributions from unknown and little known writers of whom he could retain scarcely a memory. And we must bear in mind that in the later sixties and early seventies the name of James Whitcomb Riley meant nothing in New York City. Mitchell simply had to take Riley's word for a sincere and deep, even though mistaken, gratitude.

WALDO H. DUNN

¹⁰ A facsimile appears in *Youth of Riley* opposite page 274.

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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a type-written synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered, trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

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CONTENTS

'XLI.—Arthur's Round Table. By LAURA HIBBARD LOOMIS.....	771
[XLII.— <i>Guillaume de Palerne</i> : A Medieval "Best Seller." By IRENE PETTIT MCKEEHAN.....	785
XLIII.—The Authorship of the <i>Secunda Pastorum</i> . By OSCAR CARGILL	810
XLIV.—The Metres of the Brome and Chester Abraham and Isaac Plays. By MARGARET DANCY FORT.....	832
[XLV.—The <i>Christus Redivivus</i> of Nicholas Grimald and the Hegge Resurrection Plays. By GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR.....	840
XLVI.—Perolópez Ranjel, Farça a Honor & Reuerencia del Gloriosa Nascimento. By JOSEPH E. GILLET.....	860
(XLVII.—Milton and Servetus: A Study in the Sources of Milton's Theology. By MARTIN A. LARSON.....	891
XLVIII.—Vincent Minutoli's <i>Dépêches du Parnasse, ou la Gazette Des Savants</i> . By GEORGE B. WATTS.....	935
XLIX.—Albrecht von Haller and English Theology. By LAWRENCE M. PRICE.....	942
L.— <i>Alcirelle</i> : An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's <i>Alcire</i> . By GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK.....	955
LI.—La Date d'Achèvement de <i>La Nouvelle Héloïse</i> . By ALBERT SCHINZ.....	971
LII.—Heinrich von Kleist: Lehrjahre (1799–1801). By GEORGE M. HOWE.....	975
LIII.—E. Th. A. Hoffmann's Reception in England. By ERWIN G. GUDDE.....	1005
LIV.—The Physical Basis of Rime. By HENRY LANZ.....	1011
LV.—A Proposed Compromise in Metrics. By CHARLES E. WHIT- MORE.....	1024
Acts of the Executive Council.....	lxi
Constitution of the Modern Language Association.....	lxi

The annual volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* is issued in quarterly instalments. It contains articles which have been approved for publication by the Editorial Committee. To a considerable extent these are selected from papers presented at meetings of the Association, though other appropriate contributions are also accepted. The first number of each volume includes, in an Appendix, the *Proceedings* of the last Annual Meeting of the Association. A Supplement is also issued in December each year containing the List of Members for the current year. The price of the Supplement, when sold separately, is \$1.00.

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XLI

ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE

NOTHING in connection with Arthurian legend is more familiarly referred to than Arthur's Round Table. From 1155 when Wace first mentioned it down to the present day the Round Table has symbolized the idea of fraternal fellowship, whether as of old in chivalrous deeds of arms or as today in the asperities of political discussion. It has become perhaps the most famous piece of furniture ever invented by the mind of man and the concept of it, at once simple and profound, has kept curiously enough even in our own day the idea of a real table around which real men gather and of the symbolic value of their association.

Inquiry into the origin of these ideas is no new thing and in the main it has led scholars¹ to ancient Celtic custom and belief. Even so cautious a scholar as Brugger has asserted: "Unter den keltischen elementen der Arthurromane is eines der am besten gesicherten die Tafelrunde" (*Zts. für frz. Spr. und Litt.*, xxix, 238). Though the archæological evidence in support of this theory can be proved to be practically *nil*,² and

¹ For general discussion and bibliography see J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen, 1923, I, 82-87.

² Some archæological material was cited by A. C. L. Brown in 1900, "The Round Table before Wace," [Harvard] *Studies in Philology and Literature*, VII, 183-205. In 1924, *Mod. Phil.*, XXII, 116, he stated: "Arthur's feasts and the feast of the Grail castle were round because the Celtic fairies feasted in a circle. Arthur as fairy king fell heir to the fairy feasts held especially at Samhain (Nov. 1) in circular mounds, raths, or cromlechs. Of course there is a connection with the ancient round houses of the Celts." Leaving aside all question of the round houses of the Celts, it should be clear there is no necessary connection between the shape of a hall and a dining table. In historic mediæval times the long board and trestle type of table was in common use whether in

the evidence from folklore is far from satisfactory,³ the possibility of Celtic influence on many details connected with the Round Table in Arthurian romance may be admitted at once without in any way explaining the immediate realism, the completeness with which, both as an object and as an institution, the Round Table is realized in the very first description which we have of it. There is nothing vague or fantastic about Wace's account⁴ and yet no conception could have been more completely at variance not only with the ancient pagan Celtic world but with his own twelfth-century day,—a fact not sufficiently realized by those who think his description simply an up-to-date rationalization of much more primitive custom. The twelfth-century world, in so far as we know anything about its household furniture, commonly used the straight table, boards on trestles,⁵ and the idea of a communal dining

square or in round towers. For ancient Celtic times the only archaeological evidence is given by Posidonius (c. 90 B.C.) who said: "The Celts banquet around wooden tables slightly elevated from the ground and when many are assembled they sit in a circle and the bravest sit in the middle like the leader of a chorus." (Quoted by Brown, *Harv. Stud.*, VII, 195.) Here Posidonius was certainly not referring to a common table but to those small individual tables of which the Celts, like the ancient Greeks, apparently made use. Among the Greeks only one or two guests sat at these tables and they were light enough for Penelope's suitors to hurl about. Cf. T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, N. Y., 1914, pp. 203, 209. Prof. Brown's remark "that the Celtic habit of banqueting in a circle and the habit of using a round table" was therefore incautious. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, p. 91, was absolutely correct when he said: "No such thing as a common table figures at Conchobar's court or any other described in the old legends of Ireland." This fact must be separated from the unquestioned evidence concerning the circular feasts, houses, and stone remains of the ancient Celts.

³ See below, n. 8.

⁴ *Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, vv. 9994 ff.:

Iloc seioient li vassal
 Tot chievalment et tot ingal;
 A la table ingalment seioient
 Et ingalment servi estoient.
 Nus d'als ne se pooient vanter
 Qu'il seist plus halt de son per.

⁵ Cf. the long list of literary references given by L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, Paris, pp. 616-19, chiefly from the romances of chivalry. The evidence of twelfth-century art, which was not considered by M. Gautier, is overwhelmingly in favor of the rectangular table.

table, straight or round, would have been only less abhorrent in all probability to an arrogant feudal noble than it would have been to a truculent pagan Celt of the sixth century. In view of the almost photographic fidelity with which Wace transferred the actual life of his own time, its prejudices, beliefs, customs, dress, to the Arthurian world, this fundamental divergence in his description of Arthur's court dining table and of its social significance is more than worthy of note.

Whatever "the tales told by the Bretons" about which Wace was so discreetly silent, it is clear that if they told of a round table at all, they tried, since its shape was so unusual, to explain it. Layamon's famous version (*Brut*, 22737 ff.) of the creation of the Round Table is precisely of this type. Despite all its Arthurian nomenclature the fight takes us back, as Prof. Brown (*Harv. Stud.* vii, 192-95) and others have pointed out, to the heroic brutalities of the world of *Bricriu's Feast*. As an independent story of a fight over the right of precedence it can find numerous parallels in ancient Celtic story; as an explanation, suspiciously *post facto*, of a feast and table of equal fellowship, it can find none. Layamon's account of the fairy carpenter, in truth a "witty wright," who could make a table capable of seating sixteen hundred men in equality and also of being folded up and carried around with Arthur on his travels, is a naive and really somewhat literal-minded attempt to explain the peculiar features of Arthur's table, its shape and its portability. Though scholars may be willing to believe that Arthur as a fairy king, possessed of various magic talismans, also possessed a magic table,⁶ still no one, so far as the writer is aware, thinks Layamon's story more than a makeshift explanation which affords no real clue as to the actual origin of the concept of the Table Round.

It may be well to pause here to emphasize two important points: first, that although Arthur's other possessions began to be listed⁷ in the ninth century and were carefully inventoried in the early twelfth century Welsh story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*

⁶ Cf. Lot, *Romania*, XXVII (1899), 347, n., and Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, XXII, 116, on Arthur's long (or large?) table mentioned in the *Myfyrian Archaeology of Wales*, I, 175.

⁷ For these lists see Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, XXII, 114; *PMLA*, XXV, 29; Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Boston, 1906, p. 95, n. 4.

the Round Table was not named among them; second, that European imagination was captured and held, not by the idea of Arthur with simply a magic table but of Arthur with a round table which more and more even in the twelfth century became "the image of a mighty world."

It is this last fact which seems most to militate against the belief that waifs and strays of Celtic tradition or of ancient ceremonial, could have been the immediate source for the idea of the Round Table in Arthurian romance. Hints of primitive folk festivals and ritual may indeed survive in Wolfram's account of Arthur's knights feasting in a circle on the grass, even as they apparently survive in the folk customs that were still practised in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the highlands of Scotland.⁸ The feast, the circle of people, the circular pattern cut in the sod, though this never was and never could have been called a table, the finding by lot of one "fey" among the company, the perilous state or place in which that person was conceived to be, all these and other details which have been held to be so closely connected with the Arthurian Round Table and the "Siege Perilous," may have a valid though somewhat subterranean relationship. But they do not explain the explicit, full-fledged concept of the Round Table given first of all by that most courtly, Christian, and sophisticated Norman, the poet Wace. He told of an actual round table, of actual chairs, of a gathering of men from many places, of the institution of a fraternal fellowship which made men friends and equals. Despite its unlikeness to all con-

⁸ Mott, *PMLA*, XX, 231 ff. (1905). Brugger, *op. cit.* and Fletcher, p. 142, accepted Mott's argument in large part; Lot, *Lancelot en prose*, Paris, 1918, p. 245, n. 5, and Bruce, *Evolution of Arth. Romance*, I, 85, rejected it. For the present writer the unsatisfactory character of Mott's evidence was not so much in the difficulty of explaining a twelfth-century literary statement by reference to folk festivals which took place in a very limited district some six centuries later, but in the fact that even these festivals offered no explanation for the central feature of this inquiry, i.e., the round table. Even Brugger admitted: "Die Ähnlichkeit [of the circular cut in the sod with people sitting about it] konnte aber kaum so gross sein, dass der Vergleich mit einem Tisch sich aufdrängte; und dies erklärt uns, dass wir bei den Schilderungen der Volkfeste den Versammlungsort sonst nicht direkt als 'runden Tisch' bezeichnet finden. Mir scheint es deshalb, dass dieser Ausdruck nur ausnahmsweise, nur ganz durch Zufall, geschaffen, dann zufällig in die literatur aufgenommen wurde" (*op. cit.*, p. 244).

temporary usage and belief, as has been pointed out, the idea took instant hold and henceforth every Arthurian story-teller had something to say about the Table Round, its making, its owners, its fellowship.⁹ In these details many elements, some pagan, some Christian, some mere individual invention, undoubtedly played their part. We are concerned, however, only with the first literary reference to it, the reference in which Arthur's fellowship is indubitably gathered around a round table.

It has generally been supposed that between this first account of Wace's and that given by Robert de Boron some thirty years later there was no relationship. Robert frankly identified the Round Table with the table of the Last Supper. Merlin, he said, commanded Uther "que il fesist une table el non de la table de la Chainne" (Huth *Merlin*, SATF, 1886, I, 95); and that like the table of Our Lord this should have places for twelve, "por faire le conte de XII" (*Lestoire de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, II, 54), with one place left vacant in memory of Judas and not to be filled until the coming of the Good Knight. The editors of the Huth *Merlin* (I, p. xvii) thought Robert's assertion that the Round Table was thus founded by Uther merely an invention of Robert's, as indeed it probably was. Celtic scholars generally have dismissed the whole account as simply a late

⁹ It is significant that the number of the fellowship varies. Sometimes it is unspecified; again it is said to be thirty-two, fifty, one hundred and fifty, sixteen hundred. In the Christianized versions of the romances the number is commonly given as twelve, supposedly in memory of the twelve Apostles. A Celtic prototype might, however, be cited from the *Fled Bricrend* (ed. Henderson, *Irish Texts*, II, p. xlv) which describes Conchobar's royal couch "around which were placed the twelve couches of the twelve heroes of Ulster." The writer hopes shortly to discuss elsewhere "The Solar Twelve in Pagan and Christian Tradition," but here a reference, kindly pointed out by R. S. Loomis, may be given as indication of the survival of the solar, not the Christian twelve, in Arthurian romance. Bohors, after winning a great victory is declared the best knight; after him the twelve next best are elected. He is clad in a robe of vermeil samite and seated in a golden chair at a table set in a pavilion. He blushes red with modesty. The twelve knights serve him and then "vout seoir a la table" (*Lancelot*, ed. Sommer, IV, 265 ff.). Brugger, *op. cit.*, p. 245, n. 8, rightly suspected that in the *Chevalier as deux espees* the "troi cent et sissante dis" (sis?) knights of the Round Table probably were suggested by the days of the year.

Christian interpolation in Arthurian tradition and therefore of no significance for the question of origin.

Curiously enough neither Celtic scholars nor those most convinced of the Christian origin of the Grail romances, have ever, so far as the writer knows, questioned Robert's statement for its own sake. No one seems to have asked whether it had any possible validity; whether, in short, legend, art, or anything else had ever associated Christ with a round table. This is the more astonishing because it can be absolutely proved by evidence that begins with the end of the first century of the Christian era and continues to the middle of the twelfth century, that to the belief of all Christian Europe Christ instituted the Eucharist and held his Last Supper *at a round table*.¹⁰ In the multitudinous but today almost unknown representations which the art of those centuries has left us in the form of mosaics, of mural paintings, of metal and ivory work, most of all in manuscript illuminations—the art which best bridges that tremendous stretch of time¹¹—the round or semi-circular table is constantly recurrent. This fact has not been realized because it was known only to professional students of iconography, and also because of the complete change in the formula of representing this scene. From the twelfth century down to the present day the Last Supper scene has been visualized by artists, and therefore by all men, as taking place at a rectangular table as in the supremely famous example of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper.¹²

¹⁰ Brugger (*op. cit.*, p. 246, n. 9) got so far as to observe that the similarity between the Arthurian Table and the table of the Last Supper was not accidental for the latter too was "ein Überrest altheidnischen Opferbrauches." The Gospels of course do not speak of the shape of Our Lord's Table and for Brugger the similarity lay either in the mere table idea or else in the idea of a communal meal. On this point Pliny's letter to Trajan (Epistola 96, written 112 A.D.) affords interesting evidence as to the communal meals of the early Christians and the fear that was felt of them since they were regarded as identical with those of secret societies that were often inimical to government. Such a meal is probably represented in the Roman Catacomb painting known as the *Fractio Panis*. See below, n. 26.

¹¹ C. R. Morey, "The Sources of Mediæval Style," *Art Bulletin*, 1924, VII, 35, n.; p. 46.

¹² Cf. A. van Scheltema, *Über die Entwicklung der Abendmahlsdarstellung von der byzant. Mosaikkunst bis zur niederländischen Malerei des 17 Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1912.

It would be a work of supererogation to cite in any great detail examples of what may be called the Eastern or Round Table type of Last Supper since one has only to turn to the work of Dobbert¹³ or Millet (*Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile*, Paris, 1916) or Dalton (*Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911) to come upon hosts of examples. It is enough perhaps simply to indicate a chronological sequence¹⁴ from the end of the first through the twelfth century and to give a few illustrations for concrete evidence. These pictures regularly represent the apostles as lying or sitting about the table, and the table itself spread with pieces of bread, with chalices of wine, with one or more fishes,¹⁵ and sometimes with knives. Some pictures treat the scene as an event (Fig. 1, note), some as a Sacrament (Fig. 2). There are variations in the number of apostles, in the presence or absence of the *motif* of the Beloved Disciple leaning on his Master's breast, in the position of Judas, who in the earlier representations is indicated only by the sharp sidewise glance of the other apostles, horrified at Christ's prophecy that one would betray Him (Fig. 1), and who is then gradually isolated until he sits or kneels alone on the forward side of the table (Fig. 3). But no matter what changes of this sort occur, the table keeps its regularly round or semi-circular shape (Figs. 1-6). On the lips of any preacher in the first eleven centuries of the Christian era, if the continuous record of the art of those centuries has any validity whatever, it is clear that a reference to the table of Christ would have brought to mind the *round* table which appeared so regularly in the European representations of the Last Supper.

The reasons for the surprising transformation which changed with the shape of the table the whole artistic pattern or formula

¹³ Dobbert, "Das Abendmahl bis gegen den Schluss des 14 Jahrhunderts," *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1890-95, vols. XIII, XIV, XV. Cf. also E. Baldwin-Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1918, pp. 129-41.

¹⁴ Given at the end of this paper, n. 26.

¹⁵ Miss Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*, 1920, pp. 118-29, pointed out the striking parallels between the Messianic Fish Meal of the Early Christians and that described in Robert de Boron's *Joseph* (cf. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthur. Romance*, I, 233). Miss Weston emphasized the fact, so often neglected by students of the Grail romances, "that Christianity took over and adapted to its own use a symbolism already endowed with a deeply rooted prestige and importance."

for the Last Supper scene, belong more properly to an inquiry into the history of art than into the origins of literary legend. But since in this instance the one is closely linked with the other it may be observed that sculpture, which alone of all the arts offers almost no illustration of the Last Supper scene before the tenth century, was to all intents and purposes an art lost with the glories of pagan Rome and not revived until the beginnings of the Romanesque period. When the craftsman began to carve in ivory, wood, or stone, images for ecclesiastical use, he was using a different and for centuries an almost unused medium of expression which had a nature and law of its own. A glance at a ninth century ivory carving from Metz (Fig. 7) shows the difficulty which the carver experienced in trying to represent twelve men around a round table. In another carving, a tenth century ivory book cover (Fig. 8), the artist has come nearer to solving his problem. He has put his apostles in rows and left only three figures at the Eucharistic table. The next step was taken, perhaps first¹⁶ of all at Dijon by the sculptor (Fig. 9), who observed not only the necessities of his medium but its architectural purpose. He has put his apostles in a row behind a long table with Judas alone kneeling on its forward side. This type of representation, i.e., with Christ as the central figure among the apostles as they sit behind a long table, became henceforth the established one.¹⁷ Its virtues were apparent at

¹⁶ This is the view of E. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux au XIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1924, p. 419. A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, pp. 117, 123, dated the Dijon tympanum 1137-1145, and thought it subsequent to the Last Supper by the headmaster at Chartres.

¹⁷ See Porter, *op. cit.*, by whose kind permission several plates are reproduced. Cf. Pl. 136, Dijon; Pl. 93-94, Neuilly-en-Donjon; Pl. 111, St. Julien-de-Jonzy; Pl. 174, Milan, S. Ambrogio; Pl. 199, Pistoia; Pl. 331, Dax, see here Fig. 12, reproduced from plate by Mrs. Porter; Pl. 661 Logroño; Pl. 875, Salamanca; Pl. 1136, Vouvaut, Vendée; Pl. 1148, St. Pons, Hérault; Pl. 1214a, Nantua; Pl. 1292-95, Beaucaire; Pl. 1318, St. Gilles; Pl. 1361, Arles. Aside from certain doubtful cases in which the table is curved to follow the curve of the column on which the capital stood, as in Pl. 471, Toulouse; Pl. 543, Huesca; Pl. 728, Lugo; Pl. 1104, L'Île Bouchard; Pl. 1214, Issoire, the only notable instance of a sculptured round table in Prof. Porter's exhaustive study is that at Charlieu, Burgundy (Pl. 110, here Fig. 5) which shows an extraordinary mastery of technical problems and belongs, as he said (p. 121) "to the late autumn of Burgundian art." In the complete survey of *Les Ivoires Gothiques Français* by M. Raymond Koehler, Paris, 1924, there is no example of a Last Supper scene in which the straight table does not appear.

a glance; as a composition it suited admirably the lintel or tympanum space it was designed to occupy; it represented the famous scene in the familiar terms of every day life; it spoke poignantly of the profoundest Sacrament of the Church. It may well be, as M. Mâle (*L'Art Religieux du 12e Siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, 419-22) has suggested, that the representation of this scene was, under Cluniac influence, a favorite method of combating heresy. At any rate there can be no question of its immediate and widely diffused use, nor of the rapidity with which it drove out the old form of representation. Not merely in stone and plastic materials generally but in painting, in illuminations and mural decorations, in practically all the arts after the middle of the twelfth century, the long table regularly displaces the round. In this fact, probably, lies the explanation for the curious remark introduced in the thirteenth-century Huth *Merlin*. After stating that Uther's round table was made "el non de la table de la Chainne," one redactor adds: "et tot fust carrée." This must mean that the redactor was so accustomed to the later manner of representing the Last Supper with a rectangular table that he believed it to be the true and original type.¹⁸

Before leaving this matter of religious iconography, its interest for secular, and particularly Arthurian iconography, must be noted, since precisely the same relation seems to have existed between the two kinds of iconography as existed between art and literary legend. Not many actual representations of the Arthurian Round Table (Fig. 10) are known¹⁹ but in those

¹⁸ Prof. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1908, p. 41, n referred to the square table, supposedly that of the Last Supper, which in the 13th century was shown in St. John Lateran, Rome, and was described in the meditation on the Last Supper attributed to St. Bonaventura. (Cf. Robert Mannyng's translation, *EETS*, 1885, p. 3): "Here table was brode and four square The maner of that cuntre was swych thare." The description, like the relic itself, at odds though it was with the most ancient Eastern tradition concerning the table of the Last Supper, may nevertheless have had a very real influence on contemporary art and belief. Cf. *Stacions of Rome*, *EETS*, 1866, ll. 305 ff. See also F. N. Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, Lond., 1889, pp. 131, 182.

¹⁹ Reproductions of several illuminations from manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are given by Lanson, *Histoire Illustrée de la Littérature française*, Paris, 1923, I, p. 45 (reproduced here as Fig. 10), p. 46; Bédier, *Histoire de la Litt. frç.*, Paris, 1923, I, p. 40. A Round Table feast is represented among the fourteenth century frescoes at Castle Runklestein, Austrian Tyrol.

dating from the fourteenth century and later, the increasingly realistic tendencies of Renaissance art are clear. The artist has tried to produce the scene his text suggested; his knights are in lordly guise and are gathered around an actual round table. Without discussing the possible influence on such a picture as that shown in Fig. 10 of contemporary fourteenth century paintings of the Last Supper²⁰ it may be pointed out that in what is probably one of the earliest extant representations of Arthur's feast, a thirteenth-century illumination (Fig. 11) in a *Parzival* manuscript,²¹ there is certain proof that the artist was so controlled by the contemporary manner of depicting the Eucharistic scene that he entirely neglected the implication of his text. Here the supposedly round table feast of Arthur is held at a rectangular table spread with loaves and fish and at which the king sits with hand upraised in the Christ-like gesture of benediction. Secularized as is the scene in costume and personages, its composition is so close to the twelfth-century representation of the Last Supper at Dax (Fig. 12, see n. 17), that no one can doubt that the secular artist was following a pattern thoroughly established in religious art; table and table-cloth, dishes, fishes, knives, figures, gesture, all these are practically identical. The continued association of the two scenes together cannot be doubted though the in-

The wooden round table known to the chronicler Hardyng (cf. Fletcher, *Arthur's Chronicles*, p. 252) and to Caxton, still hangs in Winchester Castle. See Smirke, *The Hall and Round Table at Winchester*, *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain*, 1846. The present painting of King Arthur enthroned above the rose in the center of this table probably belongs to the Tudor period. From the rose radiate twenty-four lines between which are inscribed the names of twenty-four knights, some of them (Degore, for instance) non-Arthurian. It is probable that when it was first painted the table bore only twelve names. A capital reproduction of the table is to be found in King Arthur's Castle Hotel, Tintagel, Cornwall.

²⁰ Certain details in this Round Table scene which is represented as taking place in an interior room with little external scenes at each side and as having pew-like seats decorated with bands of ornament, strongly suggest comparison with the Last Supper attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti, a fourteenth century Siennese painter who made curious archaistic use of the round table for his painting.

²¹ Reproduced from K. Benziger, *Parzival in der deut. Hds. Illustration des Mittelalters*, Strassburg, 1914, Pl. 30. The MS. in question is Munich c Gm 10.

consistency of so representing Arthur's table is as apparent as was the *Merlin* redactor's observation that a round table was made in the name of a square one! Story-teller and artist alike show the potent influence of contemporary belief on their pictorial imaginations. It is not an unfair inference, then, that Wace was similarly influenced, especially since there was in his twelfth-century day in "sculptureless Normandy" no inconsistency and hardly a break in the tradition that for eleven centuries had associated in all men's eyes the supreme fellowship and sacrament of Christianity with a round table.

The evidence of this association is, as has been said above, absolutely irrefutable; as irrefutable as the evidence of Christianity itself in western Europe. Known as the scene must have been wherever Christianity itself was known, fixed in the eyes of people who were taught largely by pictures,²² the idea of Christ's round table seems certainly the most valid immediate source for the idea of Arthur's that has yet been suggested.²³

²² Cf. J. Richter and A. C. Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, Lond., 1904, pp. 389 ff.

²³ It is perhaps not unimportant to remind those believing in the Celtic origin of the Round Table that there is not only no evidence for the idea of a communal table in ancient Celtic custom but that the very word for table in Irish or Welsh is derived from A. S. or O. N. *bord*. Cf. Kuno Meyer, *Revue Celt.*, X. 369. Though this word *bord* is used no idea of a table, but only of an institution, an assembly of bards and minstrels, was expressed by the "*Bord gronn*" referred to in the following passage: "After that Rhys the son of Tewdwr, prince of Dinevor and Dyfed and Keredigion, having from necessity been some time in Brittany, returned to Wales, and brought with him the system of the Round Table, where it had become forgotten, and he restored it as it is with regard to minstrels and bards, as it had been at Caerleon upon Usk, under the Emperor Arthur." (Welsh quoted by Zimmer, *Göttingische gelehrte Anz.*, 1890, p. 796, and kindly translated for me by Prof. A. C. L. Brown.) Since this passage in the Iolo MSS. was admitted by Zimmer himself to be "jüngere Fabelei und Combination," it does not call for further discussion. Finally, it may be said with reference to Miss Weston's idea (*Mélanges offerts à M. M. Wilmotte*. Paris, 1910) that the Round Table had some connection with the whirling round house of Celtic mythic story because Bérout, *Tristan*, l. 3384, said the Round Table "*tornoie come le monde*" is altogether unlikely. A passage in the *Queste* (Furnivall, p. 67) explains that the Round Table was so made because of the "*rondeche del monde et la circonstance des planetes e des elemens,—dont on puet dire que en la table reonde est li mondes senefies.*" In actual fact we might also notice that a famous silver table of Charlemagne's was made of three round bucklers which represented the earth, the constellations, the movements of the

In the one as in the other there is the concept of an actual table; there is also the inevitable association with an ideal fellowship. The only question that seems rightfully to remain is of the reason that led Wace, or possibly some earlier storyteller, to appropriate the religious concept and image for the purposes of secular story.

The clue is probably to be found in the statement made by both Geoffrey and Wace that among the great nobles who came to Arthur's high feast were the twelve peers of France. In this as in other details the Arthurian chroniclers were somewhat obviously trying to exalt Arthur at the expense or at least on the model of Charlemagne. The legend of Arthur's continental wars, of his conquest of Rome, his general "magnificence," his knights of the Round Table, have been noted by various scholars²⁴ as reflecting the deliberate imitation in Arthurian romance of the Carolingian legend. Now in the *Chanson de Roland* and in many another of those great and famous tales, it is plainly and frankly said that the twelve peers of France were created in remembrance of the twelve apostles. The evidence on this point has been so thoroughly assembled and discussed by Gautier in his study of the *Chanson de Roland*²⁵ that it needs no further proof. It was to the honor and glory of Charlemagne, Defender of the Faith, to have his twelve peers; it was to the glory and profit of men to recognize in the Frankish heroes the feudalized replicas of the far-off, glorious twelve. Could less be done for British Arthur when men like Geoffrey and Wace undertook to make their hero rival the greatness of Charlemagne? They could not in truth take from Charlemagne the tradition of his Twelve Peers but Wace could and did endow Arthur with a fellowship that even more nearly suggested the exalted loyalty and equality of the first apostolic twelve.

planets. Here, if necessary, was the fact of a round table, which "tornoie come le monde."

²⁴ Cf. Fletcher, *Arth. Chronicles*, p. 84; Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Ans.* 1890, pp. 829-30; Golther, *Zts. f. vergleich. Literaturgesch.*, 1890, III, 218; refs. by Brown, *Harv. Studies*, VII, 194, n.

²⁵ M. Gautier, *Chanson de Roland*, Tours, 1872, II, 73-75, questioned Gaston Paris's assertion that the idea of the Twelve Peers in commemoration of the Apostles was not "dans la poesie primitive." M. Gautier noted its appearance in the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Voyage à Jerusalem*, *Karlsmagnus Saga*.

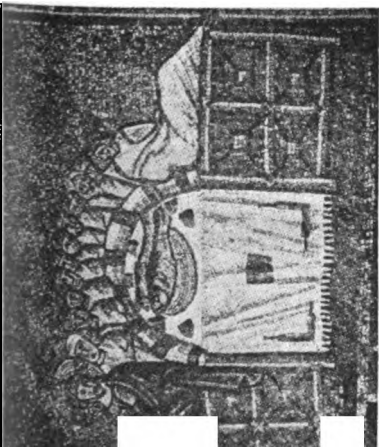


FIG. 1.—RAVENNA, SAN APOLLINARE NUOVO
 MOSAIC. VI CENT.

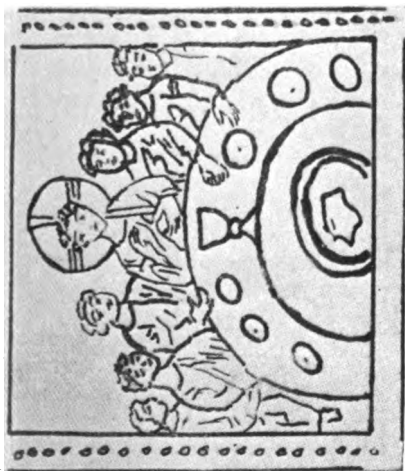


FIG. 2.—CAMBRIDGE CODEX, CCC 286
 EVANGELIARIVM. VI CENT.



FIG. 3.—MUNICH, LIBRARY. CODEX LAT. 4452
 SACRAMENTARIIVM. XI CENT.

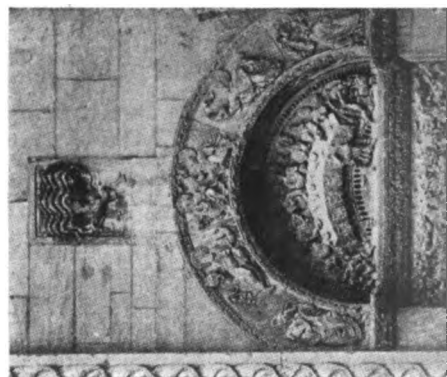
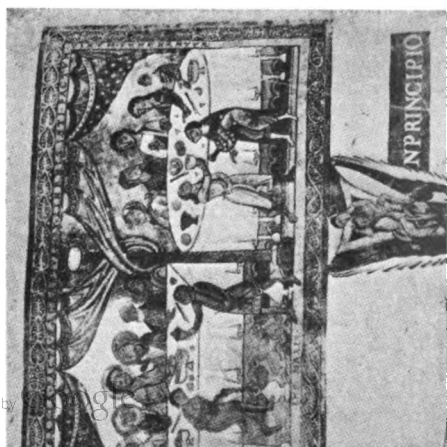




FIG. 7.—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUS.



FIG. 10.—PARIS, BIBL. NAT. MS.



FIG. 8.—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUS.
IVORY. IX-X. CENT.



FIG. 11.—MUNICH, LIBRARY. MS. 60010

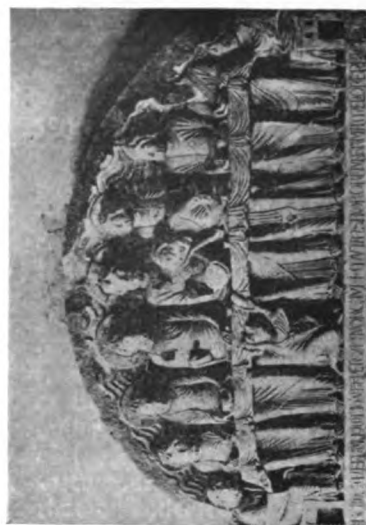


FIG. 9.—DIJON. MUSEE ARCHEOLOGIQUE
TYPANUM. XII CENT.



FIG. 12.—DUNK. OF. PAUL. HERIER

As its outward and visible sign there was an object practically unknown in actual mediæval usage but associated with Christ by all the intervening centuries of Christian art.²⁸ It was this

²⁸ THE ROUND TABLE OF CHRIST IN ART:

First, second, third centuries: Roman catacomb paintings.

Catacomb of St. Priscilla, Capella Greca. Seven people, one of them a woman, sit at a round table on which lie five loaves, two fishes, a two-handled chalice. Probably the representation of an actual commemorative Eucharistic repast. Cf. J. Wilpert, *Fractio Panis*, 1895, Pl. III; W. Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, N. Y., 1923, p. 227.

Sacrament Chapel of St. Callistus. Christ Himself consecrates the bread and fish lying on a classical round-topped tripod. Cf. Michel, *L'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1905, I, 56.

Ibid., Christ, the Fisher of Men, draws a line from the sea; behind Him, seven men feast at a round table. Cf. Lowrie, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

Symbolically suggestive pictures of this type, necessitated by the dangers of the early Church, gradually gave way to definite presentments of the Last Supper (cf. Dobbert, *Repertorium*, XIV, 182 ff.; Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, IV, 6, Pl. 256; *L'Evangile*, II, Pl. 69; Wilpert, *Die Malereien Katakomben Roms*, 1903, *passim*).

Sixth century.

Fig. 1. Ravenna mosaic. San Apollinare Nuovo, reproduced from Millet, *L'Iconographie*, Fig. 268. This same type of Last Supper, treated as an event, and with the same arrangement of couch and table ends, is also found in the Rossano Gospels. Cf. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 23.

Fig. 2. Corp. Chr. Coll. Camb. MS. 286, Gospels (perhaps one of the MSS. sent to St. Augustine). The Institution of the Sacrament, reproduced from Dobbert, *Repertorium*, XVIII, 339, Fig. 53. Cf. R. van Marke, *La Peinture Romane*, 1921, p. 34.

Eighth Century.

Tours, Sacramentary of Autun, cir. 845, Institution of the Sacrament. See Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, Pl. XLI. The inscription on the table reads: "Cena Domini."

Ninth Century.

Fig. 7. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, ivory, cir. 850, school of Metz, reproduced from A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen u. sächsischen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1914, I, No. 76.

Tenth century.

Fig. 8. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, ivory book cover, reproduced from Goldschmidt, I, No. 124.

Eleventh century.

Aix-la-Chapelle, gold altar, made after 1001. Cf. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, I, Pl. 87. In this Christ is at the left of the round table; Judas stands alone in front; the other apostles are grouped at the far side of the table. Cf. Figs. 6 and 7 here.

object, this round table, which Wace or some earlier story-teller appropriated for Arthur as the very sign and token of chivalric fellowship. It was this round table unquestionably which Robert de Boron had in mind. It became straightway one of those symbols of the imagination capable of persisting even in centuries that lost the clue to its original significance, capable even of adaptation in the world today.

LAURA HIBBARD LOOMIS

Fig. 3. Munich MS. Gospels given to Bamberg by Henry II (the Saint), reproduced from G. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Hds. der Kgl. Hof- und Stadtbibliothek in München*, V, Pl. 17.

Twelfth Century.

Fig. 4. Erlangen, Gumpertsbibel, reproduced from Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1908-13, Taf. XLVIII, Abbildungen 148.

Fig. 5. Charlieu, Burgundy, stone sculpture, reproduced from Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, Pl. 110.

Fig. 6. London, British Museum, Egerton 1139, Psalter made for Melissenda, wife of Fulke of Anjou, reproduced from Millet, *L'Iconographie*, Fig. 279. Cf. Herbert, *Illuminated MSS.*, p. 57.

New York, Morgan Library, Limoges Gospels, No. 101. In this Christ holds in outstretched hands the bread and chalice; the apostles are grouped on one side of a narrow semi-circular table, similar to that represented in the Charlieu sculpture. In the Limoges Gospels, as in the famous *Hortus Deliciarum*, and the Gumpertsbibel (Fig. 4 here) it is interesting to notice that the traditional round table is used for the Last Supper scene but in other scenes, the Supper at Emmaus, for instance, the rectangular table is represented. The earliest fresco of the Last Supper scene with a straight table seems to be that in Garene, Cappadocia, and to date from the tenth or the eleventh century. Cf. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 1905, Fig. 75, a reference for which I am indebted to Prof. Porter. The earliest illumination with a straight table for this scene is in a manuscript dating from 1011-1014. Cf. S. Beissel, *Des W. Bernward Evangelienbuch*, Hildesheim, 1891, Taf. xviii.

XLII

GUILLAUME DE PALERNE: A MEDIEVAL "BEST SELLER"

SO MANY things about the Middle Ages seem strange to the modern reader that it is easy to over-emphasize the differences between the points of view and the methods of medieval and of modern writers. Especially is this true of the writers of fiction. We seldom get more than a brief glimpse of the medieval fiction-writer, specifically the author of medieval romances, actually at work; for example, when we find Chrétien de Troyes using the old book from the cathedral library at Beauvais in the composition of *Cligès*. Generally we have only the finished product on the one hand, and on the other hand, "sources" of various kinds, folk-tale or saga or classical story. Where the relation between the finished product and the source is close and obvious, as in such romances as *Sir Amadas* and *Sir Isumbras*, the mere identification of the source reveals the method of the writer: he found an attractive old story and retold it, adding such embellishments as his audience would probably like. Nothing could be simpler. But the writers of the more courtly and sophisticated romances were not mere redactors; they were authors, in very much the same sense as the modern novelist is an author. And like most modern novelists, they showed their inventive powers, not often in finding new material, but usually in making recombinations of old material. They sometimes had the advantage over the present would-be producer of "best sellers" in writing for specific courtly groups presided over by single leaders of taste. It was therefore relatively easy to discover what their public wanted. Thus Chrétien wrote his *Chevalier de la Charrette* to satisfy Marie de Champagne, though it seems not to have been exactly in accordance with his own ethical standards.

What differentiated the medieval fiction-writer most sharply, however, from his modern successor was the fact that in such a case as that just mentioned, which may be regarded as typical, the reaction of his public was immediate and apparent to him-

self, probably even while his work was in process of composition; for it is surely reasonable to suppose that the long, rambling romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were composed piecemeal as well as read in sections to their courtly audiences. The writer could test the predilections of his readers—or hearers—by a particular type of incident or method of treatment in the first part of his story and repeat or avoid it in the latter part according as it succeeded, or failed to please them. Above all, from what we know of those medieval groups of high-born ladies and their attendant courtiers, their interest in courtly love, in problems of conduct, in the glorification of heroic prowess, in parallels and comparisons and *debats*, it must be evident that one of the criteria by which the success of a romance could be measured was the amount of interesting conversation aroused by it. The writer of a medieval “best seller”—that is, of a piece of fiction definitely designed to provide what the reading public of those days wanted—would be inclined to produce something that would provoke discussion.

In a recent attempt to analyze the romance of *Guillaume de Palerne*, my own conception of the methods and motives of such medieval writers became much clearer, and the conclusions derived from this analysis may perhaps be of wider application than appears at first sight.

THE EXTANT VERSIONS AND THE ORIGINAL FORM

The romance of *Guillaume de Palerne* is extant in three versions:

(1) A French poem in octosyllabic couplets, which is generally regarded as the original form of the romance, though some doubt has been expressed on this point. At any rate, it dates from near the time of probable composition—the concluding years of the twelfth century.¹

(2) An English alliterative poem, which can be dated pretty definitely as “1350, or soon after” by its references to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.²

¹ Ed. by H. Michelant, *Soc. des anciens Textes français*, 1876; MS. in the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal. Cf. John Edwin Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, 1916, p. 19; also Introd. by Sir Frederick Madden in work cited below; Laura A. Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England*, 1924, p. 214.

² Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The poem is in *King’s Coll. Camb. MS. 13*, defective at the beginning, and has been edited by Sir Frederick Madden for the Roxburghe

(3) A French prose romance extant in several editions of the sixteenth century. So far as I know, this version has not been reprinted and is not available in this country. Sir Frederick Madden, who evidently examined it, says that the English text is closer to the French prose than to the metrical version. Later writers have apparently accepted this statement without attempting to verify it or to discover the details in which the two French forms differ. M. Michelant, the editor of the French verse romance, discusses the language and format of the various prose editions with no reference to their content.³ Professor Max Kaluza has made a detailed analysis of the relations of the English and the French texts, *Englische Studien*, IV, 197-274; most of the differences may be accounted for by the exigencies of translation, the change in metrical form, adaptation to a middle-class audience, and the English author's greater power of visualization.⁴

There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the genesis of this romance, the merit of which is rather greater than has been generally recognized. Professor Wells writes:

Just what is the ultimate source of the story, is uncertain. The werwolf motive was known among Romans, Scandinavians, and Celts. The title of the romance and the names of the cities referred to, seem to point to Italy and to support the ascription of the French poem to a Latin source, composed perhaps in Italy or in Sicily. The love-matter between the hero and the heroine is derived from later Greek romance . . . , and its treatment gives to the story much of the atmosphere of the Greek tales.

Gaston Paris classifies the story as an old Celtic *conte*, carried into Sicily by the Normans and localized there. He comments on the fact that some details in the Norman chronicles of Sicily

Club (1832) and by W. W. Skeat for the *EETS* (Ext. Ser., I, 1867). I have not seen the Roxburghe Club edition, but Professor Skeat reprints Sir Frederick Madden's valuable introduction. There is also extant a fragment of an English prose version, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXVII, 318 ff.

³ Michelant, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii-xxi. Madden, unfortunately, did not have first-hand acquaintance with the French verse romance; cf. *EETS*, ed., p. xvii.

⁴ Professor Wells' remark that "the English romance shows in details extraordinary independence of the extant French poetical version," though literally true—with the possible exception of the word "extraordinary"—might be misleading; for in all essential particulars, the stories are identical.

seem to have a Scandinavian origin and to go back to the time before the Normans came into southern Europe; the disguise of William and Melior as white bears and perhaps some other matters might be thus accounted for.⁵ Ten Brink is in substantial accord with this view.⁶ Körting regards the story as of Germanic origin on account particularly of the werwolf motive, but believes that before it came into the hands of the French poet it had received a Byzantine working-over. Probably, he says, the tale was brought by the Normans into Italy, and there received the southern romantic decoration.⁷ These general remarks constitute about the sum total hitherto of scholarly attention to the sources of *Guillaume de Palerne*, with the exception of some discussion as to its possible relation to the Celtic Werwolf Tale, which will be noted later.

Such hypotheses seem to imply that the romance has a single source and that the writer is, in a way, a mere redactor. My own hypothesis is that the romance is a composite, put together by the author of the original French poem from several different sources and treated in such a way as to appeal directly to the immediate interests of the Countess Yolande, for whom it was written, and her court circle.⁸

The plot of the romance according to the English version will serve for the French as well. Moreover, the running marginal outline in the E.E.T.S. edition greatly facilitates the identification of subject-matter. There are two or three fairly noticeable differences in the plots, one of which will be commented on later. The following is the summary of the story, as given by Wells (*op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20):

The English MS. is defective at the beginning. From the French one learns that William is son of a King of Apulia, Sicily, Palermo, and other lands. His uncle plots to poison the child. A werwolf, who in his childhood has been enchanted by his stepmother, the Queen of

⁵ Gaston Paris, "La Sicile dans la littérature française du moyen âge," *Romania*, V, 109.

⁶ Bernhard Ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, Strassburg, 1899, I, 389-91.

⁷ Gustav Körting, *Grundriss der Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, 1893, ¶91. See summary of discussion of origin by Miss Hibbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 ff.

⁸ Sir Frederick Madden's identification of the Countess Yolande, mentioned in the French text, as the daughter of Baldwin IV, Count of Hainault, is generally accepted and in this paper is taken as proved.

Spain, saves the boy by carrying him off and fostering him. One day (and here the English begins), William is found and carried home by a cowherd. Childless, the peasant and his wife adopt the boy, whom they come to love dearly. Attracted by his appearance, the Emperor of Rome takes the youth under his patronage. His daughter, Melior, and the boy fall in love. Through Alesaundrine, the girl companion of Melior, who acts as go-between, the lovers are brought together and long enjoy each other in secret. William exhibits great prowess in battle in Saxony and in Lombardy. Marriage is arranged between Melior and the Emperor of Greece. The lovers flee, sewed in bearskins. In the forest, the werwolf supplies them with food, and misleads their pursuers; finally, he guides them into Sicily, clothed as hart and hind. There they find [Alphonse, the werwolf's]⁹ half-brother and his father, the King of Spain, [waging war upon the widowed Queen, William's mother, and her daughter]. William overcomes the Spaniards, and acts for the Queen in the stead of her lost son. Ultimately, he captures the King of Spain and his son. Learning from the King of the enchantment of the werwolf, William compels the Queen to undo her magic. The restored Alphonse reveals the identity and the past history of William. William and Melior are wedded. Alphonse marries William's sister. Alesaundrine is advantageously matched. William becomes Emperor of Rome, and rewards his foster-parents.

A careful analysis shows the romance to be composed of the following elements:

A. Nucleus: the story of a lost prince, who, as a "fair unknown," falls in love with an emperor's daughter, rescues his mother from an enemy, and is eventually restored to his rights.

B. The old folk-tale of the wolf's fosterling, very widespread and in western Europe at least as old as the story of Romulus and Remus. (B may have been joined to A before the latter came into the hands of the author.)

C. The Celtic Werwolf Tale analyzed by Professor Kit-tredge,¹⁰ in a very much modified form, owing to the influence of B and D, but showing striking resemblances in detail to the version in the *Lai de Melion*.¹¹

⁹ Professor Wells prints "William's," but this is an obvious error.

¹⁰ *Arthur and Gorlagon*, [Harvard] *Stud. and Notes*, VIII, 149-275.

¹¹ *Zsf. für Rom. Phil.*, VI (1882), 94 ff., ed. by W. Horak. Miss Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 220, writes: "Although only the more obvious parallels of incident and character have been touched on here, it seems sufficiently clear that the author of *Guillaume de Palerne* was familiar with the particular story of which *Bisclavret* and *Melion* were independent derivations." Evidence will be given

D. A selection and a treatment of names, localities, and incidents such as to suggest persons and events of considerable contemporary importance and of special interest to the author's immediate audience.

A. THE NUCLEUS OF THE STORY

In the French romance we find the following statements: (vv. 18-22) 'It pleased me to tell, according to my understanding and memory, the facts of an ancient story (*estoire*) which happened in Apulia to a king who held the land.' (vv. 9649-52) 'Of King William and of his mother, of his children and of his race, of his empire and of his reign treats the *estoire* here at the end.' (vv. 9658-60) 'This book he caused to write and make and turn from Latin into *roumans*, praying God for the good lady,' etc. Though the claim of a Latin original is so common in the earlier romances as to seem almost like a convention, it is known in a number of specific cases that the claim is well-founded, and there is no good reason for doubting the truth of it here. A Latin *estoire* emanating from Sicily or southern Italy would naturally exhibit those Byzantine, "Late Greek," or oriental qualities that various scholars have discovered in *Guillaume de Palerne*.¹² Also, if it were produced by or for the Norman ruling class, the emphasis on fighting and the war-like character of the hero, which differentiate it sharply from such typical Byzantine or oriental romances as *Floris and Blanchefleur*, would be accounted for.¹³

I shall give evidence later to show that the purpose of the author obliged him either to find and use a Sicilian story or to locate in Sicily a story having some other origin. In this case I believe that he found the story already placed in the proper environment, for the only other well-known romance with a

later to show the probable dependence of *Guillaume* on *Melion* or on a version closely resembling the extant text of the latter.

¹² Michelant, *op. cit.*, p. xx; G. Paris, *La Littérature française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1914, ¶¶ 51, 52; Wells, *loc. cit.*; Körting, *op. cit.*, ¶91. This would also account for the accurate references in the romance to Sicilian localities, Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 220, though the author's knowledge might have been derived directly or indirectly from the Countess Yolande's husband; cf. D *infra*.

¹³ In the English *William of Palerne*, which in this respect does not differ essentially from the French, one eighth of the entire poem is taken up with actual accounts of battles.

definitely Sicilian setting has a plot showing marked similarities to that of *Guillaume de Palerne*.¹⁴

Floriant et Florete is extant in a unique MS. of the 14th century at Newbattle Abbey and was edited by Francisque Michel for the Roxburghe Club in 1870. So far as I have been able to discover, its resemblances to *Guillaume de Palerne* have never been noted, though Gaston Paris classes them together as old Celtic *contes* carried into Sicily by the Normans and localized there.¹⁵ The failure to observe the likeness in the main plots of the two stories is probably due to the unlikeness in their fairy-tale embellishments, which to the modern reader are much the most interesting elements in these romances. *Floriant et Florete* (*F*) in its present form and perhaps in its general character is later than *Guillaume* (*G*), but there has probably been no borrowing on either side. If my hypothesis is correct, both represent literary composites built up around a nucleus, a fairly simple story of courtly love and war, originally attached to a legendary Sicilian prince.

The resemblances follow:

(1) Floriant and William are both sons of a King of Apulia or Sicily. (2) A wicked steward forms a conspiracy against Floriant's father, kills him, and usurps his throne. In *G*. the conspiracy is directed against William himself by a wicked uncle, who immediately disappears from the story. (3) Floriant is a posthumous child, born in a forest while his mother is fleeing from the usurper; he is carried off by the fairy Morgain to save him from his enemies, is brought up in ignorance of his birth, but trained in arms and courtesy. William, at the age of four, is carried off by a friendly werwolf to save him from his enemies, is nurtured in a forest, brought up in ignorance of his birth, but trained in arms and courtesy. (4) In both stories, the mother, who survives, believes her son to be dead. In *F*. the steward-usurper seeks to marry her, and besieges her in Monreale. In *G*. the queen has a daughter. The King of Spain seeks

¹⁴ Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomodon* is located principally in Apulia and Calabria. It is obviously a "courtly composite," as Professor Wells calls it (p. 148). Curiously enough, it has one prominent incident in common with both *Guillaume de Palerne* and *Floriant et Florete*: the attempt to force a princess into marriage by besieging her in her castle and her rescue by a knight, who is a "fair unknown." This is, however, a very frequently recurring incident.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, Romania, V, 111.

the daughter as a wife for his son and, being refused, besieges the queen and the princess in Palermo. Here the fact that no reason is given why the Spanish prince is an undesirable suitor spoils the motivation in *G*. (5) In both stories, the son comes to the rescue of his mother. In *G*, he is brought by the werwolf; in *F*, he is sent by the fairy, Morgain. (6) In *F*, the hero fights a single combat with the steward and defeats and slays him. In *G*, the hero fights with and kills the steward of the King of Spain for no particular reason except the chance of battle. (7) In *F*, the fairy reveals the son's origin; in *G*, the werwolf does so. (8) In *F*, the hero falls in love with the daughter of the Greek emperor, who is aiding the steward against the queen. In *G*, the hero falls in love with the daughter of the Roman emperor, who has befriended him, and the Greek emperor is represented as his rival. (9) In both romances, the lovers are brought together in a garden by the confidante and companion of the princess. (10) In both, the father of the princess becomes reconciled and accepts the hero as his heir; the hero becomes emperor. (11) In *F*, the hero and heroine after marriage wander in disguise in search of adventures. In *G*, the disguise and the wanderings occur before marriage.

It will be seen from the preceding analysis that the main stories of the two romances, in spite of their substantial resemblance, contain several minor differences, these differences tending to produce better coherence and motivation in *F*, than in *G*. I shall endeavor to show later—in section *D*—that the author of *G*, probably changed the incidents in his source in order to suggest contemporary events and persons.

This nucleus constitutes a kind of common-stock romance of courtly love and war. Resemblances in it to *Tristan* have already been noted by Professors Brandl and Gröber.¹⁶ In the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, the romance of *Floriant et Florete* is analyzed in detail to show its borrowings from other romances, though no mention is made of any likeness to *Guillaume de*

¹⁶ Alois Brandl in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II, Pt. 1, 660–61; Gustav Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, Pt. 1, 529–30. Brandl's statement that William and Melior are bound together by means of a "Zaubertrank" is inaccurate; Gröber's comparison of the part played by the wolf to the part played by the dog in *Tristan* is decidedly misleading.

Palerne.¹⁷ Further comparisons might be made with *Percival*, with *Cligés*,¹⁸ with *Le Bel Inconnu*, and with other romances, but it is hardly necessary to prove that the material in the central plot, which I have called the "nucleus," is composed of the sort of story-stuff that medieval readers of romance wanted. There is just one question here: If, as Professor Schofield says, the chief hero of *Guillaume de Palerne* is the werwolf,¹⁹ it is scarcely conceivable that there should have been no werwolf in the original nucleus. But is the werwolf the hero? Out of 5540 lines extant in the English version, only 1913 are connected in any way with the story of Alphons. Even the addition of the missing introduction, which in the French version contains some account of Alphons, would not materially alter the proportions. The werwolf disappears completely while William is with the cowherd (vv. 160-211); while he is at the Emperor's court (vv. 224-1836); while the lovers are being introduced into the castle at Palermo (vv. 2856-3480); while the fighting is taking place at Palermo (vv. 3513-4009). Between lines 4767 and 5174, Alphons gets two lines about his marriage to William's sister. The last 100 lines and the first 85 of the French poem are devoted entirely to William. Only 52 lines in the English romance are occupied with the independent adventures of the werwolf. A hero is not thus subordinated to another and so often and completely lost sight of in medieval romance.

B. THE WOLF'S FOSTERLING

Though I am convinced that the werwolf story was not a part of the nucleus of *Guillaume de Palerne*, the striking resemblance between the first part of *Floriant et Florete* and the old Irish tale of the birth of Cormac Mac Art²⁰ suggests that the story of the wolf's fosterling may have been in the original source and may have put into the author's head the happy notion of combining it with the Celtic Werwolf Tale—his final

¹⁷ XXVIII, 139-79.

¹⁸ M. Lot-Borodine, *La femme et l'amour au XIIe siècle d'après les poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, 1909, p. 247.

¹⁹ Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, London, 1914, p. 312. Miss Hibbard makes a similar statement, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

²⁰ Standish H. O'Grady, *Sylva Gadelica, A Collection of Tales in Irish*, 2 vols., London and Edin., 1892, II, 286 ff.

version, as will be indicated, retaining several of the features of the wolf's fosterling motive. An analysis of the introductory portions of *Cormac Mac Art* (C) and of *Floriant et Florete* (F) follows:

(1) In both C. and F. the father has been killed, and the mother is on her way to seek refuge at the house of a loyal friend of her husband. (2) The queen is seized with the pains of childbirth on her journey; in F, in a forest, in C. in an undescribed locality, but obviously of a similar kind. (3) In C. she is accompanied by one servant, in F. by four. (4) In C. the mother goes to sleep, leaving the child in the keeping of the maid, who also falls asleep. Similar incidents in F. are less probable, because the negligence of four servants at once seems extraordinary. (5) In C. the child is carried off by a she-wolf; in F. by Morgain la Fay.

It seems unreasonable to account for these detailed resemblances as merely accidental. Yet one can hardly say that they prove the presence of the wolf motive in the nucleus out of which both *Floriant et Florete* and *Guillaume de Palerne* were composed. The marked likenesses, however, in the latter to typical instances of the wolf's fosterling tale can be shown by a comparison between *Guillaume de Palerne*, *Cormac Mac Art*, Herodotus's account of the birth of Cyrus, the well-known legend of Romulus and Remus, the stories of Amargenus and Albeus from old Irish saints' legends, and the Middle High German romance of *Wolfdieterich*.²¹

(1) Of the seven boys, Cyrus and William alone are of legitimate birth. (2) Cyrus, Romulus, Amargenus, and Albeus are delivered over by a king to a servant in order to be killed; they are exposed instead. *Wolfdieterich* is placed in a hedge by his mother's direction in order to conceal his birth from his grandfather until an opportunity can be found to send him to his father. William and Cormac are not exposed, but are simply left unguarded, one in a garden, the other in a forest; both have powerful enemies. (3) Romulus, Amargenus, Albeus, and

²¹ Herodotus, Book I, ¶'s 107 ff.; Plutarch's *Lives*, ed. by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Library, 1919-21, I, 97 ff.; Carolus Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1910, I, 65 ff., and I, 46 ff.; *Der grosse Wolfdieterich*, hrsg. von Adolf Holtzmann, Heidelberg, 1875. To avoid awkwardness, the story of Romulus and Remus is referred to as that of Romulus.

Cormac are each found by a she-wolf and suckled and cared for in her den. A bitch is substituted as the foster-mother of Cyrus. A male wolf finds Wolfdieterich and takes him to the den where its mate and cubs are; nothing is said about the child's nourishment. William, who is not a new-born infant, but a child of four years, is kidnapped for benevolent purposes by a male werwolf, who keeps the boy in a forest den, cherishes him tenderly, and provides him with food. (4) Romulus is found in one version by a cowherd, in another by a swineherd, Cyrus by a cowherd, William by a cowherd, Amargenus by swineherds, Albeus and Cormac by men whose status and occupations are not specified, Wolfdieterich by his own grandfather and a hunting party. The stories of William and of the Irish Albeus here resemble each other closely. In each a man finds the child in the wolf's den while the wolf is out searching for food. The wolf, returning and being greatly distressed over the loss of its charge, follows the man. Albeus's foster-mother catches up with him, and he sends her home in grief. William's guardian, being a "witty werwolf," when he sees the child in the arms of the cowherd's wife, comprehends at a glance that she can give his charge better care than he can, and departs, reasonably satisfied. (5) Romulus, Cyrus, and William are reared by the herds who find them. Amargenus remains with the wolf, and is not found until grown. The man who takes Albeus, true to the Celtic institution of fosterage, entrusts the boy to the care of "certain Britons" to be nurtured. Cormac and Wolfdieterich are almost immediately identified and returned to their mothers. All except Albeus are said to have been unusually beautiful. (6) All these heroes except the saint, Albeus, are of royal descent, and all except the saint's ancestor, Amargenus, come into their kingdoms and attain great power and glory.

(7) Only in three of the tales, the Celtic stories of Cormac and of Albeus and that of William, is there any future association of the wolf and the hero. When Cormac goes to the court of the High King at Tara, he is accompanied by the wolf-cubs that were brought up with him, and, we are told, "The reason for that great esteem which Cormac bore to wolves was that wolves had fostered him." After Albeus has attained maturity and sainthood, there is organized in that territory a great hunting party against the wolves. One female wolf runs to the place

where Albeus is and, when the horsemen pursue her, puts her head into the folds of the saint's robe. He saves her life and that of her whelps. William likewise saves from would-be slayers the life of his "witty werwolf," who, like Cormac's wolf-cubs, aids the hero in his undertakings. The scene in the legend of Albeus in which the she-wolf seeks and finds safety at the hands of the saint bears a general resemblance, not only to the incident in *Guillaume de Palerne*, but also to the somewhat similar incident in the romantic versions of the Celtic Werwolf Tale, the *Lai de Melion*, Marie de France's *Bisclavret*, and the Latin romance of *Arthur and Gorlagon*.²²

From this analysis it seems evident that the author of *Guillaume de Palerne* either found the wolf's fosterling story already connected with his original source or inserted the parts of it that he wished to use. The differences between the version in the romance and the normal folk-tale version are fundamentally due to the fact that the child William is four years old instead of a new-born babe; that, therefore, he does not need to be suckled; that the author is thus permitted to change the wolf-mother into a male werwolf and to introduce the fascinating ingredients of the Celtic Werwolf Tale. Personally I feel that this latter possibility would not have occurred to him, had there been no wolf in the original nucleus. A reason for changing the infant into a four-year-old boy will appear in *D*.

C. THE CELTIC WERWOLF TALE

The fact that the author of *Guillaume de Palerne* did use the Celtic Werwolf Tale and that he used it in the form in which it is found in the *Lai de Melion* will now be established; the evidence is, I think, conclusive. Professor Kittredge, in the article already referred to, appends the following note:

In *Guillaume de Palerne* the guardian and constant helper of the hero and heroine is a Spanish prince, who has been changed into a wolf by the magic power of his stepmother. The enchanted prince's interview with his father (vv. 7207ff. . . .) reminds one of that between the Werewolf and his father-in-law in our tale, and there are

²² *William of Palerne*, ll. 4010 ff.; *Melion*, ll. 407 ff.; *Die Lais der Marie de France*, hrsg. von Karl Warnke, 2 vols., Halle, 1885, *Bisclavret*, pp. 75 ff., vv. 135 ff.; *Arthur and Gorlagon*, ed. by Kittredge, *Harv. Studies and Notes*, VIII, 149 ff., p. 159.

other resemblances (see vv. 7629ff., 7731ff., 7759ff.). There may or may not be some connection between *Guillaume de Palerne* and *The Werewolf's Tale*. Paris (*Litt. franc. au Moyen Age*, §67) inclines to the affirmative; Ahlström (*Studier i den fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, p. 81) and Warnke (*Lais*, 2nd ed., p. civ) oppose.²³

The passages cited by Professor Kittredge deal with the werewolf's attack on his stepmother, with her use of the ring in restoring him to human form, and with his nakedness and provision with clothing. It will be shown that the resemblances are closer and more numerous than have hitherto been noted.

The various versions of the Celtic Werewolf Tale which Professor Kittredge analyzes are four in number: (1) Marie de France's *Bisclavret*, referred to in the following analysis as *B*; (2) the Latin romance of *Arthur and Gorlagon*, referred to as *A*; (3) an Irish folk-tale retold by Professor Kittredge, referred to as *I*; (4) the *Lai de Melion*, extant in the Picard dialect and by an unknown author, referred to as *M*. *Guillaume de Palerne* will be designated as *G*.²⁴

The comparison which follows shows the resemblance between the last-named romance and the four stories analyzed by Professor Kittredge, particularly between *Guillaume de Palerne* and *Melion*:

(1) In *A*, *B*, *I*, and *M* the woman responsible for the transformation of the hero into a werewolf is his wife; in *G* she is his stepmother. This is the greatest difference between our romance and the other versions, and is probably due to the fact that, as will be shown later, the author desired to marry Alphons to William's sister. In *A*, *B*, and *I* the woman has no supernatural power; in *M* she retains a kind of fairy nature, in *G* she is a magician. The methods of transformation and restora-

²³ *Arthur and Gorlagon*, p. 184, note 2.

²⁴ See notes 11 and 22 for citations of these works. Professor Kittredge discusses all of these except *G* and shows their common provenience. There are two extant MSS. of the *Lai de Melion*, both in the Picard dialect, one of the late 13th, the other of the late 14th, century. Concerning them Professor Kittredge writes (p. 198): "Neither presents a perfect text, and the Picard version may therefore be put back some time. Probably it is not much later than Marie herself. . . . Though Marie wrote her *Lais* about 1180, there is no MS. earlier than the second half of the 13th century." I have assumed, on Mr. Kittredge's authority, as well as on other grounds, that *Melion* antedates *Guillaume*.

tion are unlike in the four tales; but in *M* the hero is both transformed and restored with the aid of a ring having two jewels, while in *G* the restoration alone is made by means of a ring with a stone of "stif vertu" in it (v. 4424).

(2) In *A*, *I*, *M*, and *G* the hero after transformation leaves his own country and goes to another. In *I* no motive is given for his departure; in *A* and *G* he goes to escape pursuit and death; in *M* he follows his wife to secure redress. In *M* and *A* the journey is traced; in *G* it is not traced, though M. Michelanc's statement (*op. cit.*, p. viii) that the werwolf immediately after his transformation takes his course across Europe to Sicily in order to watch over the life of the young prince whom he saves from peril is not accurate. The French text (vv. 326-40) says that he arrived in Apulia after many travails and pains, and remained there two years before he heard of the conspiracy against William.

(3) In *A*, *I*, *M*, and *G* the werwolf at one time makes a voyage in a ship.

(4) There is a stag hunt in *A*, *M*, and *G*. In *A* the werwolf pursues and brings down a stag at the command of the king who has saved his life. In *M* the hero shows his wife how to transform him into a wolf in order to hunt and kill a stag for her. In *G* the werwolf pursues a stag in order to entice the emperor to find William; later he pursues and kills a hart and a hind to obtain their skins for William and Melior. (Note the doubling up of the incident in *G*; it is typical of the author and helps to confirm the imitative nature of his work. Miss Hibbard comments on this characteristic, *op. cit.*, p. 221.)

(5) In all versions the werwolf seeks favor and release from a king. In *A* the king is his brother; in *B* and *M* his liege lord; in *G* his father. In *I* there is no special connection between the hero and the king. In *A*, *B*, and *I* the wolf seeks the protection of the king while he is being hunted by the king's men; in *M* and *G* the wolf goes to the hall where the king is sitting, as a guest in *M*, as a prisoner in *G*, of the ruler of the country. In *A*, *M*, and *G* the wolf kisses the king's feet. In *M* immediately afterwards the werwolf sees the squire who had helped his wife and rushes upon him. The men in the hall interfere and would have slain the beast if Arthur had not prevented them by saying that it was his wolf and he would protect it. In *G* the men in the

hall start to attack the wolf without any reason except that according to the English writer they are "savage" men (v. 4022). William interferes and declares that he will kill any man who harms "that beast" (v. 4033).

(6) In *A*, *I*, and *M* the wolf commits depredations; in *A* and *M* he kills men. In *B* there is no mention of depredations. In *G* except for hunting wild animals in the forest to provide clothing and food for the lovers, he shows no wolfishness of nature. He frightens men to get bread and wine from them, but does no harm.

(7) In *B*, *M*, and *G* the werwolf attacks and tries to kill a person or persons responsible for his transformation: in *B* his wife and her lover at separate times; in *M* the squire who helped his wife; in *G* the stepmother who transformed him. In *G* the attack occurs twice, once just after the transformation, once just before the restoration, which is the place of the occurrence in *M* and of the attack on the wife in *B*. (Note again in *G* the doubling up of an effective incident.)

(8) In *A*, *B*, *I*, and *M* the king takes the wolf home and treats him as a pet. William's treatment of Alphons is slightly parallel. In *B* and *M* the wolf never leaves the king and sleeps in his bedchamber. In *G* just before the restoration, though nothing has been said of this before, we are told that the werwolf was in William's chamber and had been there in bliss by night and day since the messengers had gone after the queen (vv. 4328-4331).

(9) In *A* the king says that the wolf has human intelligence, "*illum humanum sensum habere*" (*Arthur and Gorlagon*, p. 159); in *B* the king says that the wolf has the sense of a man, "*Ele a sen d'ume*" (v. 154), "*Ceste beste a entente e sen*" (v. 158); in the English version of *G*, William says of the werwolf to the King of Spain, "He has man's mind more than we both" (v. 4123), in the French version (vv. 7345, 7346),

*Autant a il sens et memore,
Com j'ai on plus, et plus encore;*

in *M* the same phrase is used (vv. 219, 220):

*Mais ne porquant se leus estoit,
Sens et memore d'ome avoit.*

(10) In *B* the clothes which are to restore the werwolf to his own form are placed before him, but he does not touch them.

An old man suggests that he is ashamed to remove his beast's hide in their presence and advises privacy. The wolf and the clothes are therefore taken to a private chamber, where the wolf transforms himself. In *M* Arthur, by Gawain's advice, takes the wolf into a private chamber and restores him to his human form. In *G* the queen, without advice or discussion, takes the werewolf into a private chamber and restores him; he is naked and ashamed. The queen sends him to bathe, and William gives him clothes (vv. 4421-4478).

So much for the comparison between *Guillaume de Palerne* and the four versions of the Celtic Werwolf Tale; but between *Guillaume* and *Melion* there are further resemblances.

(1) What is perhaps the most conclusive parallel has not been noted, because no one has thought—apparently—of comparing *M* with the English *William of Palerne*. In *M* (vv. 221-250) the werwolf, seeking to reach Ireland, hides on board a ship and is carried across the sea. When the ship reaches port, he jumps ashore, is struck at and hit by one of the crew, but escapes. In the English romance, when the wolf, the hart, and the hind seek to cross the straits from Italy to Sicily, the three disguised animals hide themselves among the casks of wine on a ship about to sail. When it reaches the opposite shore, the werwolf jumps out, is struck at by one of the crew, is hit, but escapes. All the men except one ship-boy pursue the wolf. When the hart and the hind appear in their turn and jump overboard, the boy strikes at the hind and knocks her, down, but she escapes by the help of the hart without any injury. (vv. 2729-84) Now there is evident borrowing here, and that the writer of *William* borrowed from *Melion* rather than *vice versa* is indicated by the obvious repetition of the incident in *William*—the third instance already noted of the double use of an effective bit of business by our author. In the French poetic version the narrative of the crossing (vv. 4561 ff) is much briefer than in the English, and the characteristic duplication does not occur.²⁵ It is, of course, open to the critic

²⁵ This duplication of incidents is so characteristic of the French author that it affords a real argument for the theory that the boat episode was in the original version. Another notable duplication—or “triplication”—is found in his use of animal disguises. Having discovered apparently that the transformation of a man into a wolf is intensely interesting, he proceeds to disguise

to say that the English translator added the story, but he did not add anything else of that kind; and it seems more probable that the original writer borrowed that particular incident along with other material from the *lai* of *Melion* than that the Englishman a century and a half later should have chanced to hit upon the same source for further embellishment. What is needed, of course, is an examination of the French prose text to discover whether this is one of the particulars in which it more closely resembles the English than the French poem.

(2) A minor resemblance occurs between the transformation scene in *M* (vv. 543-70), where Arthur weeps for pity, and the transformation scene in *G*, where everybody—apparently—weeps for "love, tenderness, and pity." (vv. 7716, 7717.) The tendency of the author of *G* to "improve" on his source is again displayed.

(3) A further parallel between *G*, vv. 3886 ff., and *M*, vv. 283 ff., is especially interesting because in *G* it is of no great use to the plot and may be regarded as a mere embellishment. Melion, the werewolf, has gathered about him a band of ten other wolves, with which he has ravaged the countryside. Being worn out in the morning, they seek rest and seclusion in a wood on a little hill near Dublin; the surrounding country is all open and level. A peasant sees them there asleep and takes the tidings to the king, who organizes a hunt in order to exterminate the wolves. His daughter, Melion's wife, accompanies him to see the sport. Eventually the other wolves are killed, but Melion escapes. In *Guillaume*, William and Melior,

his lovers, first as white bears, and later as a hart and a hind. There seems to be some uncertainty even in the author's mind as to whether William and Melior are temporarily changed into animals or merely put on the skins of animals. On the whole, their behavior seems to indicate that the transformation is complete. The change is entirely under their own control, and is accomplished merely by putting on the animal-skins; whereas Alphons is under enchantment, from which he is powerless to escape. Both conditions are abundantly paralleled in folk-lore from all parts of the world. Cf. Wilhelm Hertz, *Die Werwolf*, Stuttgart, 1862 (this is the most valuable book on the subject); also Caroline Taylor Stewart, "The Origin of the Werwolf Superstition," *Univ. of Missouri Studies, Soc. Science Series*, II, no. 3, 1909; Kirby F. Smith, "An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature," *PMLA*, IX (1894), 1-42 (largely indebted to Hertz), etc.; for a bibliography on the subject, see George F. Black, "A List of Books relating to Lycanthropy," *N. Y. Pub. Lib. Bulletin* 23, 1919, pp. 811-15.

disguised as white bears, are being conducted through Italy to Sicily by the werwolf. They have been traveling by night through the woods and sleeping by day. At dawn in the neighborhood of Beneventum they arrive, worn out by their night's journey, at a place where the land is a great treeless plain except for one little hill. They take refuge in a quarry on this hill and fall asleep. Workmen, who find them there, report the fact to the governor of Beneventum, who organizes a hunt and takes with him his son, a child, to see the bears. At the critical moment the werwolf snatches up the child and runs off with him, thus leading the entire company in pursuit and giving the lovers a chance to escape. When he thinks that they are safe, he drops the boy unhurt and, making a wide circuit, rejoins them. It is evident that the presence of the king's daughter at the hunt in *Melion* is a vital part of the story, while the presence of the governor's son at the hunt in *Guillaume* is unessential, though it gives the author another opportunity to repeat an effective incident—in this case, the abduction of a child by a friendly wolf in full view of a large group of people. The narratives of the two hunts are not only parallel in subject-matter, but present some noteworthy verbal resemblances, as will be seen from the following quotations:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| (<i>Melion</i> , vv. 283ff.) | Une nuit orent mont erré,
Traveillié furent et pené,
En un bois joste Duveline
Sor un tertre les la marine.
Li bois estoit les une plaigne,
Tot environ ot grant campagne. |
| (<i>Guillaume</i> , vv. 3886-87) | Mais les forest lor sont faillies,
N'i voient se champaigne non. |
| (3896) | Regardé ont lés un grant tertre. |
| (3902) | Et il estoient as plains chans. |
| (3921-2) | Traveillié furent et lassé,
Car cele nuit ont plus erré. |

This phraseology, added to the other parallels already noted, suggests that the author of *Guillaume de Palerne* was writing with a copy of the *Lai de Melion* or of the original of the *Lai* before him. Certainly there can be no room for doubt that he wove into his romance large parts of a version of the Celtic Werwolf Tale closely resembling that which appears in the *Lai*.

D. CONTEMPORARY ALLUSIONS

As has already been noted,²⁶ *Guillaume de Palerne* is addressed to a Countess Yolande, whom Sir Frederick Madden identified as the daughter of Baldwin IV, Count of Hainault, the wife of the Comte de St. Pol. This identification becomes almost certain when one discovers how close is the connection between the "local color" of the romance and the contemporary adventures of Yolande's husband.

In the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* are several references to the Count of St. Paul.²⁷ On the Octave of Easter, 1191, he arrived in Palestine in the train of Philip Augustus. He did not, however, return to France with Philip. It seems evident that he was one of the French knights who, attracted by the superior prowess and financial resources of the English king, transferred their services from Philip to Richard.²⁸ At any rate, he is mentioned several times as fighting under the immediate command of Richard, in close association with the Earl of Leicester. His valor and success are commented on by the English chronicler at a point where, besides the count, Richard alone is praised.

Since he arrived in Palestine with Philip, he must have left Sicily with Philip; in other words, he was in Sicily during the autumn and winter of 1190-91, along with the rest of the French and English crusaders. This fact alone is sufficient to account for the romancer's use of Sicily as a setting for his story.

But what was going on in Sicily during those months? A brief summary will indicate the resemblance between the actual historical events of which the Comte de St. Pol was a spectator and the fictitious events recounted for his wife's entertainment by the author of *Guillaume de Palerne*.²⁹

²⁶ See above, note 8.

²⁷ *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 2 vols., ed. by Wm. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 1864, Vol. I, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, auctore, ut videtur, Ricardo, Canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londiniensis. Dated by the editor, p. lxx, as probably between 1200 and 1220. References to the Count of St. Paul are on pp. 213, 257, 258, 292, 293, 298.

²⁸ Of course, he may have held lands from Richard; I have not been able to discover his feudal relations, but his original appearance with Philip implies that he was the vassal of the French, rather than of the English, king.

²⁹ The account is drawn from the *Itinerarium Ricardi*, pp. 146 ff. and from the article on Richard I in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

William the Good, King of Sicily, or, as he is called by the chronicler, of Apulia—the same title given to William of Palerne's father—had died in November, 1189. His widow, Joanna, was Richard's sister. Upon the death of her husband without issue, Tancred, an illegitimate son of Roger I and cousin of William, took possession of the throne and also of the person and property of his predecessor's widow, whom he kept in custody at Palermo. When Richard and Philip landed in Sicily almost a year later, the former sent envoys to Tancred to demand his sister and her dowry. Finding Tancred willing to restore Joanna, but reluctant about the dowry, Richard attacked and took by assault the city of Messina.³⁰ This was an unanswerable argument, and Tancred yielded completely. He not only accepted Richard's terms, but negotiated a marriage between his own daughter and Arthur of Brittany. Soon after this friendly compact had been arranged, Eleanor, Richard's mother, accompanied by his betrothed, Berengaria of Navarre, arrived at Reggio. Richard met them there, and took them across the straits to Messina. Eleanor soon returned to Normandy. Berengaria and Joanna accompanied the crusaders to Palestine, Richard and Berengaria being married on the way at Cyprus. There was a good deal of friction between Philip and Richard over the marriage, as Philip alleged a previous contract with his sister.

In *Guillaume de Palerne*, a prince, called 'the kuddest knight known in this world,' is found in Sicily, accompanied by his betrothed; he comes to the rescue of his mother and sister, who are besieged in Palermo by an unfriendly, but not particularly obnoxious king; he fights with distinguished success; the fighting ends with a friendly compact and a group of advantageous marriages. At or near the time of the romance, the husband of the lady for whom it was intended was serving in Palestine under 'the kuddest knight known in this world,' Richard Coeur-de-Lion. The year before both king and count had been in Sicily; Richard had met there his betrothed and his mother,

³⁰ Accounts differ as to the details. The author of the *Itinerarium* states that the attack on Messina took place as a result of a quarrel between Richard and the citizens, and that the demand on Tancred was not made until the spoils of the city were in Richard's hands to offer in exchange for Joanna's dowry; cf. pp. 154 ff.

his devotion to whom was well known; he had rescued his sister, held in custody at Palermo; he had fought successfully against the unfriendly king who had control of her; the fighting had been terminated by a friendly compact and an advantageous marriage contract; the hero himself had been married shortly afterwards.

The resemblances between contemporary history and the romance are obvious. That there are noticeable differences is of no importance, for I have no intention of arguing that the author of *Guillaume de Palerne* was retelling that history. He simply chose and retold an old story which would serve to suggest the situation and events uppermost in the minds of his auditors. Apparently, however, he made some alterations in his source in order to increase its likeness to the historical facts. It will be remembered that in *Floriant et Florete*, the mother of the hero is wooed and besieged by the usurper and rescued by her son; the introduction into *Guillaume de Palerne* of the unnecessary and almost invisible sister, which rather spoils the motivation of the story, may be accounted for by the relations between Richard and Joanna.

The names chosen by the romance-writer for his principal characters are such as would attract interested attention. *Guillaume de Palerne*, the title, would call to mind instantly the recently dead and much lamented William the Good, King of Sicily and Apulia, one of the noblest of medieval sovereigns, whom Dante more than a century later placed in the eye of the eagle in Paradise along with David, Trajan, Hezekiah, Constantine, and Rhipeus the Trojan.³¹

The name of the werwolf, Alphons, is naturally appropriate for the son of a King of Spain. It is curious that the author should have used that title, for there was not then, nor had there been for some centuries, any such political entity as Spain. He may have deliberately created an ambiguity of suggestion as between the two living princes, Alfonso II of Aragon and Alfonso VIII of Castile. Both were closely associated with Richard.³²

³¹ *Paradiso*, XX, 62.

³² Cf. article on Richard I in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* by T. A. Archer. The detailed information about Alfonso II of Aragon is taken from Rousseau St. Hilaire, *Histoire d'Espagne*, Paris, 1844, Vol. IV, Book X, Chap. II; that about Alfonso VIII of Castile from the same work and volume, Book X, Chap. I.

The former was a great king, just, firm, religious, surnamed the Chaste. He spent much of his time in southern France, where he had great possessions contiguous to those which Richard governed before his accession to the English throne; he was in alliance with Richard in several local wars. Like Richard, he was a patron of literature, and is said to have introduced the "gaie science" south of the Pyrenees. He married the sister of Alfonso of Castile, towards whom, though his natural rival, he behaved with great magnanimity. Both had been boy-kings, the Aragonese seven years older than the Castilian. Their mutual helpfulness, their connection as brothers-in-law, and their relative ages suggest the relations between Alphons and William in the romance.

Alfonso VIII of Castile married Richard's sister, even as the Alphons of the story marries the sister of William. He also was an intelligent and successful ruler, one of the best of Castilian kings. But the interesting thing about him is an event of his early life, so astonishingly like the opening incident in *Guillaume de Palerne* that the resemblance can scarcely be accidental. Sancho of Castile died in 1159, leaving as his heir his four-year-old son, Alfonso VIII. Sancho's brother, Ferdinand of Leon, seized several of the Castilian cities and demanded that Alfonso's guardian, Manrique de Lara, should bring the child to an appointed place to do homage to himself as king. When the little prince was brought by Manrique into the assembly, he began to cry. Being taken outside to be pacified, he was snatched up by an adherent of the Laras, who carried him off on a swift horse to a place of safety and concealment. Search was made for him in vain. Manrique managed to escape the wrath of Ferdinand, and in the war which followed succeeded in enthroning the rightful heir. One of the principal events in this war was the successful resistance of Alfonso's capital, Toledo, against the besieging forces of Ferdinand. All this happened thirty years before the probable date of *Guillaume de Palerne*, but such a dramatic story is not likely to be soon forgotten, especially while its central personage is still alive and of great prominence. The author's desire to remind his readers of this picturesque incident would easily account for the otherwise unaccountable changes that he introduced into the normal wolf's fosterling story: the use of the wicked uncle,

from whose plots the boy is rescued and who immediately disappears from the tale; the substitution of a child of four—Alfonso's exact age—for the new-born infant; the employment of a male werwolf as the agent of the abduction and his benevolent motive; the seizure of the child in broad daylight in the presence of the court instead of in the usual concealed fashion.

CONCLUSION

In addition to the narrative elements dealt with in the preceding paragraphs, the French romance is, as Miss Hibbard remarks, "impregnated with the doctrines of *l'amour courtois*, . . . constantly analyzes the emotions and emphasizes the agonies of love-sickness and the joys of lovers in one another's company." It is "full of formal speeches . . . and marked by occasional allegorical tendencies, especially in the consideration of love."²² The natural tendency of such material to stimulate conversation in the Countess Yolande's courtly circle is too obvious to need further comment.

But would not the other parts of the curious conglomerate revealed by our analysis have the same effect? The present tendency among scholars to pull to pieces medieval romances in order to find sources and analogues and historical or other *raisons d'être* is of comparatively recent date. Nevertheless, if we put ourselves in the places of the original audience of such a courtly composite as *Guillaume de Palerne*, I think we shall discover that their natural psychological reaction would bear a strange resemblance to that of the modern scholar, though their methods of approach would, of course, be quite different.

Leaving out of consideration their perennial interest in the problems of courtly love, they would find abundance of opportunity for discussion along the following lines:

(1) The comparison of the new romance with other romances. The medieval reader—and in this respect he resembled the modern reader more than is usually supposed—had no great desire for novelty of plot. He enjoyed the same situations indefinitely repeated, but, if he were at all sophisticated, he must have noted with delight ingenious variations in the treatment of stock motives. The resemblances and differences between

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

Guillaume de Palerne and the romances with which it has been compared in modern times were surely far more interesting to the Countess Yolande and her ladies than they can be to us.

(2) The discovery and identification of familiar folk-lore embedded in the narrative. The abundant use of folk-tales by the writers of romances proves not only their own knowledge of them, but also the knowledge and interest of their audiences. It is absurd to assume that the medieval author could not have invented or found in real life new, or at any rate fresh, incidents and situations. As a matter of fact, some invention of that sort does occur in medieval literature. But the readers of the time obviously liked to recognize the story-stuff of the folk dressed up in courtly fashion. And the recognition must have given greater delight when it was not too easy. Folk-tales frequently appear in romances in rather bewildering contaminations and combinations. Must we suppose that they came into the writer's hands thus corrupted? Or may he not have deliberately altered them and put them together for the greater enjoyment of his more ingenious readers? It is surely no illegitimate exercise of the historical imagination to picture the Countess Yolande's circle delightedly discovering in *Guillaume de Palerne* both the Celtic Werwolf Tale and the story of the wolf's fosterling, by whatever names they may have known them.

(3) The recognition of contemporary or pseudo-contemporary allusions. I should like to emphasize particularly the second of the two adjectives, *pseudo-contemporary*. The analysis of the historical references in *Guillaume de Palerne* given in section D of this paper may have impressed the reader as too confused to be convincing; suggestions pointing to William of Sicily, to Richard and his mother and his sister and his betrothed, to Tancred, and to the two Alfonsos criss-cross one another in every direction. But—to run the risk of being as paradoxical as Bishop Warburton—it is the confusion that proves my point. Granted that the author aimed to stimulate conversation, what could more obviously accomplish his purpose than to suggest several possible identifications, each one of them a little dubious? Resemblances and differences, not identities, lead to discussion.

At the beginning of this analysis of *Guillaume de Palerne* I remarked that conclusions drawn from it might be of fairly wide

application. I should like to make just one such application myself—a small contribution to the much-agitated question, "What is the *Parlement of Foules*?" It has been suggested and re-suggested that the poem was intended to celebrate a possible betrothal or a wedding, Richard's or John of Gaunt's daughter's, and various identifications have been proposed for the suitors and have been discredited, and great names have been involved in the controversy.²⁴ Now, if my theory is correct, one of the author's purposes when he produced the poem was to arouse just such a controversy, though he could hardly have expected it to be still alive five hundred years after his death. To provoke discussion it would be worth while to make several different explanations easily possible and no one of them really accurate.

At any rate, whether these side-remarks on *The Parlement of Foules* are appropriate or not, the main aim of the medieval as of the modern writer of "best sellers" was to interest his readers—in the case of the former, a very limited and special group—and the methods by which he sought to appeal to their temporary or permanent interests may be well seen by the study of such an obviously derivative and imitative composite as *Guillaume de Palerne*.

IRENE PETTIT MCKEEHAN

²⁴ Professor Manly and Professor Emerson especially. See Wells' *Manual*, pp. 871, 1028, 1143, for references to controversial articles on the interpretation of the poem. A remark made in class by Mr. Manly on the ease with which the suitors could be identified with different persons started me on this particular line of thought.

XLIII
THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE
SECUNDA PASTORUM

IT IS good to love the unknown," wrote Charles Lamb, and we should perhaps hesitate to try to pierce the obscurity which surrounds the bright genius who, in the *Secunda Pastorum*, gave to the English drama its first native characters and its first true plot. But such obscurity ill becomes genius, and this man was not only our first dramatist, but also—as I shall try to demonstrate—one of our first literary rebels, holding more definite theories of poetic art than many a free-verse poet of the present day.

The *Secunda Pastorum*, as everyone knows, is the most vivid purple patch in the Towneley Plays—a religious cycle as variegated as Joseph's coat. Coll, Gib, and Daw, three very English herdsmen, are watching their sheep one December night on the moors near Horbury, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, when there comes to them the "midnight-stalking Mak," complaining of the stomach-ache and of the fact that his wife is in labor. To the shepherds he is already known as a thief, yet because of his misery, they permit him to lie down with them and rest. After the others have fallen asleep, Mak pronounces a spell to keep them in slumber till noon, then, taking a sheep, he goes home. Of course, when the shepherds awake, they discover their loss and immediately suspect Mak. But a visit to his home mystifies them, for Mak has concealed the sheep's carcass in a crib wherein the new-born babe is supposed to be lying. Mak and his wife, Gill, exult too soon, however, in their supposed triumph, for after the simple Yorkshire men have left his house, they suddenly recollect that they have given nothing to the child and decide to return. This time they discover the deception and toss the scoundrel Mak in a blanket. The last two scenes of the play show these same shepherds informed by an angel of the birth of Christ, and later, adoring the Child as He lies in the manger.

The cycle to which this play belongs gets its name from the fact that the manuscript containing it was long the property

of the Towneley family, of Towneley Hall, in Lancashire. But once it seems to have been owned by some individual or organization in the not-far-distant town of Wakefield, in Yorkshire, where the plays were probably produced in the 14th and 15th centuries. "The supposition that this book belonged to 'the Abbey of Widkirk, near Wakefield' has upon it remarkably the characteristics of a genuine tradition," is the opinion of James Raine, the first editor.¹ The approximate date for the composition of the plays seems to me to be about 1355. Both *Prima Pastorum* and *Secunda Pastorum* contain many reminiscences of the great sheep murrain, and of the depressed agricultural conditions, following the Black Death of 1349. For instance, these lines from *Prima Pastorum*:

As hevy as a sod, I grete with myn eene,
 When I nap on my cod, for care that has bene,
 And sorow;
 All my shepe ar gone,
 I am not left oone,
 The rott has theym slone;
 Now beg I and borow (vv. 21-27).

Later the shepherds eat "of an ewe that was roton" (v. 221). In *Secunda Pastorum* there is a reference to the great areas of untilled land found everywhere after the plague:

No wonder, as it standys, if we be poore,
 ffor the tylthe of oure landys lyys falow as the floore,
 As ye ken (vv. 12-14).

And the following lines seem to lament the rigorous laws incorporated by Parliament in the Statute of 1351, whose purpose was to fix the price of labor and bind the laborer to his parish:

We are so hamyd,
 ffor-taxed and ramyd,
 We ar mayde hand tamyd
 With thyse gentlery-men (vv. 15-18)

¹ James Raine (?), *The Towneley Plays*, Surtees Soc., Introd., p. ix. Local allusions in the plays themselves, and the name "Wakefield" attached to two of them, indicate that the MS. was written for that place; see Pollard's Introduction (*The Towneley Plays*, ed. by George England, E.E.T.S. Ext. Ser., p. x ff.). For proof that mystery plays were given in Wakefield, see the communication to the *London Times Lit. Sup.*, March 5, 1925, by Matthew H. Peacock, former Headmaster of Wakefield Grammar School.

The dismal note with which both *Shepherds' Plays* begin is probably an echo of the dreadful times just passed. The Black Death itself may be recollected in the *Prima Pastorum*:

Poore men ar in the dyke and oft tyme mars,
The world is slyke, also helpars
Is none here (vv. 93-95).

Other passages may be selected from the plays to bear out my point. The date 1355 is more reasonable, too, for the Towneley cycle than any other, since it brings the plays into the general period of cycle composition in England.² The single MS. that we have, however, seems to have been transcribed about 1450.³

² There seem to be no allusions in the cycle which may positively refer to any events after 1355. Raine dates the composition of the plays in 1388 because there is a passage in the *Judicium* describing a female as "hornyd like a kowe." But the peaked head-dress referred to was the fashion in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. (See *Fairholt's Costume in England*, ed. Dillon, 1885, ii, 224-25). Gayley and Pollard both mistake the word *lollar* for *Lollard* (*Judicium*, v. 213). Tutivillus exclaims to the three devils:

"I was youre chefe tollare
And sithen courte rollar,
Now am I master lollar,
And of sich men I mell me."

But why, now that the doomed are to be judged, should Tutivillus desire to become a Master Lollard? What he really says, it would seem to me, is that I have worked hard, been chief toll-taker and registrar of sins, and now I desire to be a loller (one who lolls),—a master loafer. In regard to loller and Lollard, and their confusion, Skeat says in his note on *Cant. Tales* B. 1173: "But the Old English *loller* (from the verb, to *loll*) meant simply a lounge, an idle vagabond, as is abundantly clear from a notable passage in *Piers the Plowman*, C-text (ed. Skeat), X 188-218; where William tells us plainly

'Now kyndeliche, by crist, beþ suche callyd *lolleres*
As by englich of our eldres of old menne techynge.
He that *lolleþ* is lame, oþer his leg is out of ioynthe."

Miss Hope Traver dates the *Secunda Pastorum* about 1400 because of the appearance of the musical term "crotchet" in the play (*MLN*, XX, 1). But she notices that the same term also appears in the fifth tract of the MS. of Waltham Holy Cross, written possibly by Simon Tunsted in 1351. She says, "Granting that the fifth number was written by Tunsted, we can date it about 1351, and so find an approximate date for the appearance of the crotchet, and assign 1400 for its more complete establishment." But, we should like to ask, when did the new music excite most interest,—when it first appeared, or fifty years afterward? I suspect as dramatic material an innovation was far more interesting than an established term. Consequently, the term "crotchet" is a good indication that the *Secunda Pastorum* was written about 1355.

³ Pollard, *Intro.*, pp. xxvii ff.

All these facts are so well established that they must be met by any claimant to the distinction which awaits the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*.

For convenience sake it may be wise to put the requirements to be satisfied in establishing authorship into definite form:

(1) The author must be a man of genuine ability in handling comic situations; (2) he must be interested in the realistic portrayal of native characters; (3) he must have been living in 1355; (4) he must have some connection with the town of Wakefield, and possibly with "Widkirk Abbey"; (5) he must be a likely person to have been selected to write the play, i.e., he should already have had some reputation as a poet in order to have been chosen; and (6) he should probably be an ecclesiastic in order to have had a share in writing a religious cycle. And finally, (7) if it can be shown that his authorship would make most plausible the possession of the surviving manuscript by the Towneleys of Lancashire, his claim will be greatly strengthened. Just how the Towneley family came to possess this manuscript has never been settled.

The one man whose case offers no contradictions to these conditions and at the same time satisfies most of them, is "Dominus" Gilbertus Pilkington, author of *The Turnament of Totenham* and other pieces, probably a Wakefield ecclesiastic, and demonstrably a writer of genius. I believe him to be the "Wakefield Master" to whom we may attribute the *Second Shepherds' Play*.

I

It is surprising, with all the modern revolt against poetic conventions, that no one has found the versification of the Towneley Plays particularly interesting, for in many ways it was as unique in its day as what was called the "barbaric yawp" of Whitman some seventy years ago. Professor Robert G. Martin does speak of "the quality of the verse"⁴—without indicating wherein it is unusual. The customary comment is like that of Professor Davidson, that the author was a "man of small poetical ability."⁵ The prevailing opinion seems to be

⁴ John S. P. Tatlock and Robert G. Martin, *Representative English Plays*, New York, 1923, p. 4.

⁵ Charles Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, 1892, p. 129.

that the plays were singularly crude in their versification. But such a notion is largely the result of judging by twentieth century standards. The plays should be put beside the effete romances of the time in order that their freshness and finish may be fully appreciated. Moreover, the Towneley cycle is superior in verse-technique to the other cycles. The poet of the *Secunda Pastorum*, in particular, was an expert in the management of metre, as well as an innovator and experimenter. A brief review of the metrical and stanzaic features of this cycle is necessary at this point for an understanding of its poetic significance.

A. *The Metre*. All that Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith says of the metre of the York cycle may be better applied to the Towneley:

The poetry cannot, it must be remembered, be scanned like Shakespeare or Chaucer, or even like the *Cursor*; it must, for the greater part, be read according to accent or stress, the intervening syllables, more or less in number, being slurred or read with a lighter touch. This sort of verse is much like the unbarred music of the same period. Attention may be drawn also to the manner in which the varied metre is adapted to the style of subject to be treated or to the personage speaking; for example, Deus and Jesus invariably speak in grave, dignified verse, while the long, pompous, mouth-filling lines, excessive in the alliterative stress, are put into the mouths of those who, like Herod, Pilate, and Caiphas, open a play and are meant to make an imposing impression. The original purpose was forgotten when Shakespeare jested at the alliteration and at Herod's brag.⁶

Professor Davidson, who made a study of all the mystery plays seven years later, advanced the theory that the metre was based on a corruption of the Latin septenary stanza at the hands of the "bards":

In the north the gleeman was still welcome to the home of the franklin or the hut of the peasant. The tradition of the fathers had not been broken as in the south by the intrusion of the jongleur with the fashions and tales of France. . . . The bard still recited the warlike deeds of the fathers in the alliterative measures of the Old English, until the church poets furnished him with ballads and pious songs, formed as we shall see, upon the Latin septenar. These were sung

⁶ Lucy Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, Oxford, 1885; Introd., p. 1.

with the accompaniment of the harp in recitative delivery, imitated it may be, in part from the rhythmic intonation of the church service.⁷

Professor Davidson's theory is quoted here to bring home to the reader the "free verse" aspect of the metre. The scansion of this poetry should present no difficulty to anyone who has heard Mr. Carl Sandburg recite his verse or chant American ballads, reinforcing the irregular metre by a touch on the strings of his ukelele. But unfortunately, Davidson's theory will not account for the survival of the Anglo-Saxon characteristics in this verse five hundred years after the reign of King Alfred. I agree with Dr. Jakob Schipper that this gleeman theory of propagation will hardly explain the very fair knowledge these Northern poets had of "the strict forms of the Old English models."

On the other hand, I cannot feel that Dr. Schipper's own theory is more plausible.⁸ He contends that versification in the alliterative measures had always persisted, but that the bulk of the manuscripts making the tradition have been lost. The next step from *Beowulf*, he would say, was Layamon's *Brut* and allied poems. But these, as Dr. Schipper admits, belong entirely to Southern England. This persistent tradition, he thinks, flowered unexpectedly in Northern England between 1350-1400. But other than Layamon, all the examples quoted by him—*Piers Plowman*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *The Towneley Plays*, etc.—belong to this later period. Bridging such a gap by lost documents affords too treacherous a crossing it seems to me, for even a theory to pass safely over. Professor Saintsbury scouts this explanation altogether.⁹ "*Nobody*," he writes, "*has yet produced an English poem of the slightest importance, in alliterative measure, dating even probably between 1210 and 1340.*"

But supposing Professor Davidson *could prove* an oral survival of Anglo-Saxon verse, or Dr. Schipper a written tradition, some other cause than natural growth must have operated to produce the unnatural abundance of alliterative verse in Northern

⁷ Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁸ For a complete statement of Dr. Schipper's theory, of which I give here only essentials, see Chap. IV of his *History of English Versification*, Oxford, 1910, pp. 84 ff.

⁹ George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prosody*, London, 1906, I, 101.

England at this late time. No such cause has been found by either author. Nor has any unifying element thus far been discovered in the wide variety of alliterative poems which the age produced. What have *Piers Plowman*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and *The Towneley Plays* in common?

My own explanation of this late opulence of alliterative verse is different. I believe that the metre originated in a deliberate archaizing, as a protest against the effete romantic poetry of the day. Chaucer, in his *Tale of Sir Thopas*, indicates the neurotic condition of the verse romance. Poets may well have turned to new stanzas and new metres because they were weary of the old. French forms were not popular in the North, to judge by surviving verse, consequently the rebel poets adopted with enthusiasm "the ancient verse" they found in Layamon and elsewhere. Yet for their day it was not ancient but fresh and vigorous. By combining it with rime and putting it into new stanza-forms, they gave it a variety of appeal which it had not had before. The unifying element, and the generative cause as well, for the poetry of this period is to be found in the desire for novelty of form.

To argue that the dramatic poets were blind to conventional traditions is to admit a superficial examination of their work. Davidson finds nearly every medieval stanzaic form in the different cycles. Miss Smith has pointed out that the poets went to the *Cursor Mundi*, a thoroughly conventional piece of work, for materials. What would have been easier than to adopt its octosyllabic couplet for the plays? Moreover, a favorite (though outworn), romantic rime scheme is used in a large number of the episodes of the *Towneley Plays*, as Pollard has noted in his Introduction (p. xxvii). The following stanza is greatly admired by Dr. Hemingway.¹⁰ But observe that the metre is no longer conventional; the poet has revitalized it:

ffor thóu has fofden / all thyn óne
 The gráce of Gód / that wás out gófe
 ffor Ádam plýght
 Thís is thé gráce / that the betýdes
 Thou sháll concéyve / withín thi sýdys
 a chýld of mgýht.

¹⁰ Samuel B. Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, New York, 1909, p. xlii.

Of course this specimen reveals a lack of thorough comprehension of the principles of Anglo-Saxon metres, but it is such a comprehension as one might get from a reading of Layamon's *Brut* or similar material. A chronicle history, nearly identical with the *Brut*, is found in an important Northern manuscript (Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. 5.48) of which I shall have much to say later. It may possibly have suggested the metrical form to the Northern playwrights.

There seems then, to be no escaping the conclusion that *The Towneley Plays*, along with *Piers Plowman* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, are the finest products of a fourteenth century metrical revolt—revolts being as likely to occur then as today,—likely whenever conventions are outworn.¹¹

B. *Stanzaic Form*. The *Towneley Plays* contain not only new rhythms, but also a wide variety of stanza-forms. Professor Davidson maintains that in this cycle alone is there a consistent attempt to adapt the stanza to the speaker.¹² This, of course, has increased the diversity of stanzaic experiment. Indeed there are so many experiments in the cycle that it would be unprofitable to attempt a discussion of them all here, and I shall confine myself to an analysis of the nine-line "bob-wheel stanza"¹³ of the *Second Shepherds' Play*. It is as far from all the conventional stanzas as could be imagined. But our author's purpose was not entirely "to be different"; the stanza was evolved as particularly suited to comic situations, and we find it used regularly throughout the cycle for all the broadly humorous scenes, with the single exception of the *Mactacio Abel*.¹⁴ The consensus (of opinion) today seems to be that the hand which constructed the *Second Shepherds' Play* wrote these other scenes also. In view of the similar bold handling of the

¹¹ For an admirable exposition of the typical "revolts" in poetry, see Professor J. L. Lowes' *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*, Boston, 1919. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, I believe we have an attempt to preserve romantic material by giving it new form.

¹² Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Miss Smith's claims for the York cycle seem to me exaggerated.

¹³ The name given by Schipper, p. 321 ff.

¹⁴ These scenes include the plays *Processus Noe*, *Prima Pastorum*, *Secunda Pastorum*, *Magnus Herodes*, *Coliphizacio*, and parts of *Judicium*, *Flagellacio*, and *Processus Talentorum*. Mr. Pollard believes that *Mactacio Abel* belongs with this group. See his Introduction, pp. xxi, xxii.

farcical elements, and of the rareness of the stanza-form, it would seem almost rash to hold a contrary opinion.

Schipper selects the following from the *Magnus Herodes* as typical of the nine-line bob-wheel stanza:

Most myghty Mähówne méng you with myrth
 Both of búrgħ and of tówne by féllys and by fyrrth,
 Both kyng with rowne and bárons of bírth
 That rádlly wylle równe many gréat gríth
 Shalle be hápp;
 Take ténderly intént
 What sóndeś ar sént
 Els hármes shall ye hént
 And lóthes you to lāp.

With this specimen before us, it is possible to note the characteristics of the stanza. It consists of a *frons* of four lines, riming aaaa; a *bob*-verse, b; a *cauda*, riming ccc; and a final *bob*, b. The *frons* has four stresses to the line; the first *bob* varies between one stress and two; and the *cauda* regularly has two stresses. The scansion of the line is determined usually by the alliterative syllables, as in Anglo-Saxon poetry, with the single exception that the riming syllable always seems to demand a stress of its own. The *frons* has, moreover, internal rime, but this I do not regard as essential to the stanza. It plainly hampered the poet.¹⁵

The first results of this analysis of metre and of stanzaic structure seem to render less likely the discovery of an author for the *Second Shepherds' Play*. In addition to the restrictions I earlier imposed upon him, he must now meet these other and more difficult tests: he must show a familiarity with alliterative measures of the 14th century; he must, if he uses the aaaa⁴b¹ccc b²stanza, employ it for broad comic effect; and finally, he must demonstrate his antipathy towards the popular romance. These are difficult restrictions and will be hard to meet; the advantage of imposing them lies, however, in the fact that if our candidate *can* meet them, there is less likelihood of our being mistaken in him.

¹⁵ The customary device used in describing this stanza is the formula aaaa⁴b¹ccc b², the letters indicating the rime-scheme and the superior numbers the feet in the line.

II

The nine-line bob-wheel stanza of the *Secunda Pastorum* is rare in English verse. The following instances are all I have been able to collect after an extended search: *The Tale of the Basyn*,¹⁶ *The Tale of the Lady Prioress and her Three Suitors*,¹⁷ and Gilbert Pilkington's *The Turnament of Totenham*.¹⁸ Of these three poems, two—*The Turnament* and *The Tale of the Basyn*—are found together in the Cambridge University MS. Ff. 5.48. I have already called attention to the fact that this MS. contains a rimed chronicle which may have suggested the alliterative metre to our dramatists.

That this manuscript is a collection of Northern poetry can be demonstrated not only by dialect but in a number of other ways. It preserves an example of the *Northern Passion* which Dr. Frances A. Foster assigns to the northern part of the West Midlands on the basis of dialect.¹⁹ It also contains a ballad of Robin Hood²⁰ based on Wakefield characters²¹—the Wakefield of the Towneley Plays. It seems highly probable that the manuscript represents the work of poets in the locality of Wakefield. It is to be remembered that Richard Rolle's cell at Hampole was on the high road to Wakefield, and that Quixley, the prior of Nostel Abbey, the controlling monastery, was a poet. Wakefield was early the center of literary activity.

Certainly three poems in this MS., *The Northern Passion*, *the Tale of the Basyn*, and *the Turnament of Totenham*, are

¹⁶ In Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales*, London, 1829, p. 198 ff.

¹⁷ In Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ed., Halliwell, (Lond. 1840) Percy Society, vol. III, p. 107 ff.

¹⁸ In Bishop Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, re-ed., by H. B. Wheatley, London, 1876, II, 17. Tennyson's *The Lady of Shalott* employs the same rime-scheme, but is different in every other respect.

¹⁹ Frances A. Foster, *The Northern Passion*, E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser., 147, Introd., p. xxxi. Can Miss Foster distinguish between the dialect of northeastern Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire?

²⁰ Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales*, pp. 179-97.

²¹ The proof that Robin Hood and Little John were Wakefield characters is ably summed up in a review of an article by the Rev. Joseph Hunter in the *Yorkshire Country Magazine*, Bingley, Yorks., 1891, I, 81 ff. His contention that the "king" of the ballads was Edward II is further substantiated by a *Tale of King Edward and the Shepherd* that appears in our MS. It is probably by the author of our Robin Hood ballad.

related to each other and to the *Secunda Pastorum*. All appear to be by the same hand. The *Turnament* and the *Tale of the Basyn* are identical in stanza form, employing the nine-line bob-wheel stanzas which we have found in the Plays. The relationship goes further, however, than stanza-form. I have pointed out that the dramatist uses his nine-line stanza almost exclusively for rough humour. In the *Turnament* and in the *Tale of the Basyn* we find it employed for the same purpose.

The resemblance of the *Second Shepherds' Play* and the *Turnament* is striking. Nothing like the Mak interlude exists anywhere else in contemporary drama, and nothing like the *Turnament of Tolenham* exists anywhere else in contemporary satire. Warton compares the *Turnament* to the *Rime of Sir Thopas*,²² but although they both attempt the same thing, their difference in method places them as far apart as the two poles. Chaucer writes with his tongue in his cheek; the author of the *Turnament* with boisterous laughter. Here we have an outspoken, catch-as-catch-can satire of the medieval romance: Randolf the Reeve offers Tybbe, his beautiful daughter, to whoever among the country bumpkins shall win her in a jousting match, the armour to be tin pans and the weapons flails. He who cannot get him a horse comes on a mare. All the ceremonies of the medieval tournament are strictly kept. Tybbe, from a high point, watches and encourages the fighters. From morn till dark they pound each other, and many and sore are the bumps and bruises. At last the bold Perkyn puts to flight his final opponent and is awarded the lady and her pet hen. Then come the wives and sweethearts of the vanquished to cart them off the field on "harrows and wheel-barrows." In every respect this Don Quixote poem is worthy of the genius who wrote the Mak interlude.

The characterization of the simple country clowns, though slender, suggests that of the shepherds in the plays. Jak Garcio, of the *Caym and Abel* and the *Prima Pastorum* plays,²³ plough-boy and one of the dramatist's happiest creations, would have taken part in the tournament with zest. Elsewhere I have stressed the dramatist's interest in native or local character;

²² Thomas Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1824, III, 389.

²³ Both plays are generally attributed to the author of the *Secunda Pastorum* on the bases of stanza form and treatment of comic situation. See note 14 above.

the same interest is displayed in this medieval burlesque. Moreover, in both cases it is a sympathetic interest. This is harder to demonstrate in the *Turnament* than in the *Secunda Pastorum* where the dramatist voices feelingly the complaints of the shepherds. Nevertheless it is as certainly present in the burlesque. It lies in a ready appreciation of the simple traits of the country yeomenry—their rough humor, their easy forgetfulness. Thus Randolph the Reeve's device to determine his daughter's husband is of the same order as tossing Mak in the blanket. The spirit which prompted both is the same. Then, too, the Mak interlude and the *Turnament* close on the same note. Although the defeated young gallants are carted from the tournament in wheel-barrows, they meet in high good nature later (in the very next stanza!) to celebrate Tybbe's wedding in a banquet, and the satirical purpose of the author is forgotten. Similarly, the shepherds, after tossing Mak in a blanket for stealing the sheep, go to the worship of Christ in the manger. This seemingly sharp transition has puzzled many critics, who regard it as a violation of unity. But it should be observed that there is no abrupt change in character accompanying this singular transition. It is Coll, Gib, and Daw, who offer gifts to the Christ Child, and not Hebrew herdsmen. The explanation for this, and for the *Turnament* transition as well, lies, I think, in character. The bumpkins easily forget their buffeting; the shepherds readily forgive the thief, though they have some rough fun with him before doing so. The distance between laughter and tears, humor and reverence, is shorter with simple folk than with aesthetes. Moreover, consistency was not the hob-goblin of the medieval mind. Any country parson might make a convincing appeal based upon a coarse fabliau with a tacked-on moral, and no one object to the inconsistency. It is, however, important for our purpose to observe that both *Secunda Pastorum* and burlesque have this characteristic change at the end. It is as much of a point in common as are the phenomena of identical stanzas, native characters, broad comic situation, and sympathetic appreciation of the author in each case.

Other points serve to confirm the conclusion that the same man wrote the *Turnament* and the *Secunda Pastorum*. The

name and possibly the same character, "Gyb," appears in both. In the satire he is thus delineated:

When joly Gyb saw her thare,
He gyrd so hys gray mare,
That she lete a fowkin fare

At the rereward (*Turnament*, vv. 87-90).

But in the *Secunda Pastorum* this same Gyb is older and wiser, —a pronounced misogynist—"whose vein is matrimonial philosophy."²⁴ When he advises young men to "be well war of wedyng," is he not recollecting the rash heat of his own youth? The only difficulty with this is that the characterization is very slight in both cases. Again, Randolph the Reeve in the *Turnament* offers to the winner of his daughter

Coppull my brode-henne that was broyt out of Kent (*Turnament*, 49).

While Secundus Pastor speaks of

Sely Capyle,²⁵ our hen both to and fro
She kakylys (*Secunda Pastorum*, vv. 68, 69).

In the play *Resurrectio Domini*, Quartus Miles, who is placed to guard the tomb of Christ, vows his bravery and swears

For if it were the burnand drake
Of me styfly he gatt a strake.²⁶

Is it not significant that in the hodge-podge arms Hud bears to the tournament there is also "a burnand drake"?²⁷ Miss Hope Traver has shown that the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*

²⁴ Charles Mill Gayley, *Plays of our Forefathers* New York, 1907, p. 182.

²⁵ "Capyle" is evidently one of the many curious spellings of the Towneley scribe (i.e., dwill, *devil*, p. 12, l. 89; beshers, *beaux sirs*, p. 78, l. 1; Gog, *God*, p. 10, l. 44; grew, *Greek*, p. 274, l. 531; hogh, *high*, p. 317, l. 371; etc. E.E.T.S.). I do not see how it can be derived from capul, *horse* (Latin, caball-us) as the writer in the *New English Dictionary* thinks. "Coppull" and "Capyle" are different spellings of the same proper name, "Coppel," a diminutive form of "Copee," the name of the daughter of Chanticleer. ("Copee," *Le Roman du Renart*, ed. E. E. Martin, Paris, 1882, I, 13, v. 426. "Coppe," *Die Hystorie an Reynaert Die Vos*, ed. J. W. Muller en H. Logeman, Zwolle, 1892, p. 14. *Reinhart Fuchs*, ed. Jacob Grimm, Berlin, 1834, p. 131, v. 461.

²⁶ Towneley Plays, Surtees, p. 259 "drake." *dragon*. A.S. *draca*. This passage in *Resurrectio* is handled with a vigor that suggests the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*.

²⁷ *Turnament*, v. 106.

was unusually interested in the changes that were taking place in the music of the day, and in part singing.²⁸ The *Turnament* closes with these lines:

In every corner of the hous
Was melody delycyous
For to here precyus
Of six menys song (*Turnament*, vv. 231-34).

Coupled with the other close parallels between play and burlesque which I have indicated, these allusions, perhaps inconclusive in themselves, gain considerable weight. Viewing all the evidence, I see sufficient reason to suppose that the author of the *Secunda Pastorum* also wrote the *Turnament of Totenham*.

III

The *Northern Passion*, or as it is entitled in the manuscript, *Passio Domini Jesu Christi*, which appears in Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. 5.48, is not written in the unusual *aaaa⁴b¹ccc b²* stanza (that would be inappropriate for the material), but it has the same alliterative characteristics. Miss Foster has pointed out the dependence of the author of the Towneley *Conspiracy* upon the *Northern Passion*.²⁹ There remains to be indicated a still more significant relationship between the *Northern Passion*, the *Turnament of Totenham*, and those plays in the Towneley cycle which we believe the work of the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*.

According to Miss Foster, the *Northern Passion*, which is "one of a great number of poems written in the North of England at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century with the purpose of instructing the laity in matters of religion," was really a counterblast to the popular romance.³⁰ The *Turnament of Totenham*, we have already seen, was a satire upon this same popular form. The moment we commence to analyze the attitude of the dramatist toward this same material, we have started swinging back on the circle we began at the outset of this paper. The metre and stanzaic form in the plays I have shown to be a reaction against the effete

²⁸ Traver, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ *Northern Passion*, *Introd.*, pp. 86, 87.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1 ff.

romantic forms of the day. I believe that the same is true of the dramatist's attitude toward the subject matter of the romance.

This is best shown, perhaps, by one of the nine-line stanza comic plays, the *Magnus Herodes*. When Herod sends his "knyghts" to slaughter the Innocents, do we not feel that their valor is being made fun of by the poet? The tyrant adds a piece of gratuitous advice to his commands:

Herod: Spare no kyns bloode,
Lett alle ryn on floode;
If women wax woode,
I warn you, sirs, to spede you.²¹

And later the three *milites*, whom Herod has called "all the flowre of knyghte hede," find it expedient to take that advice after slaying the children. Put to rout by the mothers, they return to Herod and boast like knights newly come from foreign wars. In the *Judicium* and in *Lazarus* there are also powerful strictures upon "kyngs" and "knyghtys." In fact, nowhere in the whole cycle is the chivalrous hero of the romance treated with the respect traditionally due to his station. One cannot but conclude that the dramatist was hostile to the favorite poetic mode of the day.

Much ink has been spilled on the origins of the famous Mak interlude. There is a plausible connection of that story with the material we have just been discussing that I should like to suggest. In a frequently employed theme of the romances a queen gives birth to some monstrosity—a cat or a dog. Of this theme there are three variants. The queen is regularly accused by a witch, a mother-in-law, or a step-mother, of one of three crimes: birth of a monstrosity, eating the child (cannibalism), or infidelity. The familiar example of this is Chaucer's *Man of Lawes Tale*. That our author employed the same theme is too obvious to deny. When the shepherds come to search Mak's home, he protests that willingly he will eat the flesh in the

²¹ *Towneley*, (Surtees), p. 144. The Surtees editor incorrectly punctuates this passage, putting a comma after "floode" and a semi-colon after "woode." The last two lines are plainly ironic, yet the editor makes them a command of Herod's for the knights to be off on their commission. Such an interpretation is unnecessary, for the next line attends to that:

"Hens now go youre way that ye were thore."

cradle (presumably the baby) if he has stolen a sheep. This is a highly humorous use of the cannibalism variant of the theme. After the nature of that flesh is discovered, Mak's wife claims it for her own, but blames a witch for its present shape. What is this but a brilliant reversal of the accusation-by-a-witch variant? The excuses of Mak and his wife avail them nothing as we have seen, for the thief was tossed in a blanket by the shepherds.

Yet we cannot immediately decide that the Mak interlude is an ironical burlesque of a favorite theme of the romances. Long before the aristocratic narrative made use of this material it had a wide circulation in folklore.³² Our problem is to discover whether the author borrowed his story from the folk tale or the romance. In concluding that the latter was his source, I have been influenced by three things: first, that one of the simple variants of the theme was always rigidly followed in the folk-tale, while in the romance there were combinations of the variants (as in the Mak story) and combinations with other themes; secondly, that the tone of the folk-tale was serious or tragic, while in the later romances there is a suggestion of a humorous attitude on the part of the romancer toward this material; and thirdly, only in the romances does the accuser of the queen appear as some one else than the witch, the step-mother, or mother-in-law. If I am correct in holding the Mak interlude to be a satire of a romance theme, this point dovetails nicely with the other points I have made in regard to the dramatist's hostility toward romances in general.

After all, perhaps the best evidence is negative. A full century was to pass before romantic material could be appropriated for the English drama. What a contrast this affords with the history of the early French and Dutch stages!³³ The reason seems to be that this early bias against the romance as dramatic material was strong enough to endure.

³² Miss Margaret Schlauch, in a forthcoming Columbia University dissertation on *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*, has traced this theme in the folklore and fairy-tales of many countries. On her work I base what I have to say about the changes that the material undergoes in the later romances.

³³ To appreciate the difference, see Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire de Théâtre Comique au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1886. Miss Schlauch discovers the use of the accused queen theme as *romantic material* in at least two continental miracle plays.

IV

The only proper name connected with our cycle, our burlesque and our poem of religious instruction is that of Gilbert Pilkington. It is found in the colophon to the *Northern Passion*:

Explicit Passio Domini
nostri ihesu christi Quod Dominus Gilbertus
Pylkyngton Amen
ffinis adest mete explicit ergo valete.

Hartshorne, who printed some of the poems found in Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. 5.48, erroneously concluded that Gilbert Pilkington could not be the author but was only a scribe:

The MS. . . . [was] ascribed in the Old Catalogue of this Library to Gilbert Pylkyngton, because at the end of one of [the poems] there is written 'Explicit q^d Gilbert Pylkyngton,' a form often used by transcribers of the MSS. and which I have several times met with at the end of Treatises. . . . When therefore such modes of expression as 'Explicit A.B.' or 'Finis quod A.B.' occur in MSS. it can only be inferred that A.B. was the transcriber, and not that he was the author. I see no sufficient ground for ascribing even the single poem at the conclusion of which the forementioned rubric is found, to this Gilbert Pylkyngton.³⁴

The first thing to observe is that Hartshorne has not faithfully reproduced the colophon. In it the "explicit" and "quod" are separated by intervening words. The version that I have given is from a rotograph copy of the original and differs from it only in that I have expanded the conventional abbreviations, i.e., "Qd." to "Quod," "Dm" to "Dominus," etc. Miss Frances Foster, in her introduction to the *Northern Passion*, reproduces the colophon exactly as I have done.³⁵

Furthermore, "Quod Gilbertus Pylkyngton" was, of course, the customary form used to denote an author, especially in the North and in Scotland.³⁶ The conclusion that Pilkington was

³⁴ *Ancient Metrical Tales*, p. x.

³⁵ Foster, p. 14.

³⁶ See the *New English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1910), VIII, 79: "Quoth" quod
tb. Used at the end of a piece to introduce the name of the author.

Obs. (Chiefly Sc.)

a. 1500, *King's Quair* (S.T.S.) 48 Explicit, &c. Quod Jacobus Primus.

b. 1508 *Dunbar Lament* 101 Quod Dunbar quhen he was seik.

c. 1550 *Lusty Juventus* Finis. Quod R. Weuer . . . etc.

the author and not the scribe is borne out in other ways. The "ergo valete" is not the usual farewell of a scribe. Moreover, the colophon appears on fol. 47 in a MS. of 132 leaves. Was it customary for the scribe to put his signature in the middle of his MS. and nowhere else? Rather it would seem that he had copied a colophon already attached to the *Northern Passion*. Its present position is accounted for by the rearrangement of the material in the Cambridge MS. The tradition that Gilbert Pilkington wrote the *Turnament of Totenham*, which appears in the same MS., found its way into print in 1631 when William Bedwell edited the poem.

With regard to Gilbert Pilkington, Miss Foster says:

Nothing is known of Gilbert Pilkington. The Pilkingtons of Lancashire were prominent from the twelfth century; branches of the family were settled in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Hertfordshire in the fifteenth century. The West Midland dialect of F[isc. Camb. Un. MS. Ff. 5.48] makes it possible that the scribe belonged to some branch of the Lancashire Pilkingtons, but the family records contain no mention of Gilbert.³⁷

That Miss Foster may be right is indicated by the fact that the town of Pilkington, Lancashire, is adjacent to the town of Tottington.

I believe that the *Turnament* may once have been a satire of Tottington and not of Tottenham, which is a suburb of London. Rivalry between adjacent towns was not unknown in the Middle Ages, and it is far more probable that a resident of Pilkington, Lancashire, should satirize the neighboring town of Tottington, than distant Tottenham. Moreover, the Lancashire town would have been a more significant setting for the rustic burlesque than the prosperous suburb of London where, even in those days, the court sat. The popularity of the satire, the "catchy" quality of the lines, would account for the early change of Tottington for Tottenham, possibly by a scribe unfamiliar with Lancashire. Believing the *Turnament* a satire of Tottington, I find it easy to suppose that Gilbert Pilkington was at some time a resident of Pilkington, Lancashire.

Another biographical clue is given in the title "Dominus" prefixed to Pilkington's name in the colophon. "Dominus" was

³⁷ Miss Foster cites John Pilkington, *The History of the Pilkington Family*, Liverpool, 1912, pp. 24, 68, 79, 51.

Turnament of Totenham

the title usually given to a priest. That Gilbert Pilkington was an ecclesiastic seems highly probable. This would explain his antipathy toward the popular romance better than any other theory save, perhaps, artistic sensitiveness. The poets and minstrels were using material which was proving more popular than the Bible stories, the *exempla*, and the sermons of the ecclesiastics. The first effort of Gilbert Pilkington, let us say, was to out-do the romances in the *Northern Passion*, but failing in that, he did not hesitate to employ direct satire in the *Tournament of Totenham*.

A difficulty with this explanation is that there seems to have been no religious establishment in Pilkington in the 14th century. A parish priest or parson would perhaps have been too busy to have produced much poetry. But east from Pilkington, and not far distant, is the large town of Wakefield. Here a branch of the Lancashire Pilkingtons owned wide estates, and near here built Pilkington Hall in the early 15th century. Gilbert may have belonged to the Wakefield Pilkingtons, of course, and have been familiar with Lancashire through relatives.³⁸ I have shown the Cambridge MS. to be the work of poets in the vicinity of Wakefield. Moreover, in Wakefield there were many foundations to which a poet-ecclesiastic might belong. Dominus Gilbertus Pilkington may have been a cleric in the employ of one of the guilds, a chantry priest in the Church of All Saints, or a prior in St. Mary's chapel on Wakefield bridge. But this is pure conjecture.³⁹

At the outset of this discussion I advanced it as my belief that Gilbert Pilkington was the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*. We may now sum up the evidence for that contention. Can he

³⁸ A notion to play with, but dubious as proof, is that Gilbert Pilkington had the arms of the Wakefield Pilkingtons in mind when he emblazoned Hud's arms for the tournament:

"My armes are so clere

I bear a reddy l and a rake."

The arms of this family contain the figure of a man with a scythe—the only thing of the sort in Yorkshire heraldry. See the *Yorkshire Archaeolog. Journal*, XII, 259.

³⁹ All the records of these foundations have perished, save a list of the priors of St. Mary's after 1397, and Gilbert Pilkington is not mentioned among them. This is, however, of no special significance. See the *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*. Bingley, Yorkshire, 1891, Vol. XI, p. 146.

satisfy the criteria which I selected for determining the author of the play? I think that he can. On the basis of the signed manuscript we may be sure of his hand in the *Northern Passion*. From tradition, inclusion in the same manuscript, use of alliterative verse, and antagonism to romance materials, the *Turnament of Totenham* seems also to belong to him. Both in power of handling comic situation and in the realistic portrayal of native character in the *Turnament*, we discover the first elements which it has in common with the *Second Shepherds' Play*; meanwhile we satisfy the first two tests. The generally accepted dating of the Cambridge manuscript is 1456; that of the Towneley Plays, ca. 1450. The materials of both were probably composed a century earlier. Because of the similarities of versification, and because of the revolt against the conventions of the effete romance, we may conclude that the *Turnament* and the *Secunda Pastorum* were written within a few years of each other. Thus we satisfy the third criterion: that the author must have been living in 1355. In the fourth place, it has seemed likely that the author had some connection with Wakefield—the place of the plays. This I have not been able to prove for Gilbert Pilkington, but I have indicated in several ways that his connection with the town was possible. The fifth test was that he should be a probable person to write the play. The necessary reputation for his election to that task Gilbert Pilkington may have obtained by writing the *Northern Passion*—a work which was little more than a translation from the French. His title of "Dominus" is an indication that he was an ecclesiastic,—proof that he was a probable person to have been selected for the writing of religious plays.

Beyond this Gilbert Pilkington's case is strongest where the requirements are still more exacting. In the *Turnament of Totenham* he not only employs alliterative measures, but uses the *aaaa⁴b¹ccc b²* stanza for broad comic effect. This stanza is so rare in English that I have chosen to regard its invention as the work of the *Secunda Pastorum* dramatist. Moreover, there is a likelihood that he alone employed it. Finally, on the whole matter of literary revolt, the satire in the *Turnament* dovetails beautifully with the antipathy of the dramatist for romantic conventions and materials.

To make the story complete, perhaps the only thing necessary is to show how the manuscript of the plays, once the property of a Pilkington, became the property of the Towneley family in Lancashire. This is best done by calling attention to the fact that there exists a will made by "Sir John Pilkynghon, knight," on the 18th day of June, 1478, in which he asks that his body be buried "in the chantry in the kirk of Wakefield," and that his brother Charles have Bradley until his son Edward comes of age. He leaves "Pilkington hall near Wakefield" to his wife, and makes provision also for "Robert Pilkington, my bastard sone."⁴⁰

Charles Pilkington, the brother, married a lady who, after his decease, married a Sir Thomas Knight. We have the will of this Elizabeth Knyght, proved 17 Nov. 1509. From it we learn that Charles Pilkington was the guardian of Sir John Towneley.⁴¹ This John Towneley founded the library at Towneley Hall, in Lancashire.⁴² He is the logical man to have obtained the MS. from the Pilkingtons. If our theory is sound, it clears up the long-standing mystery of the possession by the Towneleys of the Wakefield Plays; it also adds to the probability of Gilbert Pilkington's authorship of the *Secunda Pastorum*.

I close this paper with the work just begun. I am not sure that I have given the author of the *Second Shepherds' Play* a "local habitation," but I do feel that I have given him a "name." His, however, is a strong, if whimsical, spirit, and now that his identity is known, he may choose to aid the next investigator in filling in the outlines. I have high hopes that the facts of Gilbert Pilkington's life may some day be as familiar as those of many a dramatic craftsman who followed him.⁴³

OSCAR CARGILL

⁴⁰ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Vol. III, "Selection of the Wills from the Registry at York," Surtees Society, Vol. XLV, 1865.

⁴¹ Surtees Society, Vol. CXVI for *North Country Wills* (London; Quaritch).

⁴² "The Rent Roll of Sir John Towneley, Knight," ed. F. R. Raines, Chetham Miscellanies Vol. VI, Chetham Society, Manchester, 1878, Introd., p. xii.

⁴³ I have not dealt with the difficult *Tale of the Lady Prioreess and Her Three Sailors*, for lack of space. It is obviously related to the *Tale of the Basyn*, but whether these two poems belong to the Pilkington canon, or to that of a close imitator of it, is material for another discussion.

ADDENDUM: Since this article went to press I have been able to add materially to the proof of Pilkington's authorship. One point seems to merit mention here. Miss Frances A. Foster (*op. cit.*, p. 87) has contended that the influence of the *Northern Passion* upon the Towneley cycle was wholly confined to the couplets of the *Conspiracy* play. More recently Miss Marie C. Lyle has studied the influence of the *N.P.* in her dissertation, *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles* (Research Pub. Univ. Minn. VIII, 3, 1919), p. 16 ff. Her work, although she has not realized it, is essentially a refutation of Miss Foster's theory, for she finds the *Passion* employed extensively in four plays in the cycle. (Note that Miss Foster in "The Mystery Plays and the *Northern Passion*," *M.L.N.* XXVI, 169 ff. once supported this view. She gives no reason for shifting her opinion in her introduction to the E.E.T.S. edition of this poem.) If the reader will consult Miss Lyle's parallels, he will find that the *N.P.* is not only used in the couplets and quatrains of the *Conspiracy* but also in the Pilkington stanza sections of this and the other plays as well. The significance of this, strangely enough, seems to have been ignored by Miss Lyle. It looks to me as if Gilbert Pilkington were responsible for all use of the *N.P.* in the cycle. This either vitiates Professor F. W. Cady's theory that the couplets and quatrains are editorial ("Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays" *J.E.G.P.*, X, 572), or it proves Pilkington that editor.

O. C.

XLIV

THE METRES OF THE BROME AND CHESTER ABRAHAM AND ISAAC PLAYS

OF THE six English miracle plays¹ dealing with the Sacrifice of Isaac, no two bear such marked resemblance as do the Chester and Brome plays. The close verbal agreements between these two have long been recognized and the problem which they present has been the subject of much discussion. To explain this special relationship two theories have been advanced: first, that the plays are derived from a common source (either of French or early English origin), second, that one play is based directly on the other.

Pollard² and Chambers³ incline toward the first theory. Mr. Pollard thinks that since there are passages in Brome for which there are no parallels in Chester, the relation between them cannot be so direct as would be implied by the second theory. Mr. Chambers, without entering into any discussion of the problem, states that the Brome play is probably derived from a common source with the Chester play.

The objection advanced by Mr. Pollard is hardly sufficient, however, to disprove direct borrowing, for a playwright who used another play as a model might be expected to vary the theme in some particulars, since authors differ in expression and representation. Moreover, in Brome we find lines which have no Chester parallels, alternating with lines identical with Chester. The identical lines in each case carry the meaning of the passage and the additional lines introduce new material. Moreover, it is to be noted, as an indication of the essential structural relationship existing between Brome and Chester, that passages which are identical in thought and language occur even in the central portions of these plays.

Finally, the theory of derivation from a common source encounters a serious difficulty in the fact that in the identical

¹ The six plays are: Chester, York, Towneley, Hegge, Brome, and Dublin.

² A. W. Pollard, *Eng. Miracle Plays*, p. 185.

³ E. K. Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 426.

lines the rime-words, as we shall see presently, are of Anglo-Saxon rather than Romance origin. This would make it necessary to suppose that the hypothetical common source was in Middle English. But of an earlier English play on the Abraham and Isaac theme, not the slightest trace survives.

The second theory, namely that one of these plays was based directly upon the other, is advocated by Professor Hohlfeld⁴ and Professor Harper,⁵ who, singularly enough, arrive at diametrically opposite conclusions. Professor Hohlfeld discusses the problem wholly from the evidence of language and meter and on these grounds he maintains that the Brome play was the original and that the Chester playwright revised it in order to fit his cycle. Miss Harper, on the other hand, confines herself to a comparison of the two plays from the point of view of dramatic technique and human interest. The Chester play, she finds, is of the conventional type, whereas the author of Brome has added pathos to the situation by emphasizing the mutual devotion of father and son and the love of Isaac for his mother. Our sympathy is won, also by the martyr-like spirit of consecration which the young boy displays. In Brome the emotional tension is sustained and even rises to a climax, whereas in Chester the characters are stereotyped and the interest does not increase with the progress of the action. For these reasons Miss Harper concludes that the Brome play was a skilful revision of Chester by a playwright with a livelier dramatic imagination.

Miss Harper's demonstration of the improvement of Brome over Chester in characterization and technique is convincing. But it seems desirable to scrutinize with some detail the parallel passages in the two plays in order to see whether her conclusion that Chester represents the original and Brome the revised form of the play can be substantiated by the metrical evidence. Accordingly, it is the purpose of the present paper to re-examine the arguments brought forward by Professor Hohlfeld to prove that the metrical form of the Chester play was based upon Brome.

⁴ A. R. Hohlfeld, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, V, 222.

⁵ Carrie A. Harper, "A Comparison between the Brome and Chester Plays of Abraham and Isaac," *Radcliffe Coll. Monographs* XV, 51-73.

Professor Hohlfeld bases his case chiefly on the different stanza forms used in the two plays. If the Chester playwright borrowed from Brome, he argues, we can understand why he should have changed the stanza-form in order to bring it into accord with the other plays of the cycle, whereas if Brome borrowed from Chester there would be no apparent motive for altering the meter of his source. It cannot be taken for granted, however, that the Brome playwright would necessarily adopt the stanza form of the Chester play if he were using that as his basis; he might have preferred another meter either because he was more accustomed to it or because it was more familiar in his own district, or even because he felt it to be more suitable to the movement of the play. Again, Professor Hohlfeld's view that the play was re-written in order to bring it into conformity with the meter of the Chester cycle, though perfectly conceivable, does not accord with the procedure of the Chester playwright in *The Purification* (No. XI), in which there are passages in the alternate riming quatrain of the corresponding York play (No. XX) to which it is directly related.

The Chester play (*Ch*) is written throughout in *rime couée*, with the rime-scheme *aaabcccb*, the *b*-rimes occurring in three-stress lines. In the Brome play (*B*) on the other hand are found a variety of meters: 5-line stanzas (*abaab*), 4-line stanzas (*abab*), occasional 7-line stanzas (*ababcbb*),⁶ and one instance of a 12-line stanza (*ababababddc*).⁷ Professor Hohlfeld regards the metrical diversity and irregularities of *B* as indicating that it was earlier than *Ch*, for if *B* had been based upon *Ch*, he argues, we should expect the Brome text to reflect the more regular metre of its original. But, whatever his source, it is clear that the Brome playwright was much more interested in the dramatic possibilities of his play than in its metrical structure. And the capricious variations in the stanza-forms might be better explained as the result of piecing together materials drawn from several sources than as a crude first attempt to dramatize the Abraham-Isaac story.

⁶ Vv. 26-32, 109-115, 122-128, 212-218, 228-234.

⁷ Vv. 47-58. The rime-scheme in this stanza makes a remarkably close approach to the characteristic 13-line stanza in the Hegge plays. (*abababab-dddc*). The Hegge stanza (with some corruptions) may also be recognized in *B* vv. 443-455.

At all events it is to be observed that these metrical irregularities are not evenly distributed throughout the play but are specially noticeable in those portions where *B* and *Ch* run parallel. Previous to v.109 where the verbal resemblances to *Ch* make their first appearance, the stanzas in *B* are fairly regular. The unique stanza-form *abbba* (vv. 67-71) is suspicious and probably represents a corruption of the text.⁸ But from v.109 down to the speech by the angel (vv. 316 ff.) which has no counterpart in *Ch*, the Brome metres exhibit a diversity and confusion greater than elsewhere in the play.

If we assume for the sake of argument that the Brome playwright in this portion of his play was using the text of Chester as his basis, we can easily see that he might have had some difficulty with the triple rimes which are the most distinguishing characteristic of *rime couée*. In the course of the Brome-Chester parallels⁹ no less than four instances of triple rime are to be observed in *B*:

Chester 269-272

Ab. Dread thie not, my childe, I red.
our lord will send of his godhead
some maner beast into this stydd,
ether tayme or wylde.

Brome 141-146

Ys. Yowr sacryfyce for to make¹⁰
a qwyke best, I wot wyll, must be ded.
Ab. Dred the nowgth, my chyld, I the red,
Owr Lord wyll send me on-to thys sted
Summ maner a best for to take,
Throw hys swet sond.

Chester 341-343

Ab. My Deere sonne Isaac, speak no more,
thy wordes make my hart full sore.
Is. O deere father, wherfore? wherfore?

⁸ It would be an easy matter to reconstruct this stanza by reversing the rimes in the first two lines, thus converting the rime-scheme to *abaab*—*B*'s usual 5-line stanza.

⁹ The text of the Chester play is quoted from the *E.E.T.S.* edition; that of the Brome play from J. Q. Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*.

¹⁰ I quote these lines in the order in which they occur in the MS. Miss L. Toulmin Smith, followed by later editors, reverses the order of vv. 141, 142.

Brome 224-226

- Ab.* Sone, thy wordes make me to weep full sore;
 Now, my dere son Ysaac, speke no more.
Ys. Al my owyne dere fader, werefore?

Chester 377-80

- Ab.* My deare sonne, let be thy mones;
 my child, thou greaved me but ones.
 blessed be thou, bodye and bones,
 and I forgeve thee here.

Brome 269-272

- Ab.* Al dere chyld, lefe of thy monys;
 In all thy lyffe thow grevyd me neuer onys.
 Now blyssyd be thow, body and bonys,
 That euer thow were bred and born!

Chester 397-400

- Ab.* Lord, I wold fayne worke thy will.
 this yonge Inocent that lyes so still
 full loth were me hym to kill
 by any manner of waye.

Brome 301-305

- Ab.* My hart wyll not now ther-too.
 Yit fayn I woold warke my Lordes wyll.
 But thys yowng innosent lygth so styll,
 I may not fynd yt in my hart hym to kyll.
 O! Fader of heuyn, what schall I do?

Only seldom, however, do the tell-tale triplets of the *rime couée* reappear in *B*. In general the Brome playwright has rearranged or altered the rimes to conform to his own measures, though in some cases he left obvious traces of his tinkering. Two such cases will suffice to illustrate his methods:

Chester 317-324

- Is.* Father, at home your sonnes you shall finde
 that you must love by course of kinde.
 be I once out of your mynde,
 your sorrow may sone cease,
 But you must doe Gods bydding.
 father, tell my mother for nothing.
Ab. For sorrow I may my handes wring,
 thy mother I cannot please.

Brome 198-207

- Ys. Ye haue other chyldryn, on or too,
 The wyche ye schuld love wyll be kynd.
 I prey yow, fader, make ye no woo;
 For, be I onys ded, and fro yow goo,
 I schall be sone owt of yowre mynd.
 Ther-for doo owre Lordes bydding,
 And wan I am ded, than prey for me.
 But, good fader, tell ye my moder nothyng;
 Sey that I am in a-nother cuntre dwellyng.
 Ab. Al! Ysaac, Ysaac, blyssyd mot thou be!

Here *B* has saved two of *Ch*'s rime-words, *kinde* and *mynde* but has replaced *finde*—the first rime in the triplet—by *too* and has constructed two lines ending in *woo* and *goo*, thus forming his favorite stanza *abaab*. But the line "For be I onys ded and fro you goo" betrays its relationship to *Ch*'s "be I once out of your mynde". *B*'s treatment of the second half of the Chester stanza is even more instructive: *bydding* and *nothing* are still retained as rime-words, but the next to the last line in *Ch* had already been appropriated by *B* a few lines earlier: "And ther-for my handes I wryng" (v. 189), where, however, *it does not rime*! A new line accordingly is constructed to furnish a rime for *no-thing*. Finally, the Brome playwright, looking ahead a few lines in *Ch*, noted v. 325:

O Isaac, blessed mot thou be!

and uses it here to complete his stanza!

A similar instance of rime tinkering appears on comparing one of the 7-line stanzas in *B* with the last five lines of one stanza in *Ch* and the two opening lines of the succeeding stanza.

Chester 344-350

- Is. Syth I must nedes be dead,
 of one thing I wold you praye:
 since I must die the death this daye,
 as few strokes as you maye,
 when you smyte of my heade.
 Ab. Thy mekenes, childe, makes me afray;
 my song may be 'well awaye!'

Brome 228-234

- Ys.* And sythyn that I must nedysse be ded,
 Yit, my dere fader, to yow I prey,
 Smythe but fewe strokes at my hed,
 And make an end as sone as ye may,
 And tery not to longe.
- Ab.* Thy meke wordes, child, make me afray;
 So, 'welaway!' may be my songe.

Here the most notable point is *B*'s inversion of the last line in order to change the rime from *welaway* to *songe*, and then the securing of a rime for *songe* by adding a line of pure padding: "and tery not to longe".

The reader who wishes to observe further the process by which the regular stanzas in *Ch* were broken up and rearranged in *B* may easily do so by comparing the following passages.

- (1) Chester 249-256 = Brome 122-128
- (2) Chester 275-288 = Brome 151-167
- (3) Chester 289-296 = Brome 169-172
- (4) Chester 301-304 = Brome 181-184
- (5) Chester 313-316 = Brome 194-197
- (6) Chester 357-367 = Brome 260-261, 247-250
- (7) Chester 381-396 = Brome 277-279, 285-296
- (8) Chester 405-412 = Brome 306-314

In determining whether Brome depended on Chester or Chester on Brome, one should not overlook the evidence presented by the short lines. These, as has been noted, were of regular occurrence in the *rime couëe*, Chester's metre, but are exceptional in Brome. Accordingly, it seems more likely that *B* 176, "To save my lyffe", was transferred from *Ch* 300, "For to save my life", than that a normal line in Chester should have owed its origin to an abnormal line in Brome. Again, it is easy to suppose that *Ch* 292, "For I am but a child", supplied the suggestion for the obviously padded line *B* 172: "For i-wys, fader, I am but a chyld".

Additional evidence as to the relation of Brome and Chester seems to be supplied by *B* 217, 218:

Ysaac, Ysaac, sone, up thow stond,
 Thy fayer swete mowthe that I may kys.

Notice also *B* 236, 237:

Al Ysaac, my owyn swete chyld,
Yit kysse me a-gen vp-on thys hyll!

The kissing of Isaac does not occur in the biblical narrative nor in the text of the Chester play. But it is expressly mentioned in the stage-directions of nearly all the MSS. of the Chester cycle, as noted in the footnotes of the EETS ed., p. 80, and in the collation of the Devonshire MS., p. xl, column 2. It is easy to see how the Brome playwright may have found the suggestion for his lines from the stage directions of a MS. of the Chester play. But it seems less likely that the Chester playwright, if he were using the Brome play as his basis, would have omitted the reference to the kissing of Isaac from the text of the play and reserved it for a stage-direction.

The detailed comparison of the metre of the two texts, therefore, fails to support the view advanced on *a priori* grounds by Professor Hohlfeld that the metrically irregular Brome play was the basis of the Chester *Abraham and Isaac* with its uniform metre. On the other hand the evidence supplied by rime and metre supports the conclusion reached by Miss Harper on the basis of characterization and dramatic technique as to the priority of the Chester play. Evidently the Brome playwright in revising his original bestowed slight attention on his metres but concentrated his effort upon realizing the dramatic situation.

MARGARET DANCY FORT

XLV

THE *CHRISTUS REDIVIVUS* OF NICHOLAS GRIMALD AND THE HEGGE RESURRECTION PLAYS

THE three scholars, J. M. Hart,¹ F. S. Boas,² and L. R. Merrill,³ who have in recent years done most to call the *Christus Redivivus* to the attention of general readers and scholars have without exception emphasized especially the element of the Miles Gloriosus utilized in the early drama by Grimald with astonishing elaborateness and effectiveness. The four soldiers stationed by Pilate to guard the sepulchre of Christ are used by Grimald in apparently a more original manner than in any other single situation in the religious drama of the sixteenth century in England. Hart merely calls attention to the presence of the Miles Gloriosus elements in the play. Boas makes a great deal of it, emphasizing Grimald's ability to vary his style to suit the changing speakers and occasions. He gives an elaborate description of the most interesting scenes of the play in which the four bragging soldiers appear. "It would be interesting," he says, "to know whether Grimald confided to Airy that he had later models than Plautus, and that in his tragi-comic treatment of a Biblical theme he had been influenced by at least one of the continental humanist playwrights, Bartholomaeus Lochiensis, whose *Christus Xylonicus*, first published at Paris in 1529, had been re-issued at Antwerp in 1537, and by Johan Gymnicus at Cologne in 1541. . . . The action of *Christus Xylonicus* ends with the burial in the garden tomb, . . ." Merrill in his very valuable contribution to the Grimald field of scholarship lays considerable emphasis upon the element of the bragging soldiers around the grave of Christ, and points out convincing evidence of the indebtedness of one

¹ "Nicholas Grimald's *Christus Redivivus*," *P.M.L.A.*, XIV, 369.

² *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1914, pp. 25 ff.

³ *The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald*, New Haven, Yale Press, 1925, pp. 59 ff.; reviewed favorably as to the life of Grimald, unfavorably as to the editing of Grimald's plays themselves, by G. C. Moore Smith, *M.L.R.*, XXI, 81 ff.

of Sebastian Wilde's plays to this portion of the *Christus Redivivus*.

From a reading of these authorities on the subject of the *Christus Redivivus* one comes away with the inference that to Grimald is due the praise for originating the comic handling of this particular situation or incident in the religious drama of England. In his preface Merrill says, "Grimald has succeeded in presenting a play of more dramatic value than any other drama that up to this time has been written,"⁴ and attributes not the least of its excelling qualities to the handling by the author of the "low-comedy parts of the soldiers."

That Grimald deserves much praise for his originality and effectiveness in his treatment of the entire theme he undertakes to deal with, no one will gainsay. Nor is it the intention of the present discussion to add more evidence to the charge that Grimald is the Judas of the Reformation, as has been contended by L. R. Merrill.⁵ But it is certainly interesting to note that while in his uncommonly long dedicatory epistle to this play Grimald tells unreservedly of his indebtedness to Plautus and to the Bible, he nowhere lets drop the slightest hint as to a certain sort of source which he apparently was very familiar with, and which so far as content is concerned contributed very materially to the success of what he allows the reader either advertently or inadvertently to take as a new venture in the field of the drama—the handling of the four soldiers stationed by Pilate to guard Christ's tomb in Plautian fashion, as swaggering blusterers who turn arrant knaves and cowards all of them as Christ rises from the grave. And it is especially interesting to note it in connection with the recent discovery by Hoyt Hope-well Hudson that, whereas Grimald has for centuries been given credit for originality of style in many of his contributions to Tottel's *Miscellany*, many of his pieces are wholesale translations.⁶

⁴ About 1541. See Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

⁵ "Nicholas Grimald, The Judas of the Reformation," *P. M.L.A.*, XXXVII, 216. Strype in his *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, (Ecclesiastical History Society, Oxford, 1854, III, 130) leaves the reader to decide whether Grimald or the servant whose duty it was to bring him Latimer's papers played the Judas part.

⁶ "Grimald's Translations from Beza," *M.L.N.*, XXXIX, 388 ff.

An examination of those parts of the York, Towneley, Chester, and Hegge Corpus Christi plays dealing with the events centering around the burial and resurrection of Christ leads one to the conclusion that Grimald had seen acted or had read either those parts of the Hegge plays dealing with the resurrection of Christ, or plays exceedingly similar to Hegge. Certainly the broad general lines of development of the theme are not original with Grimald. Numerous details also he probably got from the Hegge plays or some play or plays very closely related to Hegge, or to some undramatic prose or verse treatment of the same theme upon which both Grimald and the writer or writers of the Hegge plays drew extensively. Singularly enough, there is a Middle English narrative in verse of the Resurrection of Christ in MS. Ashmole 61,⁷ dated by J. E. Wells⁸ as of the fifteenth century, dealing very extensively with much the same set of incidents to which both the writers of Hegge and Grimald apply the dramatic method of treatment. So similar in phrasing is this undramatic narrative to Hegge that Falke⁹ very properly notes it as one of the immediate sources of Hegge. In this the Miles Gloriosus treatment of the four soldiers is clear. This nondramatic treatment of the theme is, in my opinion, the earliest treatment of Miles Gloriosus in extant Middle English literature.

The present discussion is concerned primarily with pointing out those particular portions of the *Christus Redivivus* which are strikingly like portions of the Hegge plays. The general similarity of the entire framework and substance of the *Christus Redivivus* to the framework and substance of the Hegge plays dealing with the events preceding, in, and immediately following the burial of Christ is, however, so very remarkable as to justify a running comment on some of the details of similarity.

It is when Grimald reaches the point in his play dealing with the meeting of the high priests for the purpose of preventing the resurrection of Christ or the spiriting away of his body by

⁷ *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXIX, 441 ff.

⁸ *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, p. 325. For a collection of the opinions expressed by scholars as to the date of Ashmole 61 see Frances Foster, *Northern Passion*, E.E.T.S. 147, p. 15, note 1.

⁹ *Die Quellen des sogenannten Ludus Coventriae*, Leipzig, Rudentz, 1908. pp. 84 ff.

the disciples, that he begins apparently to draw extensively upon Hegge. As in Hegge, so in the *Christus Redivivus*, Caiphus, troubled over Christ's promise to rise from the grave; counsels Pilate as to the seriousness of the situation, tells how it may stir up the masses of the people against the government, and advises him to place at the grave soldiers of extraordinary bravery, reliability, and power. In Hegge as in the *Christus Redivivus*, Pilate takes the advice and grants the request of Caiphus as to sending the soldiers to guard the tomb, the number of soldiers in each case being four. In both, the soldiers are given specific advice as to how to guard the tomb and admonished to be very diligent and very brave. And then follows in Hegge as in *Christus Redivivus* a set of incidents in kind and in order just as similar as those here enumerated, but in addition striking in the extreme; in both Hegge and *Christus Redivivus*, is developed in a fashion exceedingly graphic and effective the Miles Gloriosus motive. Each of the four soldiers maintains in most extravagantly boastful language his determination to perform impossible feats of bravery in discharge of his duty as to the prevention of the rising of Christ. Each of the four, as Christ rises and talks, (he rises at the same situation in Hegge and in *Christus Redivivus*, and says somewhat the same in both as he rises) are benumbed and paralyzed with fear to the point of becoming actually unconscious. In both, between the time that the soldiers are stupified and the time at which they wake up, incidents connected with friends and relatives of Christ are introduced. And in both, the soldiers as they come out of the stupor tell how great had been their terror and amazement, go to the authorities, and are induced by bribery to suppress the truth as to the Resurrection. Perhaps the most remarkable of all the similarities between Hegge and *Christus Redivivus* is the way in which both Grimald and the writer of the Hegge play pause at the same exact point in the dramatic narrative to expatiate with evident relish on the power of money over men:

Hegge

Ffor mede doth most in every qwest
And mede is mayster bothe est and
west
Now trewly serys I hold þis best
With mede men may bynde berys.

Christus Redivivus

Money the King, King money,
what can he not do in all affairs?
I will tell you what I think: al'
powerful wealth alone gives
strength and alone supplies power.

And in numerous other details, so trifling as to be most convincing of relationship, the plays are similar. Such, for example, is the minute description of the way in which the four soldiers take up their positions at the left side, right side, foot, and head of the grave, and of the purse full of bribery money, and of the cry of one soldier to another, "Awake, awake!" as he comes out of his stupor. These similarities and others appear upon a comparison of those portions of Hegge and *Christus Redivivus* cited below in this article.

It is deserving of notice that of all the four English cycles, Hegge is the one which brings to its highest and fullest stage of development the Miles Gloriosus theme in connection with the soldiers guarding the sepulchre.¹⁰ And the writer of these portions of Hegge in his adaptation of the varying forms of metre, now to the serious, now to the comic motives, bears comparison with Grimald. Merrill, commenting generally upon this particular matter, says: "He defends his varying diction by saying that the variety of characters demands a corresponding variety in the choice of words, and also that as the spirit of the various scenes changes, so should the metre, and he declares that the fullness of expression has arisen out of the fullness of the subject. He defends the interspersing of tragic and comic scenes by saying that Aerijs had found no breach of good taste in this, and that he had cited the *Captivi* of Plautus as a precedent."¹¹

Are we to take Grimald at his word for this? A comparison of the passages cited below will convince anyone that these parts of the Hegge plays will explain adequately most of that element in his play which Grimald goes through the form of defending as an innovation in drama, and makes entirely unnecessary his attempt at defending it; such a comparison will in addition, it is to be hoped, make it very certain that someone in England was applying the methods of Plautus or Terence to religious, biblical, or apocryphal material in the drama some seventy years before Grimald¹²; about eighty years before Cor-

¹⁰ For the earliest beginnings of the Miles Gloriosus theme in Hegge and other English Corpus Christi plays, see *Der Miles Gloriosus im Englischen Drama*, by Herman Graf, Schwerin i. M., pp. 10 ff.,

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹² The date of the Hegge plays is generally placed at about 1468.

nelius Schonaeus in his *Naaman*¹³; and about one hundred and twenty-five years before the unknown author of the *Stonyhurst Pageants*.¹⁴

In order that readers to whom the texts of *Christus Redivivus* and the Hegge plays are not easily accessible may determine for themselves whether the assumptions in this discussion are warranted by sufficient facts, I present in parallel column those portions of the two plays which show significant similarities, indicating by numerals and the use of italics passages in which there are specially close correspondences. The text of *Christus Redivivus* is quoted from Merrill's translation (*op. cit.*); the Hegge plays are quoted from Miss Block's edition for the E.E.T.S. (Extra Ser., 1922).

The Hegge Plays (pp. 312 ff.)

Caiphas.

- 1 Thou wotyst weyl that jhesu
he seyð to us with wordys pleyn
he seyð we xuld fynd it trew
the thyrd day he wold ryse agey.

- 2 herk sere pylat lyst to me
I xal þe telle tydyngys new
of o thyng. we must ware be
or ellys here after . we myth it
(rewe.

- pou wotyst weyl þat jhesu
3 he seyð to us with wordys
pleyn
he seyð we xuld fynd it trew
þe thyrd day he wold ryse agey
yf þat hese dyscyplys come
serteyn

Christus Redivivus, pp. 135 ff.

Caiphas.

- Moreover, so ridiculously
foolish was his confidence that
he promised his sorrowing
1 companions that he would re-
turn to the light of life, and
appear before them.

Annas, pp. 137, 139

- 2 'Observe, Pontius, and store
away in thy inmost thoughts.
what the false prophet spread
abroad while he was yet alive;
for the matter is not trifling or
3 of little weight. He said: 'After
three days I shall escape from
the jaws of death, and, return-
ing from vanquished hell, I
shall show myself again in the
flesh.' Therefore, most worthy
of the sons of Romulus, take
4¹ it not ill, but give us brave and

¹³ Hardin Craig, "Terentius Christianus and the Stonyhurst Pageants," *Philological Quarterly*, II, 56 ff.

¹⁴ *The Stonyhurst Pageants*, ed. Carleton Brown, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920.

and out of his graue stele hym
away
pei wyl go preche and pleyn
seyn
pat he is reson þe thyrð day.

þis is þe cowncel þat I gyf
here
4¹ take men and gyf hem charge
þerto
to weche þe grave with gret
power
tyl the thryd day be go.

Pylat

5¹ Sere Cayphas . it xal be do
for as ye say there is peryl in
And it happend that it were so
5² it myth make our lawys for to
blyn
3e xal se ser er þat 3e go
how I xal þis mater saue
And what I xal sey ther-to
and what charge þei xal haue.
Come forth 3e ser Amoraunt
6 and ser Arphaxat com ner also
Ser Cosdram and ser Affraunt
and here þe charge þat 3e must
do
Serys to Jhesu is grave 3e xal go
tyl þat þe thryd day be gon
and lete nother frend nor so
in no way to towche þe ston.

*trusty men to guard the mouth
of the sepulchre until a little
time has passed; for his follow-
ers, perchance, are thinking
of stealing his body, and of
carrying it away to bury, and
afterwards filling the whole
city with false rumours that
he, who is not, again enjoys
the light of day and the com-
mon breath of life. Therefore,
as a slight fire from a bit of
tinder leaps forth but, soon
increasing, rages through the
whole house, licking with its
flames the lofty beams, and
the building suffers dire and
lamentable ruin, so madness
at the first rumour of his*
5² *miracles and virtues, following
that belief, will rage with far
greater danger. The common
people are light-headed, fickle,
easily moved, and are eager to
catch the idle gossip of fools.*

5¹ Then Pilate spoke: 'Hebrews,
I grant what you wish; I grant
you watchmen and guards,
keepers of the tomb, who shall
hold unbroken watch until
tomorrow.' Thereupon, he
5³ gave me this seal, with which
I am to close up the place of
burial, and also gave me these
tried warriors. Then the men
of Jerusalem departed at once,
each to his own home, re-
joicing at having gained their
wish. Since I had promised to
come hither to you, I willingly
offered myself alone to direct
6 these soldiers. Therefore, as
men, do your duty bravely.
7 Dromo, you take the right; and

8 Yf ony of hese dysciples come
per
 to fech þe body fro 3ou a-way
 bete hym down have 3e no fere
 with shamful deth do hym day
 in payn of your godys and
 yourlyvys
 þat 3e lete hem nowth shape
 3ou fro
 and of 3our chyldere and 3our
 wyfys
 for al 3e lese and 3e do so.

9 Sere pylat we xal not ses
 we xal kepe it strong A-now.

3a and An hunderyd put hem
 in pres
 þei xal dey I make A vow.

And han honderyd fy on An C.
 and an C. þer-to
 þer is non of hem xal us with-
 stonde

3a and þer com An hunderyd
 thowsand and mo
 I xal hem kylle with myn honde.

wel serys þan 3our part 3e do.
 And to 3our charge loke 3e
 take hede
 With-owtyn wordys ony mo
 Wysly now þat 3e procede.

lo ser cayphas how thynkyth
 3ow
 is not þis wel browth Abowth.

in feyth ser it is sure A-now
 hardely haue 3e no dowth.

7 let se ser amaraunt where wele
 3e be
 wole 3e kepe þe feet or þe hed

7 You, Dorus, whither are you
 hurrying? Go to the left wing
 Sanjax, take your stand here,
 8 and Brumax there. If any one
 comes hither to commit theft,
 send him after his Christ to the
 world below. There is nothing
 for you to fear but a shadow.
 What need is there of many
 words? To men of spirit, I
 think that enough has been
 said.

9 Drom. By Hercules, whoever
 comes here shall find out what
 strength fit to give punishment
 Dromo wields.

Dor. And in me he shall find a
 heart worthy of a soldier.

Sang. Flight alone will avail to
 make him safe, whosoever be-
 holds Sangax even from a dis-
 tance.

Ann. What do you say,
 Brumax?

Bru. What do I say? By my
 head, I would dare swear to
 you that if any one by chance
 should cross my path, I will
 either slay him or he shall put
 me to flight.

Ann. What you said last I
 think will happen first.

Cai. Since then each one keeps
 his own post, let us spend this
 glad and joyous day awaiting
 the outcome of this play.

*At þe hed so mote I the
and ho so come here he is but
ded.*

7 And I wole kepe þe feet this
tyde
þow þer come both jakke and
gylle.

7 And I xal kepe þe ryth syde
and ho so come I xal hym kyllle

7 And I wole on þe lefte hand ben
and ho so come here he xal
nevyr then
fful sekyrly his bane xal I ben
with dyntys of dowte.
Syr pylat haue good day
We xal kepyn þe body in clay
And we xal wakyn wele þe
way
and wayten all abowte.

Pylatus.

5³ Now jentyll serys wole se
vouch-saffe
to go with me and sele the
graffe
þat he ne aryse out of þe
grave
þat is now ded.

.....

(Pylat Annas and cayphas go
to þer skaffaldys and the
knyghtys sey . . . (pp. 318 ff)

Affraunt 4

10 Now in þis grownde
he lyeth bounde
þat tholyd wounde
ffor he was ffals
þis lefft cornere
I wyl kepe here
Armyd clere
bothe hed and hals.

Pp. 141, 143, 145

(Act II, Scene 3. Dromo,
Dorus, Sargax, Brumax.)

10 *Dro.* Time has not adorned
my face with a well-bearded
chin to no purpose, especially
since I do not lack a manly
heart. Why should I tremble?
Is there any one who will so
depart from the truth as to

Cosdran 3

I wyl haue þis syde
what so betyde
If any man ryde
to stele þe cors
I xal hym chyde
with woundys wyde
Amonge hem glyde
with fyne fors.

Ameraunt ij

The hed I take
here by to wake
A stele stake
I holde in honde
Maystryes to make
crownys I crake.
Schafftys to shake
And Schapyn schonde

think that a woman's spirit dwells in this body? How many toils of war have I endured! The hardest battles did not subdue me.

Dor. In my case, indeed, there does not stretch aloft to heaven the lofty stature and the huge body of a giant: but it is soul, high, lofty, generous, and noble, not bulk of body, that a just appraiser demands in each; for our bodies are like those of dumb beasts; it is with our minds that we match the immortal gods; our minds fit us to rise above the stars. Do not doubt that a middle-sized man like myself can subdue one of the greatest strength, if occasion and cause demand it. At this very moment I am ready to live or to die.

Sang. If 'any 'one too, too rash, try to make his way here to trick us, let him learn that he is very near the greatest danger.

Who is more warlike than I? Lo, look at the wounds that I, bravely fighting, have brought back from battles and conflicts. Has not wonderful success in making war been given me? How many times I have escaped poison! Wherefore, if I catch any man contriving trickery now, he may know against whom he has sinned.

Arfaxat i

I xal not lete
 to kepe þe fete
 they ar ful w
 walterid in blood
He þat wyll stalke
be brook or balke
hedyr to walke
þo wrecchis be wood.

1 miles

11 Myn heed dullyth
 myn herte ffullyth
 of sslepp
 Seynt Mahownd
 þis bereynge grownd
 þou kepp.

ij miles

I sey the same
 ffor Any blame
 I falle
 Mahownde whelpe
 Aftyr þin helpe
 I calle.

3 miles

I am hevy as leed
 ffor Any dred
 I slepe

Bru. He who is able to escape this right hand, on provoking me, let him count those years as gained that he passes thereafter. Approach, you, who conceiving a dislike for life, wish to run upon the point of the fatal hour, and we will stand here, comrades, together we will fight, if there be need, if that juggler stick out his head, he of whom some dream and tell foolish tales that he will live again. As if an Egyptian sorcerer could work such miracles after death. . . . Let each give courage to the other, and strike terror, deadly terror, into the hearts of the enemy.

Pp. 149, 151

(Act III, Scene 1. Dromo,
 Dorus, Sangax, Brumax.)

11 *Dro.* By the immortal God, where in the world are we? Fellow soldiers, what do you suppose this is? How confused and disordered is everything that we see! What a noise the struggling and wrestling winds make in our ears! How strangely one's voice sounds, shaken by the mighty din! What earthquakes come to battle! How the earth bellows, how it is moved and shaken, how it roars! I believe that it trembles horribly not only in one place, but everywhere.

Mahownde of myght
þis ston to nyght
þou kepe.

4 miles

I haue no foot
to stonde on root
by brynke
here I Aske
to go to taske
A wynke.

(Tunc dormyent miles et
ueniet Anima Christi de in-
ferno cum Adam et Eua.
Abraham johan baptista et
Alijs.

Anima Christi

12 Come forthe Adam and Eue
with the
And all my fryndys þat here-
in be
to paradys come forthe with
me
In blysse for to dwell
þe fende of helle þat is your
ffoo
he xal be wrappyd and
woundyn in woo
Ffro wo to welthe now xul 3e
go
With myrthe evyr more to
melle.

Dor. Good God! What great
flashes of lightning come from
the cavel! Comrades, here we
must use not our arms, but
our legs; here I take flight.
Sang. I, too, will flee.

Bru. And I likewise will flee.

Dro. I shall not be the last.
I do not care who follows at
my back, as long as I outstrip
them all. But O good God,
I implore Thy protection!
What is this? Alas, I am no
more!

Dor. I am undone!

Sang. I am lost!

Bru. I am slain!

(Act III, Scene 2.)

12 *Christus.* So the predictions of
the prophets concerning me
have been fulfilled, and have
almost reached their end and
goal. This body, which but a
while ago was subject to dis-
solution, and was of such
nature that it could die, is
now born again, imbued with
life eternal; and it shall be
made the peer of everything
immortal. And thou, too, O
Death, who, as the greatest
certainty, dost ever threaten
the rest of mankind, do thou
straightway cast aside thy
spear, and acknowledge thy
conqueror. Whosoever thou
art, O man, here are glad
tidings for thee: I say nought
of the tyranny of sin, of death
and of hell, from which thou
art now made free, for I have
given satisfaction to the sever-

Hegge, (pp 322 ff.)

(Tunc evigilabunt milites
sepulcri et dicit primus miles.)

i miles

13 *Awake Awake*
hillis gyn qwake
And tres ben shake
ful nere a-too
Stonys clevyd
wyttys ben revid
Erys ben devid
I am servid soo.

2 miles

he is a-resyn pis is no nay
that was deed and colde in
clay
now is resyn be-lyve pis day
grett woundyr it is to me
He is resyn by his owyn myght
And fiorth he goth his wey ful
ryght
how xul we now us qwyte
Whan Pylat doth us se.

3 miles

lete us now go
pilat on-too
And ryght evyn so
as we han sayn
þe trewth we sey
pat out of clay
he is resyn this day
pat jewys han slayn.

4 miles

I holde it best
lete us nevyr rest

ity of the harsh law. If, then,
any gratitude for my great
love touch thy heart, be as-
sured that my blood shall
plead thy cause.

Pp. 169 ff.

(Act IV, Scene 1. Brumar,
Sanga, Dorus, Dromo.)

13 *Bru.* I am at a loss to know
what this business is, and
where this stupor and loss of
reason came from. I am so
frightened that, in a way,
I have no idea of things.
Moreover my companions,
bewildered with fear, have be-
come dumb. I lately thought
myself strong and vigorous,
but where now have my
courage of mind and my
former noble spirit gone? . . .
Sang. Have they gone, then,
have the women gone, or
rather the furies and demons
gleaming with flames?

Bru. They have gone, believe
me. Let us now rouse Dorus.
Ho there! Dorus, O Dorus!

13 *Wake up! Quick! Wake up!*
Dorus! There is no danger
now.

Dor. I will get up now, if there
is no danger. Ah, I have
scarcely come to myself,
trembling seized upon me so.

Bru. What do you say about
this change? Have you so
quickly unlearned the boldness
of the falcon? But, Dromo, as
it seems, is neither drawing
his breath, nor sending any
forth. Dromo! Dromo!

13¹ but go we prest
 þat it were done
 All heyl pilatt
 in þin A-stat
 he is resyn up latt
 þat þou gast dome.

Dromo!

Dromo. Who calls Dromo?

Bru. The partner of your
 fortune, Brumax. Come, get
 up, I will support you. I will
 hold you, since you are un-
 steady, and not let you fall.

Dro. Ah, my strength is gone.

Bru. Put out your arms.

Dro. Who, who is it that lays
 hold of me?

Bru. I tell you that it is
 Brumax, your comrade. Get
 up, get up.

Dro. I am troubled in mind.
 My heart is throbbing, it is
 weak, and it trembles. My
 head is strangely distressed,
 and the organs of my senses
 hardly do their work as yet.
 Fear shakes my bones in an
 incredible way, and I am
 trembling to my finger-tips.
 Just let me breathe a little.

Bru. O now, now, with us
 banish your fear. This pale-
 ness and this chattering of
 teeth seized us, too. The man,
 through his tricks and illusions,
 has escaped, and he will not
 frighten us any more. But

13¹ I will let the leaders of the
 priests know of these things;
 it must be done at once.
 Sangax, join me as an atten-
 dant. But you, Dorus, join
 Dromo.

Pilatus

Now jentyl serys I pray þou

All

A-byde styлле a lytyl thrall

14 whyll þat I myn councel call
 And here of þer counsell.

(Act IV, Scene 5. Alecto
 Caiaphas.)

Pp. 187, 189, 191, 193

14 *Cai.* By heavens, this does
 not seem to me to be an

i miles

Syr att ȝour prayour we wyl
abyde
here in pis place a lytel tyde
but tary not to longe ffor we
must ryde
we may not longe dwelle.

(Pp. 325 ff.)

Pilatus

*Now jentyl serys I pray ȝow
here*

14 *Sum good councel me to lere
Ffor sertys serys without dwere
We stounde in right grett dowle.*

Cayphas

Now trewly sere I ȝow telle
pis matere is both ffers and
felle
combros it is ȝerwith to melle
And evyl to be browth a-bowte

Annas

15 Syr pylat ȝou grett justyse
ȝow ȝou be of wittys wyse
ȝit herke fful sadly with good
devyse.
what ȝat ȝou xalt do
I counsel ȝe be my reed
ȝis wundyrful tale pray hem
to hede.
and upon this ȝeve hem good
mede
bothe golde and sylver also.

And sere I xall tell ȝow why
in youre erys prevyly
be-tweyn us thre serteynly
now herk serys in ȝour erys.

(hic faciant pilatus cayphas
et Annas priuatim inter se con-
silium quo finito dicat.)

assembly of counselors who
merely disagree, but rather of
men who, as they say, differ
from one another by the whole
width of heaven; or, as I may
truly declare, an assembly of
crazy men. Annas, from his
high throne, asks one and
another to give his opinion
about this matter. This one
says, 'Whatever you command
quite pleases us.' That one
demands a certain interval
for deliberation on the affair,
which is weighty, serious, and
important. Another says that
so great an event cannot be
concealed. Another wishes
Christ to be put to death a
second time. The rest have
nothing to say. I am there-
fore much more doubtful than
when I departed a short time
ago.

Alect. Good sir, if thou wilt,

15 I will remove this difficulty
from thee. In a few words I
will explain what ought to be
done.

Cai. Nay, dearest lady, thou
wilt lay a mortal under an
immortal obligation to thee if
thou dost accomplish this.

15 *Alect.* Lay aside thy fear; I
will bring it about. *First of all,
see that thou with gifts of money
win over the guardians of the
tomb, so that they neither tell
the truth nor divulge it in any
way.* MONEY, THE KING, KING
MONEY, WHAT CAN HE NOT DO
IN ALL AFFAIRS? I WILL TELL YOU
WHAT I THINK: ALL POWERFUL

Annas

*Ffor mede doth most in
every quest*

16¹ *And mede is mayster both
est and west*

now trewly serys I hold this best

*With mede men may bynde
berys.*

Cayphas

16² *Sekyr sere þis counsell is good
pray þese knyghtys to chaunge
þer mood*

*3eve them golde ffeste and ffood
and þat may chaunge ther wytt.*

Pylatt

16³ *Serys 3oure good counsell I xall
fulfyllle
now jentyll knyghtys come
hedyr me tylle*

*I pray 3ou serys of 3our good
wyllle
no ferther þat þe flytt.*

*WEALTH ALONE GIVES STRENGTH,
AND ALONE SUPPLIES POWER.*

Wherefore, bestir thyself now,
and carry out these commands,
which I, thrice greatest of the
Furies, have made known
unto thee. This is the aim,
his is the brief intent of my
words.

*Cai. I feel the very greatest
gratitude toward thee, goddess;*

16² *no man could give better advice.*

*By Hercules, I will comply with
thy exhortations.*

(Act IV, Scene 6. Caiaphas,

Dromo, Dorus, Sangax, Brumax.)

17 *Cai. In these hands is a purse
filled with money and bulging
with no little silver. Within
lies hidden what works miracles;
within lies hidden what drives
men's hearts to everything.
Within is what will quickly
show a divine quality, and
relieve me from great fear.
I do not doubt that this will
be most pleasing to Annas,
and also to the rest of the men
of our order. It is better that
the glory of one man be ob-
scured than that so many of
our high honors be taken away.*

18 *But lo, I see opportunely ap-
proaching Dromo and Sangax,
Brumax and Dorus, who shall
relieve me of the burden of
this pouch.*

Dro. Hail, good leader.

*Do. Hail, most worthy high-
priest.*

Jentyl knyhtys I 3ow pray
 A bettyr sawe that 3e say
 Sey þer he was cawth away
 with his dyscyplis be nyght
 Sey he was with his dyscyplis
 flett

I wolde 3e worn in 3our
 saddelys ssett

17 *And haue here gold in a purs
 knett*

and to rome rydyth ryght.

4 miles

Now syr pylatt
 we gon oure gatt
 We wyll not prate
 no lengere now
 now we haue golde
 no talys xul be tolde
 to whithtys on wolde
 we make the A vow.

Pilatus

Now 3e men of myth
 as 3e han hyght
 Euyng so forth ryght
 3oure wurdys not falle
 And 3e xul gon
 with me A-non
 All every-chon
 in to myn halle.

Sang. Heaven bless you, most
 noble sir.

Bru. Hail, holiness itself.

Dro. We met Parmeno, your
 servant, who told us that you
 wished to speak to us.

Cai. I do indeed wish it;
 therefore give me your atten-
 tion. You, Dromo, do you
 doubt that Christ is living
 again?

Dro. For my part, I laid
 before you proofs of this thing
 which were neither few nor
 trifling. That is all too evi-
 dent.

Cai. What do you say, Dorus?
 Is this thing true?

Dor. It happened just as
 Dromo told you.

Cai. Do you, Sangax, affirm
 the very same?

San. Why should I not affirm
 it, who together with these
 men was present at the time?

Cai. And what do you say,
 Brumax?

Bru. Just what my comrades
 say.....

Cai. The chief priests have
 decided to give you a certain
 amount of money, on this
 condition, however, that to
 everyone who questions you,
 you answer at once, and al-
 ways in this fashion, and say
 that in the dead of night his
 deceitful followers, like aban-
 doned robbers, carried off the
 body, and stole it away as you
 slept. If this invention be
 brought to the governor's ears

1 miles

*Now hens we go
As lyth as ro
And ryght evyn so
As we han seyde
We xul kepe counsel
where so evyr we dwell
We xul no talys tell
be not dismayd.*

we will convince him and
secure you from harm.

Dro. We gladly agree.

Do. The conditions are quite
agreeable.

San. Why should we not com-
ply with so great an authority?

Bru. We follow out a decision
that is by far the most
weighty.

Cai. Each one of you shall be
enriched with treasure. Take
it. Quick, now, speak. What
do you say, Dromo? Did that
Christ rise from the tomb?

Dro. Well, what then? Was
the sepulchre empty?

Dro. It was night; his dis-
ciples stole his lifeless body
away while the deep sleep of
Lethe held our bodies.

.....

Bru. O thrice and four times
*happy are we to whom there has
fallen so great a reward* for our
labors, such as neither the
dice nor chance has given us
for ages.

The evidence supplied by the above parallels would appear to establish the dependence of *Christus Redivivus* upon the Hegge plays. Against this conclusion, however, it may be objected that it is exceedingly improbable that Grimald ever had an opportunity to witness a performance or to read the manuscript of the Hegge plays. Nevertheless, a brief consideration of certain facts will tend to remove this objection. It will be remembered that recent researches make it probable that Bury St. Edmunds was the home of the Hegge manuscript. Miss Dodds, after carefully discussing the question of its provenience, concludes that "what evidence there is points to Bury St. Edmunds."¹⁵ It was from Bury St. Edmunds also that

¹⁵ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IX, 79 ff.

Miles Blomefield,¹⁶ author, copyist, or owner of the manuscript of the Digby plays¹⁷ came to Cambridge at just about the time when Grimald was leaving that university for Oxford, where some three or four years later he composed *Christus Redivivus*. Now some of the Digby plays, it has been plausibly argued, probably belonged to the Hegge group itself.¹⁸ Blomefield, whose name appears in the manuscript of those Digby plays which apparently formed a part of the original Hegge manuscript, probably wrote his name there, as he did in other manuscripts,¹⁹ to indicate his ownership. If a part of the Hegge manuscript came into his possession, why may not the rest of it have come into the possession of Grimald? The lives of the two men ran along together.²⁰ Blomefield's dates are 1525-74, Grimald's 1519-62. Blomefield went to Cambridge very shortly after Grimald left there if not before he left. Grimald, it will be remembered, after leaving Cambridge in 1540, and writing *Christus Redivivus* at Oxford, came back to Cambridge and received the degree of M.A.²¹ Here then are two men both closely associated with Cambridge, living at the same time, both writers, both wanderers, both antiquarians, both recanters; the one Grimald coming from Huntingdonshire about twenty-five miles west of Cambridge, the other Blomefield, coming from Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, about twenty miles east of Cambridge. Blomefield was interested in mystery plays to the extent of acquiring some; why not Grimald? From Miss Block's²² description of the manuscript, it appears that it was at one time, wherever it may have come from, readily accessible to students, the name of more than one being scribbled on the margin, one even going so far as to jot down a formula for fractions upon it. Let us suppose that the MS.

¹⁶ For the suggestion of a possible relationship between Grimald and Miles Blomefield I am indebted to Carleton Brown.

¹⁷ Karl Schmidt, *Die Digby Spiele*, Berlin, 1884, p. 6; E. K. Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 428.

¹⁸ Howard R. Patch, "The *Ludus Coventrie* and the Digby *Massacre*," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXV, 324 ff.

¹⁹ For other manuscripts bearing the name of Miles Blomefield, see *Literary Times Supplement*, Sept. 10, 1925, p. 584, and Nov. 5, 1925, p. 739.

²⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Warton, *History of English Literature*; IV, 49 ff., 78.

²¹ L. R. Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²² *Ludus Coventrie*, K. S. Block, E.E.T.S. (1922), *Introd.*, p. xxxvi.

started at Bury St. Edmunds. We know where it turned up—in the possession of Robert Hegge, an Oxford man (1599–1629) who consulted, by the way, among his sources, so he says in his preface to his *Life of Saint Cuthbert*,²³ one "Capgrave, a monk of Bury."²⁴ On the way over from Bury St. Edmunds to Oxford, while a part of the manuscript was falling into the possession of Blomefelde, the rest of it, the manuscript as it now is, may very possibly have fallen into the hands of Grimald. Surely it requires no great stretch of the imagination to think of Grimald being familiar with mystery plays in 1542, seventy-odd years before the Chester plays ceased to be actually performed in England,²⁵ and about fifty years before Shakspeare was writing plays which show familiarity on his part also with mystery plays.²⁶

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR.

²³ *The Legend of St. Cuthbert*, by Robert Hegge, 1626, Darlington, printed by George Smith, 1777.

²⁴ See John Capgrave, writer of Saint Juliana and other saints' lives. E.E.T.S.

²⁵ *The Digby Plays*, F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., vol. 70, pp. xxv ff.

²⁶ See J. F. Royster, "*Richard III*, IV, 4, and the Three Maries of the Medieval Drama," *M.L.N.*, XXV, 173 ff.

XLVI

PEROLOPEZ RANJEL, FARCA A HONOR & REUERENCIA DEL GLORIOSO NASCIMIENTO (Early Sixteenth Century).

THIS play was unknown to Moratín. When it was examined by Ticknor, it was part of a volume belonging to M. Ternaux-Compans, which contained, besides, the anonymous *Farça a manera de tragedia*, Güete's *Tesorina* and *Vidriana*, the *Radiana* of Ortiz, Villalón's *Tragedia de Mirra* (Medina del Campo, 1536) and the anonymous *Jacinta*.¹ La Barrera's notice, probably borrowed from Ticknor, states—I believe wrongly, if I have correctly understood Ticknor—that the play was in a collection with other farces, “dos de ellas impresas en 1536.”

Taken together, the descriptions of Salvá, who has given a summary of the play and reproduced 146 lines, and of Heredia, who gave an exact reproduction of the title-page, are satisfactory.² Kohler, who does not seem to have known of Salvá's extracts, speaks of the piece as though it were lost and reproduces La Barrera's notice.³ From Ternaux-Compans the only known copy passed, now separately bound, through Salvá to the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, where it is now preserved under the signature R.3658.

Of the author nothing whatever is known. The play, with its embryonic *introito*, its *villancicos*, its pastoral tone and its general use of stock incidents evidently belongs to the school of Encina, from whom a line or two have been actually borrowed (262-264; 318; 453). The only clue to its date, besides the language is its early association with other products of the first half of the sixteenth century. Salvá guessed “hacia 1530 ó anterior,” Heredia “vers 1530.” It has not been noticed that the woodcut

¹ Ticknor, *Sixth Amer. ed.*, II, 54, n.

² Salvá nr. 1298; Heredia nr. 2320. The lines reproduced by Salvá are numbered 129-175, 233-252, 253-284, 421-450, 453-469.

³ *Sieben Span. dram. eklogen*, p. 164. The play is merely mentioned by Alenda, *BRAE*, VI (1916), 760.

of the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional had once been naively colored. If this was its original condition, it would suggest that the Christmas-play was sold, if not written, as an object of devotion, very much like the small paper flags, in "image d'Épinal" style, that are still found for sale at certain European shrines and places of pilgrimage.

The play was evidently written for performance in or about the church (cf. line 3). There are some indications of scenery: boughs (282), a hut (313) and a palm-tree (337) which may well have belonged to a *Nacimiento* set up in the church. The action takes place in the morning (342).

The vocabulary and some points of syntax deserve attention, as the notes will show. The versification, which was praised by Salvá, is interesting.

With the exception of the separate lyrics, the whole play is written in octosyllabic eight-line stanzas of notably varied construction.⁴ Some have two rhymes, with the schemes *ababbaab* (4 stanzas), *abababba* (1) and *ababbaba* (1), a total of 6 stanzas. The three-rhyme stanzas offer the following combinations: with the opening quatrain *abab*, final quatrains *acca* (1 stanza), *acac* (2), *bccb* (9), *bcbc* (10), *cbbc* (2), *cbeb* (1), total 25; with the opening quatrain *abba*, the final quatrains *abcc* (1), *acac* (1), *acca* (4, making *redondillas dobles*) and *caca* (1), total 7. The three-rhyme stanzas number altogether 32. There are 9 stanzas with four rhymes. Opening with *abab* are found *cdcd*

⁴ Professor Morley (*Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, I, 510) acquainted only with the extracts in Salvá, assumes for the unit of versification in this play a very rare 'fluctuating octosyllabic quatrain, *ABAB* or *ABBA*, in which the final rhyme of one stanza is sometimes the first of the next. I suggest that the metrical unit is here an eight-line stanza, not because the printer divided the lines into groups of eight, but because these stanzas are obviously intended throughout the play as complete sense-groups. Practically all end with a logical full stop, even in the few cases where one speech is divided between two stanzas, (52-53; 167-168; 268-269) except in one case (142-143). In many cases the two quatrains are logically inseparable (especially those beginning with 61, 69, 93, 216, 301, 357, 396, 413, 445) even in four-rhyme stanzas, with two different rhymes in each quatrain, which might most plausibly be divided (160, 285, 413). It is perhaps preferable to leave the designation *octavas* for the Italian type *abababcc*, although Rengifo (ed. Barcelona, Martí, 1759, pp. 91-93) includes under *octavas rimas* the 'double' *redondilla* on two rhymes (*abbaabba*) and even what he elsewhere designates as *redondilla de ocho versos* (p. 35), on three rhymes (*abbaacca*).

(6) and *cddc* (1); opening with *abba* one stanza continues with *cdcd* (1) and one with *cddc* (1). The two-, three- and four-rhyme arrangements, then, appear with the respective frequencies 6, 32, 9. In the most used, or three-rhyme stanza, the opening quatrain *abab* prevails in the proportion of 25 to 7, mostly used with a final quatrain on the rhymes *bc* (22 to 3), in the order *bc* (19 to 3) and as often in *redondilla* as in crossed rhyme (9-9).⁶

The first of the separate lyrics (25-36), a *canción* in three *redondillas*, is without an introduction. The second (110-126) is a *villancico* (*abb-accaabb-dedeabb*) introduced by a *quintilla* (*ababb*) followed by an irregular or corrupt transition (*cccd*). The third (233-252), also a *villancico* (*abab-bcbcabab-dedeabab*), is introduced by a *quintilla* (*abaab*) followed by the *estribillo* itself, with which it has one rhyme in common. The *conjuro* (285-300) in *octavas*, conforms to the general scheme of the play. The fourth distinct lyric (453-469), a *villancico* (*aa-bbbaa-cccaa-dddaa*), is, like the third, introduced by a *quintilla* (*abaab*), followed by the tercet *baa*, which is not, however, identical with the refrain of the lyric. Thereupon follows immediately a *copla* (*abab*), and the play concludes with a *villancico* sung by all, without any introduction (*aa-bbbaa-cccaa*).

Within the stanza and line some peculiarities may be noted. *Hiatus* between vowels or before Latin *h* seldom occurs: 12 (*de eua*), 216 (*dende oy*), 416 (*que oy*), 426 (*me haya*), 455 (*de vna*). Hiatus, or rather lack of elision, before *h* from Latin *f*, is consistently observed, clear cases being 54, 60, 143, 181, 187, 220, 245, 349, 428 before an accented syllable, and 20, 25, 283, 284 before an unaccented syllable. Also once before *h* from Latin *g* (49: *nuestra hermana*). *Dieresis* occurs in *santias* (72, 339) and in *celestial* (362, 461).⁷

There is some variation in metrical treatment of identical, or nearly identical, cases: *Azeuxis-syneresis*: Lat. *dei*, *syneresis*

⁶ These computations cover several defective stanzas reduced to the type to which they most probably belong (see the notes to 149, 153, 170, 274, 341, 413), but not the parts of stanzas serving as introductions or transitions to the separate lyrics.

⁷ *Eva* is occasionally spelled *Heva* in the sixteenth century.

⁷ Uncertain, acc. to Robles Dégano, *Ortología*, p. 337.

in 35 but not in 472; *ay(ah)* syneresis in 328 but not in 2 and 247; syneresis in *graciosa* (28, 203, 240) and *espacioso* (446) but not in *preciosa* (21), *glorioso* (122, 449), *gloriosa* (470); *dios*, syneresis in 131, but not in 424; *huyr* (324) syneresis, but not in *huymos* (354). *Hiatus-synalepha*: *esta es* (13) hiatus, but synalepha in 17 and 379; *la he mirado* (173) hiatus, but synalepha in 167 (*la he vido*) and 174 (*la he andado*). The division of one line between different speakers does not prevent synalepha (259, 431), evidently for the eye only, but not infrequent in the sixteenth century drama.⁸

A few lines are difficult to account for. To explain 168 (*o hide puta y que sentido*) and 272 (*o hide puta y como traga*) two exceptions will have to be admitted in the otherwise unbroken rule of hiatus before *h* from Latin *f*. For 181 (*y se haze nuestro pastor*) it will be necessary to read *haz*, like *yaz* (121) and *praz* (336). Finally 384 (*y no lo he andado mirando*) may be considered a case of extreme synalepha.⁹ This leaves, however, several lines still unexplained. Two of these, 132 (*ya tal recaudo la posiste*) and the *agudo* 343 (*o grolla al bendito jesu*) might be considered as irregularities, not impossible in the rhymesters of the sixteenth century, but also perhaps as cases of synalepha between lines. There is one example of this phenomenon between one octosyllabic line and its *quebrado* (239–240) and under that circumstance it is not an uncommon occurrence. Cases of synalepha between similar lines, however, have been observed so far only between four-syllable and between six-syllable lines.¹⁰ The theory is that in such cases the extra-syllable of the second line merges into the last, unaccented syllable of the preceding line. When the first line, however, is a *verso agudo*, there can be no synalepha, but the superfluous

⁸ Disapproved by Benot, *Prosodia castellana*, II, 343 f., but see Torres Naharro, *Propalladia*, I, 412; Juan Fernández de Heredia, '*Visita de las damas valencianas*,' *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV (1909), ll. 40, 306; Güete, *Tesorina*, 683; *Vidriana* 287, 596, etc. Bello, it will be remembered, went so far as to sanction synalepha over a full stop.

⁹ Benot II, 471, giving two similar examples from Espronceda (*heroe a*) remarks: "Sinalefa durísima. Verdaderamente la *e* se elide, más bien que se pronuncia, en estos ejemplos." Robles Dégano, *Ortología*, p. 91, quotes from Montalbán: *Yo he avisado a sus parientes*, but observes: "Si alguna de las adyacentes es tónica, la sinalefa es aun más violenta, y debe preferirse el hiato."

¹⁰ Cf. Espinosa, *La sinalefa entre versos en la versificación española*, *Romanic Rev.*, XVI, 117.

syllable at the beginning of the second line fills the silent moment after the last, accented, syllable of the first line. This phenomenon, noticed by Encina and Nebrija and strikingly apparent in the *Coplas* of Jorge Manrique, although extremely rare except between the octosyllable and its *quebrado*, may explain 3 (*o bendita nuestra señora*) and if the stanza is not corrupt, 344 (*agora yremos yo 2 tu*).¹¹ For a few other lines, apparently too long or too short or corrupt, and suggested emendations, see the notes to 36, 62, 99, 106, 137, 191, 303, 336, 346, 393, 427.

A few rhymes are mere assonances: *atordido* (97), *infinito* (99); *aburra* (148), *hurria* (149); *aburras* (151), *hurrias* (153)¹²; *algo* (437), *embargo* (439); *celestial* (461), *salvar* (460). For *sancto-quanto* see the note to 187. Evidently defective are the rhymes in 36, 274, 346, 427. In 334–336 *bras* is rhymed with *praz*. There is very little overflow (30–31).

The play is reprinted diplomatically, without changes even in punctuation, but the names of the characters are spelled out and printed in italics together with the stage-directions and solved ligatures. All corrections and emendations will be found in the notes.

LA farça siguiente hizo Perolo = pez ranjel a honor 2 reuerêcia del glorioso nascimiento de nue = stro redêptor Jesu christo 2 dela virgê gloriosa madre suya. En la q̃l se | introduzê quatro pastores, los nōbres delos q̃les son | Juan | Domingo | bras | benito | y vn saluaje q̃ los viene assombrar. Y entra Juan diziêdo.

WOODCUT

Juan. ¶(Esteys todos en buen hora [Title-page, col. 1]
 todos como estays ay
 o bendita nuestra señora

¹¹ "Para henchir el agudo," says Rengifo "se compone el quebrado de cinco sílabas." Cf. Benot, III, 388–91. For a systematic modern study see Espinosa, *La compensación entre versos en la versificación española*, *Romanic Rev.*, XVI, 306–30.

¹² For these last two instances see the note to 149.

que me arribo por aqui
vengo juria non de mi 5
y an de san junco sagrado
a seruilla de buen grado
dende alla donde parti.

¶Uengo de luenga partida
a saber tan buena nueua 10
que dizen que ya es parida [col. 2]
la virgen por bien de eua
esta es la madre entera
entera ⁊ santificada
que nos abre la carrera 15
que por eua fue cerrada.

¶Esta es reyna soberana
rosa suaue olorosa
clara como la mañana
como la luna hermosa 20
margarita preciosa [Vo. of title-page, col. 1]
amparo de nuestra vida
y como el sol escogida
para ser madre y esposa.

*Entra vn angel cantando
y el pastor cae assombrado
⁊ dize el angel.*

Aue maria hermosa 25
de gracia toda complida
del señor seras parida
quedando virgen graciosa.

¶Bendita entre las mugeres
y el fruto tambien sera 30
bendito que tu truxeres
y jesu se llamara.

¶Por madre te escojera
maria sanctificada

mater dei seras llamada
alta reyna poderosa.

35

*Leuanta se el pastor assombra-
do diziendo.*

Juan.

¶ Hi de dios quel mundo cria
soncas todo esto turbado
a domingo ven priado
auras prazer y alegria
veras la virgen maria
y vn santo viejo su esposo
y a su hijo glorioso
mas rellumbrante que el dia.

40

¶ Rebullete por tu vida
que estas mas froxo que lana
pues te digo ques parida
ya la hija de santa anna
y ha de ser nuestra hermana
y nuestro amparo y guarida
y ha de sanar la cayda
que sufre natura humana.

45

[col. 2]
51

Domingo. Mingo porque no has habrado
como yo que habro luego
o dios praga esto enjoyado
como si estuuiesse ciego
sabes tu ya mas que vn crego
que dize el fa mi re vt
dime juan por tu salud
quando huste pallaciego

55

60

Juan.

¶ No te llo quiero dezir
domenguillo el por agora
anda empieça de venir
veras aquesta señora
que a todo el mundo enamora
y esta es la que bien nos haze

65

Domingo. dexa me dios no te praze
que me llamas a desora.

Juan. ¶Mingo mingo dicho has
 dexa te dese cordojo 70
 que me rehinchas de enojo
 pues juro te a santias
 que querria yo yr mas
 al cielo con solo vn ojo
 avn te lo iuro pardios 75
 que no al infierno con dos.

Domingo. ¶Como tengo de yr al cielo
 dime tu juan sin bolar

Juan. prueua pruéua a salticar 80
 no tengas ningun recelo
 pues que cayste en el suelo
 presume de bien obrar
 que no pienses de tomar
 peces sin tener anzuelo.

Domingo. ¶No conozco ques verdad 85
 verdad y gran beneficio [aij ro., col. 1]

mas la buena voluntad
 tengo yo por sacrificio
 donde esta aquel relumbricio
 dime por tu vida el nombre 90

Juan. in belen juro a sanbricio
 que alla nascio dios y hombre.

Domingo. ¶E vistello tu nacer

Juan. no te digo ques nascido

Domingo. quien te llo hizo saber 95

Juan. vn zagal que del sonido
 todo me dexo atordido

Domingo. vamos lo todos a ver
 { pues dizes ques infinito
 { ven aca bras : benito
 veremos tan gran prazer. 100

Bras. ¶Mingo mingo que nos quieres
 que nos llamas a tal hora

Domingo. que vamos auer prazeres
 pues pario tan gran señora

- Bras.* vamos todos en buen hora 105
y diziendo todos este apellido
buen estrena buen nascido
chiquito nos es nascido
nazca nazca norabuena.
- ¶Villancico.
¶Chequito nos es nascido. 110
buen estrena buen estrena
nazca nazca norabuena.
- ¶Chequito nos es nascido
por librar nos de pecado
hijo sancto nos es dado 115
y su reyno engrandecido
es nuestro rey conoscido
buen estrena buen estrena
nazca nazca norabuena.
Chequito.
- ¶Llamara se el nombre del [col. 2]
segun su grandeza yaz 121
glorioso emanuel
principe de mucha paz
cantemos le enla su haz
buena estrena buena estrena 125
nazca nazca norabuena.
Chequito.
- Benito.* ¶Abras el della bandurria
Bras. que quieres tan de corrida
Benito. viste por alla mi burra 130
que se me ha ydo perdida
Juan. o dios praga con tu vida
ya tal recaudo la posiste
Bras. si es de lobos ya comida
Benito. a dora mala veniste.
- Bras.* ¶Pues que quieres que te diga 135
do al diablo tu cordojo

- Benito.* quieres que te de vna higa
Bras. para ti y para tu ojo
pues juia sant si me enojo
que te de vn palo muy huerte 140
Juan. o do al diablo tu antojo
que sele achacara muerte.
- Benito.* ¶Siempre huste malcriado
esso no lo ha de agora
Juan. ves que esta ay la señora 145
y has te desmesurado
Bras. calla que estoy enojado
que no es mucho *que* me aburra
porque se perdio la hurria
de benito el desposado. 150
- Juan.* ¶O dios praga no te aburras
por vna burra pelada
ni avn *porque* fueran dos hurrias
Benito. do al diablo tus bandurias
nunca te costo a ti nada 155
Juan. calla triste dollorido
no tienes saber de nada [aij vo. col. 1]
quiças domingo la vido
por alla por la cañada.
- Benito.* ¶A domingo hide bras 160
Domingo. aca tras esta barranca
Benito. no viste alla mi burranca
Domingo. vide la yo cara tras
y como se te perdio
si sabes di dollorido 165
Benito. o dios praga y que se yo
Domingo. por mi fe yo no la he vido.
- Bras.* ¶O hide puta y que sentido
que tienes tu de no nada 170
si se te quedo perdido
por oluido en la majada
Benito. dende agora esta mirada

- quanto ha que la he mirado
que buscando la he andado
toda esta madrugada. 175
- Juan.* ¶ Por alla do anduiste
que oyeste di sin letijo
Benito. nuevas de gran regozijo
Domingo. pues diablo no estes triste 180
que de humanidad se viste
y se haze nuestro pastor
esse ques el redemptor
de quien nuevas nos traxiste
- Juan.* ¶ Quanto esso bien lo sabia 185
toma toma ha mas de quanto
que vna virgen pariria
vn bendito hijo sancto
Bras. o dios y que grande espanto
vna virgen concebir
Domingo. y sancta 1 virgen parir 190
Bras. por obra de espiritu sancto
- Benito.* ¶ Pocas tales como aquesta [col. 2]
que nos presta mil plazeress
Juan. bendita entre las mugeres 195
le diremos siempre a esta
Domingo. bendita que concibio
tal fruto de saluacion
Bras. pues cobro su conception
todo lo que adam perdio.
- Benito.* ¶ Pues luego razon tenemos 200
mi fe mingo sin querella
que todos nos alegremos
con tan graciosa donzella
Juan. ques tan hermosa y tan bella 205
por el cuerpo non de mi
que tal cosa nunca vi
que fue semejante a ella.

- Bras.* ¶Ni nunca fue ni sera
otra tal ni tan hermosa
- Domingo.* ni se vio ni se vera 210
enel mundo otra tal cosa
que virgen madre y esposa
esta siempre quedara
- Benito.* y siempre virgen sera 215
alta reyna poderosa.
- Juan.* ¶Dende oy sera llamada
de todos los pecadores
gran señora y abogada
- Benito.* y tambien nos los pastores 220
con muy huertes recramores
dende alla dela majada
reyna bien auenturada
le diremos con amores.
- Domingo.* ¶Oy es dado a todo el mundo
prazer y gran alegria 225
- Benito.* con este parto jocundo
que enel limbo del profundo
dias ha que se atendia [fol. [2] ro., col. 1]
- Juan.* oy pario la luz del dia 230
oy pario
- Bras.* gran gasajo : alegria
tengo yo.
- ¶Villancico.
- Oy pario la luz del dia
oy pario
gran gasajo y alegria 235
tengo yo.
- ¶Oy pario vna donzella
tan hermosa
tan esmerada y tan bella
y tan graciosa

- que nunca tal se veria 240
 ni se vio
 gran gasajo : alegria
 tengo yo.
- ¶ Oy grande gozo se haze 245
 enel cielo
 por este que ay yaze
 enel suelo
 oy luz nueva nos embia
 que nos dio 250
 gran gasajo : alegria
 tengo yo.
 Oy pario.
- Benito.* ¶ Daca bras almorziquemos
 saca pan de tu milocha
- Domingo.* pues que canticado auemos 255
 comamos la miga cocha
- Bras.* praze me delo hazer
 yo cucharas sacare
- Juan.* y el ganado.
- Benito.* ahorquenle
 pues es noche de prazer. 260
- Juan.* ¶ Hincarancho hincarancho
 comamos a muerde y sorue [col. 2]
 hasta que este lleno el pancho
 vno a otro no se estorue 265
- Domingo.* que nos praze tal jornada
- Benito.* comamos todos a tanto
- Bras.* echa juan la santiguada
- Juan.* nombre dellesprito sancto.
- ¶ Como estas arrellanado 270
 pues que quieres tu que haga
 que vayas a tu ganado
 o hide puta y como traga
 hago bien mientras me vaga
 nunca vi tan gran tragar

Benito. pues vos no me vays en çaga
don hide puta rapaz. 275

Juan. ¶(Estemos agora en paz
si quiera mientras almorzamos
no mires esse rapaz
por comer nunca ringamos 280

Benito. ojo ojo que bastaje
que vien entre aquellos ramos
que quieres bras *que* hagamos
Bras. que huyamos ques saluaje.

*¶Viene el saluaje i conjura
lo el pastor.*

Juan. ¶Conjuro te juro a mi 285
porque me digas tu nombre
ea responde me di
eres animal o hombre
o eres algun pecado
que en verte me *dan* tembrores 290
y en ver tu gesto espantado
van huyendo mis pastores.

¶Otra vez te reconjuro
con las aues quantas son
con lo duro y lo maduro 295
y con las bragas de anton [fol. [2] vo., col. 1]
y con este mi pellon
que vale vna branca vieja
y con la burra bermeja
que me dio mi suegro en don 300

¶Para donde lleuas guia
quieres nos quiza estroyr.
Salvaje. cesse tu porfia
que quiero te lo dezir
porque en verte departir 305
se me turba la razon
mas dezir te he mi passion
si tu la sabes sentir.

- ((Yo soy vn saluaje triste
 lleno de tristeza y saña
 que todo mi bien consiste
 andar enesta montaña
 y allegue me a esta cabaña
 cercado de pena fuerte
 mas asmo que eres la muerte
 que a todos nos arrebaña.
- Juan.*
- Salvaje.* ((O calla calla grossero.
 grossero lanudo brusco
Juan. a no praga a dios con busco
 cata que soy hombre entero
Salvaje. eres tu mala ventura
 que verte del todo muero
 y con tan bestial figura
 que por no te ver huyr quiero.
- Juan.* ((Triste de mi dollorido
 do estaran mis compaños
 si se ouieron escondido
 por ay por esos oteros
 quiero los yr a buscar
 si quiças andan perdidos
 mas mejor sera llamar
 y dar huertes apellidos
- ((Hao hao por do andais
 domingo benito y bras
 en calma todos estais
 que os praz que os praz
 que aca estoy tras esta palma
 esso es ora pro de mas
 calla pese a santias
 que guarir quiero mi alma.
- Bras.*
Juan.
Bras.
- Juan.* ((Andaca que ya se hu
 el bestial desta mañana
Benito. o grolla al bendito jesu
 agora yremos yo : tu

Bras. yo tambien de buena gana
cantando la turulu
pues queda mi vida sana
de aquella bestia profana. 345

Benito. ¶Ya venimos ya de hecho
Domingo. todos assi dios nos vala 350
Juan. vengays mucho noramala
porque tambien lo aueis hecho
Bras. toma por nuestro prouecho
huymos la bestia fiera
dinos ora sin cohecho 355
supiste tu juan que era.

Juan. ¶La serpenta cuydo quera
que engaño con la mançana
a nuestra madre primera
Benito. si ella como yo huyera 360
juria inique no perdiera
aquel bien celestial
no se porque lo hiziera
Juan. por saber de bien y mal.

Domingo. ¶Como me he regozijado 365
de ver tanta marauilla
Benito. o ques gran fuego la villa
para el hombre del ganado
Domingo. calla desauenturado [fol. [3] ro, col. 1]
no sabes que cosa es dama 370
mas vale ver a nuestra ama
que quanto este año he ganado.

Benito. ¶E assi digo yo tambien
con voluntad muy crecido
porque se quel bien nos vien 375
de aquesta rezin parida
Domingo. a la he si por mi vida
bien llo supiste dezir
Benito. esta es nuestra gran guarida
que nos ha de redemir. 380

- Bras.* ¶(Esta te ay reuellado
dos horas apraticando
sin cuydado del ganado
Benito. y no lo he andado mirando
Bras. y miraste lo tu quando 385
Benito. tengamos ya que hazer
dexa me estar burlicando
que ando lleno de prazer.
- Juan.* ¶(Porque estas tan prazentero
tan alegre y descuydado 390
Benito. porque nos nacio vn cordero
que nos libra de pecado
Juan. o quanto bien nos dio
la que tal hijo nos dio
Domingo. bendito sera llamado 395
y virgen quien lo pario.
- Juan.* ¶(Virgen santa : muy honesta
perfecta madre y entera
Domingo. guay si no fuera por esta 400
la noche de la tempesta
todo el mundo pareciera
Benito. mi alma vide perdida
que tan huerte granizera
no vide en toda mi vida
- Bras.* ¶(O dios y quantos cuidados [col. 2]
406
que entonce me recreien
Juan. yo vi todos mis pecados
que delante parecien
Benito. y di juan que te dizien
Juan. ya perdido tengo el tino 410
que los malos mal nacen
eneste mundo mezquino.
- Benito.* ¶(Y an assi lo digo yo
como tu dizes tambien 415
Domingo. pues di quien nos remedio
Benito. aquella que oy pario

- Juan.* a jesus de nazaren
vamos vamos pues a vella
lleuaremos algun bien
para el niño y para ella. 420
- Benito.* ¶Di juan que le lleuaremos
tu que sabes mas que nos
Juan. delo que mejor tenemos
pues que es madre de dios
Domingo. yo le entiendo de lleuar 425
porque por suyo me aya
vn labrado cucharal
y una barreña de haya.
- Benito.* ¶Yo le andonare al chiquito
vn gran don que esse nos nada 430
Bras. que benito
Benito. vn corderito
de mi oveja la preñada
que esperança de manada
Benito. que le llauaras tu bras
Bras. vn presado de quajada 435
que juria sant vale mas.
- Domingo.* ¶Et tu juan no lleuas algo
a este bello garçon
Juan. no quiero lleuar embargo
mas de vn mondo coraçon 440
Domingo. soncas soncas de nacino [fol. [3] vo., col. 1]
lo tuuo siempre y de coro
dios es limpio coraçon
mas que montones de oro.
- Benito.* pues vamos no nos tardemos 445
cata que estas espacioso
Juan. vamos luego que hazemos
Bras. di juan como le diremos
a este rey glorioso
Juan. vn cantar sea gracioso 450
Domingo. y tambien baylar tenemos
y cantando diremos.

¶Villancico.

¶Huyha huyho pues nascio
el quel mundo redimio.

¶Nascio de vna donzella 455
tan hermosa y tan bella
rellumbrante como estrella
y santa : virgen pario
al que el mundo redimio.

¶Vino para nos saluar 460
este rey celestial
vamos lo mingo adorar
que diz que en belen nascio
el quel mundo redimio.

¶Vamos todos en buen hora 465
veremos a la señora
ques del cielo emperadora
y santa : virgen pario
al quel mundo redimio.

*Dize juan esta copla a
nuestra señora.*

¶Gloriosa flor de lis 470
que al rey del cielo pariste
virgo dei genitrix
inuiolata permansiste.

*Luego dizen este villanci-
co todos y conel se salen.*

¶Pues vimos la madre entera 475
la turulu turula tutulera.

¶Vimos la madre y esposa
mas hermosa que la rosa
y al niño que la tal cosa

enel mundo no se viera
la turulu turula turulera. 480

¶Vamos domingo priado
a repastar el ganado
pues que vimos dios loado
lo que ver nunca se espera
la turulu turula turulera. 485

¶Pues vimos la madre entera
la turulu turula turulera.

Deo gracias.

NOTES

Title. The syllable-division *nue-stro*, between lines 2 and 3 of the title, was common practice in the early sixteenth century (cf. Heredia, Catalogue, nrs. 1608: *Ca-stellano* [1512] 1855 *compue-stas* [1520] 2279 *mo-strandoles* [1523] 1560 *Ca-stellano* [1529] 2309 *compue-stas* [1539] 2291 *mo-strandoles* [1575] etc.) but the modern division was already in use (Ibid. 2312 *yllus-tre* [1524] 2539 *compues-to* [1541] 2462 *Cas-tellano* [1568] etc.).

5-6 *juria non de mi / y an de san junco sagrado*. For *juria* cf. Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal I, 446 f. My explanation, however, of the *i* in *juria* as a contamination from *pesia* < *pese a* (add DSBadajoz I, 96, *Preguia al mundo . . .*) may not be the only one possible. Professor Pietsch, Spanish Grail Fragments II, 132 f., has notably increased the examples of epenthetic *i*, mostly in atonic final syllable, especially after *r*, in Western Spanish forms. A more recent example occurs in Cervantes, Comedias y entremeses, ed. Schevill-Bonilla IV, 41, *Algarroua, la luenga se os deslizia*. In Extremadura *quizids* (Gabriel y Galán, Obras I, 309 et passim) is still in use.

Non: another example of an oath 'neutralized' by *non* occurs in 205. Cf. TNaharro II, 50 *Oh! reñego no de Dios*. Avellaneda, D. Quix. BAE XVIII, 32-2, 67-2 *cuero non de dios*; 64-2 *juro non de dios*. Branthôme, ed. Mérimée-Lacour IX, 292 *Ventre-nom pas de ma viel* Also nunca: APrestes, Autos, Porto 1871, 154 *Oh! pesar nunca de sãol*

For *an* (*dun*) cf. TNaharro II, 9 *Ni an le abonda* II, 76 *An el diãbro serã*. Also *aon* and *on*. Professor Pietsch, *Mod. Phil.*, V, 100, established the equivalence *dun* (*don*) > *an* and *aon* > *on*. The six examples of *on* quoted from Encina, regardless of meaning, all precede the word modified. Modern usage, however, (S. G. Morley and A. L. Gregory *MLJ*, X, 332) under the same conditions finds *aon* before the word modified in only 4.5% of the cases. *Anque*, also, was frequent in the sixteenth century and is still used in S. America. Cf. Tobar, Consultas al diccionario [Ecuador] 43 *on no*; Roman, Chilenismos II, 250 *enque*.

San junco: one of the many fantastic saints sworn by in the sixteenth century drama, such as San Botín, San Contigo, San Gorgomellaz (Encina), San Poteste (A. Prado), San pont'est' all ojo (TNaharro) San pontesta moça (Negeruela); later, San Rorro (Vélez de Guevara), and especially in the speech of the folk: San Jinojo, San Porro, Santo Leprisco (Quevedo). For Portugal cf. Ribeiro, Frases feitas I, 219 f. For *San junco* cf. Encina, Cancionero, ap. Gallardo II, 896 *pese d san Juncol* GVicente (1852) I, 5 *juri a Sanyunco santo* DAvila, Egl. ynterl. (Kohler) 247 *Por San Junco santo* Anon., Fragn. de una farsa (Cotarelo, Rev. esp. de lit. etc. I) 142 *Mas, bola San Junco Delicado*, Lozana andaluza 133 *voto d San Junco* LFernández 196 *l'juro d Sant Junco sanctol* Also Egl. nueva (Kohler) 310; Horozco, Cancionero 167, 196; BDiaz, Auto do Nascimento (Michaelis, Autos port.) v° of title-page; Pícaro Justina (Puyol) I, 177; Cervantes, Entremeses (Schevill-Bonilla) 41; Laberinto Amoroso, 1618 (Vollmöller, Erlangen 1891) nr. 62 *Mucho os quiero por son junco*. Puyol (Pic. Just. III, 236) suggests a connection with *junciana* = *jactancia sin fundamento* (Aut.) and *vender juncia*; Bonilla with the "*sceptra morionum* de que habla Covarrubias (v° *Iunco*), o sea con los juncos puestos a modo de cetros, en manos de aquellos a quienes se hacían 'bobos, o tontos-reyes,' en memoria de la caña que a Cristo entregaron la noche de su Pasión, para saludarle burlonamente como a rey" (L.c. 205). But none of this seems quite satisfactory. It may be recalled that the marrow of certain rushes (*junco*) was used for lamp wicks (as early as Pliny, Hist. Nat. I. 21 c.18) and that the smooth rushes were used for thatching (RHi. XXXV, 113). In fact Lucio Marineo Siculo names these specifically among the sources of Spanish wealth: "vinos, aceite, miel, azúcar, lana, lino, cáñamo, esparto, junco. . . ." (De rebus Hispaniae memorabilibus, 1530, in Juan de Molina's tr., Alcalá, 1533). However, the most significant detail that might serve to explain *San Junco* is perhaps the use of rushes (with leafage and flowers) to strew the floor of churches etc., on feast days. Cf. Port. *juncáda* (Moraes) and Fr. *joncher* (Littré).

- 14 *santificada*. Cf. 34 *sanctificada*.
- 18 *suave*. Three syllables, although syneresis is allowed (Benot, II, 73; Robles Dégano, 278 f.). See the answer of the Príncipe de Esquilache to Manuel de Gallegos, a champion of the *bistlabo*, Gallardo III, 9.
- 45 *Rebulette por tu vida* etc. Domingo's sleepiness probably indicates a by-play on the stage, which the actor might exploit for comic effect. On sleep as a stock-device see Hendrix, Some native comic types, etc., Columbus, 1924, 73 ff.
- 46 *froxo*. Cf. *crego* (57) *praze* (67) *bras* (99) *prazer* (100) *recremores* (220) etc.
- 55 *esto* Cf. Pietsch, ZRPh XXXV, 177.

enjoyado. The Dicc. de Aut. only gives *enjoyar* as *engalanar con joyas*, which does not make sense here. The word is probably a misprint for *enojado* (the usual mood of the rustic roused from his sleep in sixteenth century eclogues). In the following line a pun may be intended upon *en-ojo*. Cf. Covarrubias, v° *enojar*: "Llamamos enojo lo que nos dà pena, y sin sabor, y particularmente nos inquieta qualquiera cosa que nos lastime en los ojos . . . o se dixo enojo, la pesadumbre, la colera, y la ira: porque

luego se echa de ver en los ojos, que se encienden y se inflaman. . . .” In the galley proof of a reprint of the ‘Coplas del Perro de Alba,’ Mod. Phil., XXIII, 417 ff., line 300 of Text A, the modern printer also spelled *enojo* into *enjoyo*.

- 58 *que dise el fa mi re ut*. A notable accomplishment. The rustic in Torres Naharro’s Serafina boasts (II, 137): *Se groñir y solfear* and the shepherd in the *introito* of the Comedia Tidea (1551) of Frco de las Natas proclaims: *se engritar el sol, fa, re / ut, mi, la, con todas mañas*. A supererogation, indeed, which has given to *remifasol* the meaning of *elaborateness, superfluity*. Thus in Lope’s Las pobresas de Reinaldo, III (Obras, Acad., XIII, 280) *¡Ved con qué remifasol / fingieron querer cenar!* (ap. Aicardo, Palabras, 217).
- 60 *huste*. Cf. 143; Cid 3318, 3365 (Menéndez Pidal I, 281); Gassner, Asp. Verbum, 183.

pallaciego. Lambdacismo, very frequent in ‘Sayagués.’ For its occurrence in Leonese cf. Menéndez Pidal, Dial. leonés 31 f.; in Aragonese (as in Catalan) GdeDiego, Miscelanea filol., 7. Other instances: 61, 93, 95, 156, 165, etc.

- 61 *llo*. Cf. 93, 95.

- 62 Omit *el*.

- 72 *juro te a santias*. Cf. 339. Whether any meaning lurks in the last word, I do not know. *Sant Iacinto?*

- 79 *sallicar*. ‘Sayagués’ seems to favour *-icar* endings. Cf. 253 *almorsiquemos* 255 *canticado* 387 *burlicando* 452 *canticando*. Also Encina 145 *canticar* Br. de la Pradilla, Egl. Real (Kohler) l. 284 *canticar*.

- 80 After this verse Domingo evidently goes through the motions of trying to fly, and falls. One is reminded of a similar burlesque, but more elaborate, in Torres Naharro’s Trofea (II, 282 ff.) where Mingo Oveja tries to fly with the wings of Fama.

- 85 The meaning calls for a comma after *No*.

- 89 *relumbricio = relumbro*. The rhyme is responsible for many fanciful forms in the shepherd dialect. Cf. 162 *burrancia* (*burra*, to rhyme with *barranca*).

- 91 *sanbricio*. Saint Brice, bishop of Tours (d. 447) and a disciple of Saint Martin, which might account for his popularity in Spain.

- 92 *in belén*. Read *en belén*.

- 99f. One of these lines is superfluous.

- 103 *vamos auer*. Probably *vamos a auer*, with ‘*a* embebida.’

- 106 *Todos* should probably be omitted.

Before 110. The word *Villancico* is in large type.

- 110 *Chequito* (108 *chiquito*). Cf. Mugica, Dialect os castellanos, Montañés, 9 *defunto, segura, menudo* etc. .

Before 120. The word *Chequito* here and after the two next stanzas indicates that the *estribillo* should be repeated in full.

- 121 *yas*. Cf. 282 *vien*, 336 *pras*, 375 *vien*; Menéndez Pidal, Manual, §107, 4, b. Encina 73 *Que me pras* (rhyme: *paz*).

- 125 *buena estrena*. Cf. 118.

- 127 Read: *A* (i.e., *ha*) *Bras el de (l)la bandurria*.

- 129 *viste por alla mi burra*. There is a reference to an ass that wandered into the grain of Juan de las Cestas in Torres Naharro's *Diálogo del Nacimiento* (II, 347) but a more definite beginning of what became almost a tradition may be found in Vicente's *Auto da Mofina Mendes* (1534) where, as soon as the annunciation-scene is ended by the drawing of the curtain before the back-stage, shepherds enter in search of a lost *asna ruça*. The comic tinge is quite pronounced in Palau's *Salamantina* (Beltrán in Act III, l. 2055 ff.) and in Güete's *Tesorina*, where, at the beginning of Act III, Gilyracho dreams he has lost the donkey which he is actually holding by the halter. In Rueda's *Tymbria* (Cotarelo II, 112) Leno, sent out for a load of gorse, indulges in a nap and wakes up with his donkey's headstall on himself. Even though by far the largest number of Christmas-*villancicos* are lost, some later examples indicate that the lost donkey as a comic theme survived in these lyrics, if indeed it did not originate there.
- 134 *a dora mala*. Cf. Natas, Com. Tidea (Cronan) l. 2 y *dora buena venga yo* FDíaz, *Farsa* (Kohler) l. 73 *Ax d'ora mala que tirria tomastes* Vélez de Guevara, *La Serrana de la Vera* (ed. Menéndez Pidal etc.) ff. 609, 699, 1839 etc. *Dorabuena*. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* §128, 3, explains *aora, ahora* < *ad horam*, and indeed the *d* in *dorabuena* may be a survival, but a change of initial *n* (*noramala*) seems possible, as in *Salamanca denguno* < *ninguno* (Lamano), Asturian *dengun* (Diez quotes *degun* from the FJuzgo, cf. Schuchardt ZRPh V, 305) or a prosthetic *d*, as in *dambos* (FDíaz, *Farsa*, l. 82; Fernández y Avila, *Infancia de Jesu Christo*, ed. Wagner, 219) still current in Salamanca, or *dir*, still used in the *Montaña* (García Lomas), in *Extremadura* (Gabriel y Galán, *Obras* II, 335 *diendo y viniendo de la taberna*) and among the people of Madrid (JDicenta, Juan José, Madrid 1917, 21 *pa dirnos*; López Silva, *Sainetes* 153 *Pa dir á felicitarla*) as well as in S. America (Román, *Chilenismos* II, 64).
- 135 *quieres* should probably be read as one syllable: *quiés*. Cf. Ortiz, *Radiana*, ed. House l. 93 ff. and note, and 216 *Quiés mirar*. Also Pietsch MLN, XXVI, 98; Rodríguez Marín, *Barahona de Soto*, 603.
- 136 *higa*. Also *higo* "es vna manera de menosprecio que hazemos cerrando el puño, y mostrando el dedo pulgar por entre el dedo indice, y el medio, es disfraçada pulla" (Covarrubias). Cf. TNaharro II, 177 *Para las señoras dos* Cronan, *Teatro esp.* I, 99 *Para vos* 376 *Para vuestro ojo este higo* 309 *Para vos y para el* DQuix I, 32 *Dos higas para el Gran Capidán y para ese Diego García que dice* II, 31 *de mí no podreis llevar sino una higa* (and Rodríguez Marín's note on this passage). The NED adds that the gesture may also be one of "thrusting the thumb . . . into the mouth." Its exact implication is varied or has in time become confused and it may refer to the sexual parts of man (Covarrubias) or woman (Crusca, *Tomaseo*, v° *fica*; Grimm, v° *feige*). The dictionaries quoted above agree about the abusive intent but only Covarrubias and the Aut. also relate it to the evil eye. It should be noted that in Spain at least the gesture may imply flattery, as appears from Covarrubias and more clearly from the *Dicc. de Autoridades*, which says it may be used "assi quando queremos despreciar à alguna persona, como quando por lisonja queremos celebrar su hermosura."

It has been assumed in the beginning of this note that the expression *Para vos* implied the gesture of the *higa*. As a matter of fact it may indicate some other obscene gesture such as the gesture of contempt accompanied with the exclamation "This for you!" in use among South Slav women and described by Krauss, *Κυρράδια*, VI, 200, *ap.* Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the psychology of sex: Erotic symbolism etc.*, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 101.

- 139 *pues juia*. R. *pues juria*.
 148 *me aburra*. *Aburrirse* is "to despair, to be forlorn, to be past all hope" (Percivale, *Dictionnaire*, 1591, *ap.* Minsheu, 1623).
 149 *hurria*. Cf. 153 *dos hurrias*. Probably misprints for *burria*, *burrias*, which may be western forms of *burra* with epenthetic *i*. Cf. 5-6 *juria*.
 153-154 One of these lines is superfluous. *Banduria*, probably *bandurria*, but here apparently with the meaning of '(imfortunate) tune.'
 158 *vido*. Cf. Gassner, *l.c.* 180.
 162 Cf. 89.
 163 *vide*. Cf. Gassner, *l.c.*
cara tras=cara atras. Cf. Encina 81 *¿Carean de cara acá?* TNaharro II, 167 *L'otra noche, amaneciendo, / Cara al dia* Natas, Tideia (Cronan) l. 1001 *f. vila yr por do se ques / ala cara la ciudad Güete*, Vidriana (Cronan) l. 18 *No ha de star son cara al cielo*.
 167 *he vido*. Cf. Pietsch, *Sp. Gr. fr. II*, 102.
 168 *O hideputa y. . . .* Cf. 188 *o dios y que grande espanto* 272 *o hideputa y como traga* 405 *O dios y quantos cuidados*. For the "y adverbializado" see Bello-Cuervo, 1286; Diez, *Grammatik*, 5th ed. p. 1059; Meyer-Lübke III, 519. Cf. Cid 248 *gracias, don abbat, e so vuestro pagado* CMaynes (*ap.* Pietsch *Sp. Gr. fr. II*, 210) *¡Ay, Dios! ¿qual cauallero sera agora, que. . . .* Encina 193 *¡Oh, pese, mal gradol Y estoite contando. . . .* 194 *¡Oh bobol ¡Y no sabes con la saliva / Fregallos, . . .* 202 *¡Lobos le coman! Y ¿qui/én es?* 220 *¡Oh débil brazo, oh fuerzas perdidas, / Sacadme, por Dios, de tanto dolor! Y ¿dó sois agora del todo huidas?* 222 *¡Oh triste Fileno, y cual fantasta / Te ha conducido á tan áspera suerte!* 231 *¡Oh, pesar de San Botin! ¡Y las burras son perdidas?* 235 *¡Hi de puta, y qué zagal!* 252 *¡San Julian, é buena estrenal!* TNaharro II, 293 *No ha poder, / O no praga Lucifer, / Y es aquel que está allí echado* II, 293-94 *¡Valme la virgen Maria! Y Aquilano me parece* DÁvila, *Egl. ynterl.* (Kohler) l. 415 *¡O, hi de puta, y qué mala espinal!* 461 *¡O, hi de puta, y ¡quél la parara!* 487 *¡O, hi de cornudo! y dice por mí?* 886 *¡Oh, hi de puta, y qual se la he echado!* DSBadajoz I, 115 *¡Dios me valga! ¡y es aquel!* I, 116 *¡Oh mi hermano, y qué he pasado!* I, 133 *¡Oh Dios sabe y cómo vuelas!* I, 166 *¡Oh hideputa, y qué lengua!* Rouanet, *Autos* I, 377 *¡O hijos de la vellaca / Y qual me quertan coger!* Eug. de Salazar, *Cartas* (Bibliof. esp.) 7 *¡oh his de putas, y qué grandtísimos bellacos* (For this particular plural cf. Pietsch in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal* I, 43 [Palau, *Salamantina* 1913 should read *hides putas*]). *Auto de la quinta angustia* (Crawford, *Rom. Rev.* III) l. 21 *Di, page, y podré hablar* DQuix. I, 25 *¡Oh, hi de puta, qué rejo que tiene, y qué voz!* (y omitted, probably on account of the y preceding *qué voz*). But II, 13 *¡Oh hi de puta, puta, y qué rejo debe de tener la bellaca!* Nov. ex. (Cuervo) 69 *le cantaban el victor,*

victor, y el grande Andres Oudin, Grammaire espagnolle, 1660 (1597) 196 f. *Les Espagnols ont une certaine acclamation ou interjection d'admirer, & sçavoir hideputa, qui s'use es comparaisons pour se mocquer d'une personne la montrant n'estre telle qu'elle deuroit, comme: O hideputa y que Roldan para hazer fieros! . . . O hideputa y que Nembroth y que magno Alexandre* [Celestina, Aucto I, but neither Burgos, 1499 nor Sevilla, 1501 have y before either *que*.]

For dissimilations of *hideputa* see the extensive note of Rodríguez Marín, Barahona de Soto, 724.

- 170 *perdido*. The rhyme scheme justifies *perdido*, and Bras may be thinking of a 'macho,' but the reference throughout is to a 'burra.'
- 177 *oyeste*. Cf. Gassner, 160 (*oyestes*).
- 179 *estes*. Cf. Cuervo, Las segundas personas de plural, Romania XXII, 71-73.
- 184 *quanto esso = en cuanto a eso?* Or shall we read *Quanto . . . bien?*
- 185 *ha = hay?*
- 187 *sancio-quanto*. Cf. 191 *sancio-espanto*. As late as 1596 Alonso López (el Pinciano) considered that *canto-sancio* were not legitimate rhymes: (Fadrique) "ellos en rigor no son consonantes, porque aunque tienen el acento, como decimos en la penúltima, mas no tienen las mismas letras en el vocablo que el otro; *sancio* tiene una más, porque tiene una *c* antes de la *t*, y así no son consonantes en manera alguna, sino asonantes: y si vos alguna vez los habeis visto consonar en poetas graves, será cometiendo la figura dicha síncope, que es quitando la *c* de *sancio*." (Filosofía antigua poética, ed. Muñoz, 299.) But, of course, such rhymes were frequent, as also *perfectas-prophetas*, *benigno-camino*, *estamos-entrambos* (Rom. Rev. XIII, 230) and similar ones. Indeed, the insistence of Alonso López on correctness of rhyme for the eye is exceptional, all the more for such a word as *sancio*, where cultured pronunciation has never re-installed the lost *c*, as in *digno*, *magnifico* it has re-installed the *g*, or in *efelo*, *concedo* the *p*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, Manual, § 3, 2; Bello-Cuervo, Notas, p. 23-24; Rodríguez Marín, DQuix., ed. crft. I, 59 f.
- 188 ff., 196 ff. It is to be noticed that even parts of the same sentence are distributed between various speakers. For *o dios y que . . .* cf. 168.
- 191 For the meter *espiritu* must be read *espritu* (cf. 268 *esprito*) or *espiru*. Cf. Robles Dégano, Ortología, 40, 95. Ortiz, Radiana, ed. House, l. 70 *vino vno de sus espritos*.
- 192 A verb is lacking here, unless *ha* (*hay*) should be hidden in the final *e* of *aquesta*.
- 199 *Adam*. Toro y Gisbert observes "No debe escribirse con *m*, a pesar de que en el Diccionario de la Academia se encuentran las dos ortografías." (Ortología de nombres propios, 9.) Not, however, in the last two editions of the dictionary.
- 205 Cf. 5.
- 219 *nos*. Cf. Bello-Cuervo, §232; Nota p. 42.
- After 232. The word *Villancico* in larger type.
- 259 *ahorquenle*. An early instance of the shifting of the accent to the enclitic pronoun, frequent in Spanish, especially in octosyllabic verse, after imperatives and subjunctives. Cf. Benot, Prosodia II, 133 ff. and the dis-

cussion in Robles Dégano, *Ortología*, pp. 180-184 from the metrical, and in Navarro Tomás, *Palabras sin acento*, RFE, XII, 358 f. mainly from the phonetic point of view. Add: Benavente, *Jocosería* (1645) ap. Cotarelo, *Entremeses II*, 522 *Ténganse, / que miren que los malare*. Certain Argentine dances end with a 'zapateado' executed to the singing of: *Deje de jugar, / Sosieguese / ¡Caramba, digo, ¡carambal digo, / cómo es usté/ etc.* *Ciro Bayo, Romancillo del Plata*, 187.

- 261 *hincarancho*. The meaning (*hincar meter, introducir*) is clear.
- 262-264 These two lines may have been borrowed from a similar scene in Encina, 85 *Comamos á muerte y sorbe, / Y uno á otro no se estorbe*. On hunger as a dramatic motive cf. Hendrix, Some native comic types, 78-81.
- 265 *que nos praze*. On *que* introducing direct discourse cf. Pietsch, *Sp. Gr. fr. II*, 75 f.
- 266 *comamos todos a tanto*. The nearest approximation to this rare expression in the dictionaries is *al tanto* = *por el mismo precio coste o trabajo* (Aut.). It seems to be a more Spanish rendering of the somewhat more frequently used *de autan*, which, as Covarrubias explains "es palabra Francesa, autant ad aque, vale en Castellano al tanto, igualmente, y assi dezimos beber de autan, beber tantas vezes, quantas nos brindaren, y beber igual cantidad. Vsase este termino entre gente ordinaria, quando han comido, y bebido en abundancia." Cf. Littré. Mostly applied to drinking (Rouanet, *Autos II*, 268 *todos bevimos de autan*) but also to eating and then with the meaning "to repletion," as in Villegas, *Com. Selvagia*, 321 *agora comer de autan á costillas de otro*.
- 268 Juan, while pronouncing these words, makes the sign of the cross over the meal.
- 272 *o hideputa y*. Cf. 168.
- 273 *me vaga*. Impersonal use of *vagar*, not mentioned by the dictionaries.
- 274 *tragar*. The rhyme calls for *tragaz*, which, although not recorded by the dictionaries, may be an alternate form of *tragazo*, due to a change of suffix. Cf. *rapaz* and OSp. *rapaço* etc., Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* §83, 4.
- 276 *don hide puta rapas*. Cf. Encina 151 *Don muchacho* 168 *Así, don villano vill* 244 *Pues mirá, Don Papahigo* TNaharro I, 285 *Doña puta hechizera* DÁvila, *Egl. ynterl.* (Kohler) l. 885 *¡Ah, Don ruin, que mucho te pesal* Florambel de Lucea, lib. 4, c. 1 (ap. Clemencín, DQuix. I, p. 188) *agora lo vereis, Don cobarde caballero* Rueda (Cotarelo) I, 274 *don diablo meridiano* Lazarillo de Tormes, ed. Cejador 149 *Agora, donos traydores ratones, consiueños mudar propósito . . .* DQuix II, 35 *don villano harto de ajos* II, 70 *¡Vive el Señor, don bacallao. . .* Also *dun* (*duen*, cf. Pietsch, ZRPh XXXIV, 643) Encina 252 *Dun cuartos de maquillon* TNaharro II, 247 *Sino por Dios dun cevil* FDíaz, *Farsa* (Kohler) l. 68 *¡Tomad un avanto!* (R. *Toma dun avanto*, as in Cronan, p. 322) DSBadajoz II, 73 *Ha dun zurrado ruin* II, 74 *Aquí, aquí dun alimaña*. The form *dun* clears up a sentence in Jorge Ferreira's *Ulizipo* (p. 38 of 1787 ed.) which Ribeiro (*Frases feitas*, I, 63) mistakenly tried to explain by *adunia*: *Guardaivos duna rapariga douda não vos dê com este chapim*. In TNaharro's Valencian play *en (Mossen)* I, 211 *¿Com es posible, en traidor*. The Gypsies use the

- form *den* in respectful address (Quindalé, Dicc. caló-castellano, 28.
- 280 *ringamos* < *ringère*. An unusual form avoiding palatalization. Cf. DSBadajoz II, 65 *No ringas que yo no ringo*.
- 281 *bastaje* "Lo mismo que ganapan. Es voz usada en Aragón, Valencia y otras partes" (Aut.). Borao, however, does not give the word and, at least in the first edition, Covarrubias mentions it only for Valencia.
- 285 ff. Incantations, in the sixteenth century drama, seem to follow one of two general types. The first, and most frequent, originated for Spain in Aucto III of the *Celestina*, is entirely serious in tone and of classical inspiration; the second, perhaps invented by Torres Naharro (Aquilana, Act III) is a burlesque on the practice of the village *ensalmador* or *saludador*, sprinkled with traditional *disparates*. A very early but fully developed instance of it occurs in DAVila's Egl. ynterl. (Kohler) p. 245 f. and later examples may be found in Avendaño's Com. Florisea (Bonilla, Rev. hisp. XVII) l. 1541 ff. and Timoneda's Filomena (Obras, Menéndez y Pelayo I, 245 f.). Juan's incantation in our play is of the second type.
- 289 *algun pecado*. For *el pecado* = the devil cf. Pietsch, Sp. Gr. fr. II, 134. I know of no instance outside of our text of *pecado* with an indefinite. Cantar de Rodrigo (ed. B. Bourland, RHi XXIV) l. 423 *Dixo: non es este homne, mas figura ha de peccado*.
- 291 *espantado*. Cf. 323. To explain the next line we may well assume that *espantado* is a so-called 'hispanismo,' i.e., a past participle with active meaning, such as *cansado*, *pesado*, *agradecido* etc. Cf. Casares, Crítica efímera I, 41; and Morley, PMLA, XL, 461, 473 n.
- 292 *van huyendo mis pastores*. The stage-shepherd of the sixteenth century is nearly always cowardly. Cf. Hendrix, l.c., 102-05.
- 298 *vna branca vieja*. "Los Reyes Católicos mandaron labrar diez quentos de vellón en blancas el año de 1497 y que dos de ellas valiesen un maravé!" (Aut.). Under Alfonso XI the *blanca* (*vieja*?) was worth only the third part of a *maravedí*.
- 301 *lleuas guía*. The idiom is unfamiliar to me. Possibly "lleuar carta de guía, lleuar salvo conduto para poder passar sin ser impedido" (Covarrubias). Perhaps a misprint for *llevar via*. Cf. Cancionero de Amberes, 1535, fol. 40 vo. (Romance del Marqués de Mantua) *lleuan via de la hermita / apriessa y no de vagare*. On the other hand cf. Cota, Diltogo, Canc. d. siglo XV, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, II 582 *quien por tal extremo guía, ciertamente se desuia*.
- 302 *estroyr*. Cf. LFernández 153, 181 *espabilar* Borao, Voces arag. *escribirar*, *esgarrar*, *espatarrarse* Lamano, Dial. Salmant. *esbruciar*, *estornijar* García Lomas, Dial. montañ. *espuntar*, *esvancijar*. The form *estroyr* may be the result of contamination from cases of conscious substitution of prefix (*ex-* for *dis-*) or may have resulted from the loss of initial *d*, as in *isiendo* (for *diziendo*, La Lena, Oríg. de la nov. III, 390) or *icen* (Pereda, La Leva, cf. Mugica, Dial. cast. 13, 49) a peculiarity still frequent e.g. in Chile (Román, Chilenismos, II, 64).
- 303 The line probably read *cesse, cesse tu porfia*.
- 309 *Yo soy vn saluaje triste*. The *salvaje* appears a few times in sixteenth century plays (cf. Hendrix, l.c., 25) mostly as a secondary or merely

- decorative character. The "melancholy wild man" of this play has a counterpart in the "Coplas de una hermosa doncella etc.," a little Mary-play reprinted by Gallardo, I, 703-11, of which Salvá I, 420 mentions an edition about 1530, ascribing it to certain Eugenio Alberto. See especially col. 707: *Pero lo que más me place/Es vivir en amargura etc. and Vida triste, desabrida,/Vida sin ningún dulzor etc.*
- 312 *andar*. Possibly for (e)n *andar*.
- 318 Cf. Encina 93 *Hideputa avillanado, / Grosero, lanudo, bruscol*
- 319 *con busco*. Cf. Cid (Menéndez Pidal) I, 148. Cf. *infra* note to 344.
- 322 *que verte*. R. *qu'en verte(?)*.
- 336 *pras*. Cf. 121. As it stands the line is too short. To make it regular the first verb might be read *praze*.
- 338 *pro demas* R. *por demas*.
- 340 *guarir* = "guarecer, resguardarse en alguna parte para librarse de peligro." (Acad.)
- 341-348 The stanza seems corrupt. It may best be rearranged into the scheme *ababbaab* (it has been counted as such in the introduction, by placing the lines in the following order: 341, 342, 343, 347, 348, 344, 346, 345).
- hu*. Cf. LFernández 18 *¡Oh cuán crudo hu mi hado!* DSBadajoz *Así hu,/Y dijo la vaca má;* Pietsch ZRPh, XXXV, 179. Cf. 60, 143 *huste*.
- 343 *o grolla al bendito jesu*. For *grolla* = *gloria* cf. Encina 20 *que á los angeles otmos/La grolla del celis deo* LFernández 124 *Es me ya grolia venida* 139 *Gran grolia siento en el cuajo* DSBadajoz II, 74 *Esta es la que tien poder/de te quebrantarla cholla,/Y abrir la puerta á la grolla* Yanguas, Egl. nuevam. trobada (Kohler) I. 286 f. *Que en solo por esso hazerse Dios hombre/Más grolla que pena la culpa ganó.*
- 344 *yo y tu*. For the order of the pronouns cf. DQuix. I, 23 *yo y este hombre* and the note of Rodríguez Marín, ed. crít. II, 245. Here may also be adduced some examples of *yo y tigo* which show at the same time how little the value of the second *cum* in the double combination *cum vobiscum* (319 *con busco*) must have been felt: Autos (Rouanet) II, 218; Chaves, Relación de la cárcel de Sevilla (Gallardo I, 1349) *Toca, ladrón; ea podrido, yo y tigo para otros dos Entremeses* (Cotarelo) I, 159 *Vámonos yo y tigo*. Cf. Garrote Dialecto vulgar leonés, s.v.; Rato, Frases bables, 116; Alemany, Voces de Maragatería, BRAE III, 62.
- 357 *La serpenta*. An unusual form, regressive from *serpentón* with the gender of *serpiente*?
- 360 *juría inique* R. *juría mi que*.
- 374 *crecido* R. *crecida*.
- 375 *vien*. Cf. 121.
- 376 *resin parida* R. *resien (?) parida*.
- 381 *reuellado* = *desmandado*, perhaps even milder: *unwilling*. Cf. Coplas de Mingo Revulgo (Col. de Crónicas de Castilla, Madrid, Sancha, VI, 88) Copla XXII *no guarda [el hato] tino certero,/do se suele apacentar,/rebellado al apriscar,/manso al tresquiladero*. Copla XXVIII *¿rebellado, no has reselo?* Encina 104 *Asmo que tú pavor has;/Entra, no estés rebellado* Also 23. LFernández 6 *No seas tan rebellada/Y tan tesa y profiada*. Also 123, 127.

- 382 *dos horas apraticando* R. *dos horas ha praticando*.
 387 *burlicando* Cf. 79.
 393 *nos dio*. Both meter and rhyme here call for *nos ha dado*.
 400 *tempesta*, paroxyton, a 'learned' form from a Latin nominative. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, Manual, §74, 6.
 401 *pareciera* R. *peresciera*.
 402 *vide*. Cf. 163, 404.
 403 *granizera*. Used in the central and S.E. region of the Montaña. Cf. García Lomas, v° *granicera*.
 406 *recreien* and the following rhymes in *-ien*. It is not possible to determine whether the *i* or the *e* was accented. Cf. Ford, Old Span. Readings, 119 ff. Forms in *-ié* are occasionally found in the sixteenth century. Cf. DÁvila, Egl. ynterl. (Kohler) l. 699 *Vistes agora con que se vinié—buena fê* Ortiz, Radiana l. 784 *no hazie sino tramar*.
enlonce. Archaic form, without 'adverbial s.'
 413 ff. The first quatrain with the rhyme-scheme *abaa* is probably meant for *abab* which occurs a number of times with the same second quatrain (*bcbc*) as in this stanza.
 427 *cucharal*. The rhyme is corrupt. The line might be corrected to *vn [bien] labrado cuchar(al)*.
 429 *endonare*. The Acad. records as archaic *endonar*. The Ribera del Duero (Salamanca, cf. Lamano) uses *endonar* with the meaning of *arreglar*, *componer*.
 430 *nos = no es*.
 433 *que = que he*.
 434 *llauaras* R. *lleuaras*.
 435 *vn presado de quajada*. '*presado*' in this passage is clearly something at least related to *requesón* as in Mallara, Recebimiento (1570 ap. Rodríguez Marín, Dos mil quinientas voces, s.v.) *vn plato de presado o requesones*. Cf. Yñigo de Mendoza, Vita Christi (Canc. del siglo XV, ed. Foulché-Delbosc) I, 18 *mas parece mejor es/ conuidallo a vn presado*. FDíaz, Farsa (Cronan) I, 331 f. *y dos en presente, por joya y empleo, /lazos y perchas y vn cucharal, /y este presado fresco sin sal, / y dos camisitas y mas mi desseo*. Kohler (Sieben Span. dr. eklogen, 360) explains *presado* as "presa Schnitte, dünnes Stück Braten, Speck," but there is no evidence for a connection with *presa* = *slice* (of anything eatable). *Presado* is evidently related with *presura* = *cuaajo*, Eng. *rennet* (García Lomas, Dial. montañés) Fr. *présure*. I have no examples of *salpresado* (cf. Covarrubias v° *salpresa*; Aut. *salpressar*) as a noun, which might have given a shortened *presado*.
 437 *Et tu*. (Sic).
 438 *garçon*. Here evidently without any of the pejorative connotation often associated with the word. Cf. Pietsch, Sp. Gr. fr. II, 197.
 439 *embargo*. Is this a conjunction, a cross perhaps between *sin embargo* and the archaic *empero*?
 441 *soncas = a la fe, en verdad*. Cf. Encina 3, 4, 25, 80, 138 LFernández 14, 110, 121, 197 and in GVicente, TNaharro etc. with many shades of meaning. From *sino que, sono que, son que* (both in TNaharro), *son cas* (Cf. LFernández 152, 179 *dis cas < dis que*, also Prov. *doncas*). C. Michaelis de

Vasconcellos ZRPh IV, 602 f. proposes *sinon que, son que* and draws attention to a Portg. parallel *samica, samicas* (Moraes) frequent in GVicente and Sã de Miranda.

de nacino R. de nacion. Cf. ciego de nación (Acad.).

After 452. The word *Villancico* in large type.

453 *Huyha huyho*. The 'estribillo' is clearly a reminiscence from the 'villancico' at the end of Encina's second Christmas eclogue:

Pues aquel que nos crió,

Por salvarnos nació ya.

¡Huy há, huy hó!

Que aquesta noche nació.

460 *diz que*. Cf. Pietsch, MLN, XXXVI, 102.

470 *Gloriosa flor de lis, 472 Virgo dei genitrix*. Cf. Enrique de Oliva, Coplas nuevas (Salvã, nr. 67)

Quien entrando os saludara

o virgen dei genitris

y despues os preguntara

señora como os sentis

o sagrada flor de lis

que no sentiste dolor

quando pariste al señor.

The comparison of the Virgin to a lily is a commonplace in medieval hymns. Cf. Mone, Lat. hymnen d. Mittelalters II nr. 373, 37; 377, 17; 381, 8 etc. For l. 473 f. of our text cf. Gall Morel, Lat. hymnen, nr. 169 *Virgo dei genitrix, quem totus non capit orbis, / . . . et tibi virginilas inviolata manet*; also nr. 164 *Post paterni verbi partum/virgo inviolata, Maria, et intacta permansisti*.

475 *turulu . . . tululera* (R. *turulera*. Cf. 345. The collection of *Villancicos de Navedad* by Estevan de Cañra (1595) has a *canción* with the refrain: *Rite he he/mas rite he ha/la turulu turule/turulu turula* (Aij). In the Tidea of Frco de las Natas (Cronan I, 27) the shepherd Menalcas dances and sings *Via fuera, / tiru- tiru- tirulera/O que capateta es esta!* The refrain may be an imitation of the sound of the shepherd's horn, which in Asturias is called *turulera* (Rato, Frases bables, 120). In certain parts of Galicia *aturular* means "gritar con un sonido agudo y prolongado, denotando alegría y entusiasmo. Usase mucho en Galicia al terminar las tonadas que cantan en las rondas." (A. Fernández y Morales, Ensayos poeticos en dialecto berciano, Leon, 1861, 372.)

481 *priado* < *privado* = *presto*. Cf. FGonzalez 445b Dança general VIII, 4; LXXVIII, 3 *tost' e priado* Hita, Buen Amor 953c *priado le despojo* Encina 112 *Muy priado os volver eis* JParis, Farsa (Kohler) 265 *Mas hora me quiero priado esconder*. Cf. Michaelis de Vasconcellos, Rev. lusit. II, 181.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

INDEX TO THE NOTES

The numbers refer to the lines of the text.

'a embebida'	103	<i>kuste</i>	60
aburrirse	148	¡huyha, huyho!	453
accent shifted to enclitic pronoun	259	hymns	470
Adam	199	<i>i</i> (epenthetic)	5,149
an, anque	6	-icar endings	79
andonar	429	-ien (rhymes in—)	406
aon	6	incantations	285
ass (lost—as a comic device)	129	junco	6
a tanto (comer—)	266	juría	5
aturular	475	ll ('lambdacismo')	60,61
autan (comer, beber de—)	266	llevar guía	301
bandurria	153	non (in oaths)	5
bastaje	281	nos (nosotros)	219
branca vieja	298	nunca (in oaths)	5
burranca	162	on	6
burria (?)	149	oyeste	177
cara tras	163	pecado (devil)	289
con busco	319,344	pras	336
cowardice	292	presado	435
<i>d</i> (initial—for <i>n</i>)	134	priado	481
<i>d</i> (initial—lost)	302	que (introducing direct discourse)	265
<i>d</i> (prosthetic)	134	quieres (metr.)	135
den	276	<i>r</i> (internal—for <i>l</i>)	46
<i>dis</i> que	460	relumbricio	89
don (in insults)	276	revellado	381
dora mala	134	ringo, ringas, ringamos (<i>renir</i>)	280
dun, duna (<i>Port.</i>)	276	saints (in oaths)	6
<i>e</i> (protonic)	110	salvaje (character)	309
embargo (conj?).	439	sanbricio	91
en (<i>Cat.</i>) (in insults)	276	sancto	187
enque	6	san junco	6
entonce	406	santias	72,339
espantado ('hispanismo')	291	serpenta	357
espíritu (metr.)	191	sleep (as a comic device)	45
<i>estes</i>	179	soncas	441
<i>esto</i>	55	suave (metr.)	18
estroyr	302	tempesta	400
fa mi re ut	58	tragaz	274
flying (as a comic device)	80	turulera	475
garçon	438	vagar (impers.)	273
granizera	403	<i>vide</i>	163,402
grolla	343	<i>vido</i>	158
¡hideputa y . . . !	168	<i>vido</i> (<i>he</i> —)	167
higa	136	<i>vien</i>	282,372
'hispanismos'	291	'y adverbializado'	168
<i>hu</i>	341	<i>yas</i>	121
hunger (as a comic device)	261	yo y tigo, yo y tu	344

XLVII

MILTON AND SERVETUS: A STUDY IN THE SOURCES OF MILTON'S THEOLOGY

PART I.

A. General Considerations Concerning Milton's Theology

That Milton's theology is remarkable for its independence¹ has often been noted.² Although he has something in common with the Fathers, with the Greek philosophers, with the Renaissance metaphysicians, with the Protestant reformers, and with the chief heretical sects of the Reformation, nevertheless, among them all we can nowhere find a parallel for his *system*; we cannot even find all the elements of which it is composed, nor, indeed, its chief conceptions.

Religiously, Milton is distinctly a product of the Christian Renaissance; yet he was certainly not a Calvinist, a Lutheran, a mystic, a Socinian, or an Arminian. He denied utterly the theory of absolute predestination and the final perseverance of the saints.³ The Lutherans made everything in religion depend upon a faith that rendered human reason and action quite unnecessary, if not positively evil.⁴ But Milton said:

A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy.⁵

¹ A comparison of the *De Doctrina Christiana* with the *Ordinance for the Suppression of Heresies and Blasphemies*, enacted by the Presbyterian parliament of 1648, reveals the fact that had Milton's work on theology then been available five capital charges and eight involving life-imprisonment might have been brought against him.

² Cf. David Masson, *Life of Milton*, VI., 839; Denis Saurat, *La Pensée de Milton*, Paris, 1920, p. 227; Wood, *Form and Origin*, London, Ontario, 1911, pp. 28-9.

³ Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, Ch. IV.

⁴ Cf. *Luther's Confession*, in *Martin Luther*, by H. E. Jacobs, New York, 1909, pp. 439-40.

⁵ *P. W.*, II, 85.

By reason of his rampant rationalism, Milton seems to have been allied with the Socinians in thought; but he was by no means a Socinian. He made much of the metaphysics of theology, which the followers of Socinus suppressed and so abolished; he did not reject a Trinity of a kind, and rebuked the Socinians for denying the existence of the Holy Ghost.⁶ With the Quakers or Anabaptists⁷ he seems to have had much in common; but unlike these mystics, he was a rationalist, depending upon the light of that human reason which belongs to every man, and never looking for a miraculous inner light⁸ which is suddenly vouchsafed after long periods of uncertain waiting. Boehme interpreted the scripture symbolically; but Milton held close to its letter, understood in the light of individual, innate reason; furthermore, he considered participation in public life and civil obedience to civil authority the duty of every man. Finally, Milton did not belong to the Arminians, for the only point in which he agreed with them was in rejecting predestination. In all other respects they were severely orthodox; whereas Milton was heretical in practically everything.

Though Milton, as a result of his wide reading, drew from many sources, his religious system cannot be called eclectic, for it is a unity growing out of his individualistic philosophy. To understand the construction of his theology we must realize that it depends, fundamentally, if not wholly, upon a union of rationalistic and metaphysical elements, combined with a theoretically literal interpretation of scripture.⁹ When I say that Milton's theology is rationalistic, I mean that in religion he reasoned mathematically, not legalistically, and that he regarded man's innate reason as a revealer and criterion of truth; when I say that it is full of metaphysics, I mean that his whole

⁶ Cf. *P. W.*, IV. 167.

⁷ This fact has misled M. L. Bailey, in her *Milton and Jacob Boehme*, New York, 1914, to draw a parallel which does not exist. She mistakes the light of mysticism for the light of rationalism.

⁸ Cf. Boehme's *Confessions*, London, 1920, especially pp. 1-6.

⁹ Of course, Milton usually made scripture say whatever his reason told him it should. But in *theory*, he considered the letter of the Bible final. Cf. *P. W.*, IV., 115-6. We have here a long and abstruse discussion concerning the use and meaning of an article in a scriptural document. Page 173 we read: "The word *beginning* is interpreted in an active sense on the authority of Aristotle." This illustrates Milton's method.

conception of God is based upon a pantheistic theory of the universe. Yet Milton regarded the Bible as the word of God revealed through passive instruments, but subject to corruption in the hands of men.¹⁰ He brought, then, to his interpretation of scripture and Christian dogma the predilections of ardent rationalism and thorough-going pantheism. No theologian, therefore, who is not similar to Milton in these respects may be considered a significant antecedent.

One further observation should here be noted. Milton's intellect, although very strong, vigorous, and independent, was rather of the absorbing and disseminative than of the creative type. If, then, we find great and very uncommon conceptions in his theology, we may suspect that he derived them from some other thinker. We know that he went far in his search for truth; he was acquainted with hundreds of authors.¹¹ But he never had at his disposal long, quiet, contemplative years in which to formulate his own systems; he was caught in the storm and stress of affairs, busy in the haunts of men. At Horton he studied ecclesiastical history,¹² and was not, moreover, deeply interested in religion, *per se*. Accordingly, we should expect him to seize upon theological conceptions, wherever he might find them, appropriating those which harmonized with his bent of mind, scarcely conscious perhaps of his debt.

The original of Milton's peculiarly unorthodox conceptions is not to be sought among ancient authors because such rationalism, scriptural literalism, and metaphysics as we find in his system belong only to the modern age.¹³ The source, therefore, should be sought in the work of some Renaissance theologian and philosopher in whom pantheism and rationalism are combined with a Protestant reverence for the *ipsissima verba* of scripture.

The man we seek is to be found, I believe, in the person of Michael Servetus Villanovanus.

¹⁰ Cf. all of Ch. XXX, *De Doctrina Christiana*.

¹¹ In his works, Milton refers to 2200 authors as if he were intimately acquainted with them.

¹² A slight examination of his *Commonplace Book* makes this fact obvious.

¹³ As far as I know, no ancient pantheist was an orthodox Christian. Furthermore, ancient pantheism was in certain respects quite different from that of the Renaissance. For a résumé of the Renaissance philosophy, especially that of G. Bruno, cf. Windelband, *History of Philosophy*, London, 1919, 361-71.

B. Servetus, and Milton's Probable Knowledge of Him

Servetus (1509 or 1511–1553) is an extraordinary character; about him a whole literature has grown up—expository, biographical, controversial, and dramatic. He was a great physician, the first to discover the pulmonary circulation; he was a great geographer and philosopher, as well as a great theologian and critic of scripture. At the age of twenty or twenty-two, he published the *De Erroribus Trinitatis Libri Septem*—a revolutionary and startlingly original contribution to Christian theology. Harnack calls him the most outstanding antitrinitarian of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ He was a man remarkable for his boldness and intellectual perspicacity; and finally he was made immortal by the death he suffered, being burned at the stake by a slow fire at the instigation of Jean Calvin.

Servetus was a pantheist, a rationalist, and a strict literalist in scripture. "What distinguishes him [Servetus] from most of the Italian Antitrinitarians is that his opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity is ultimately based on pantheism."¹⁵ Furthermore, he was an unbending believer in the validity of his own reason: "The doctrine of the Trinity, he affirmed, was without warrant of Scripture and without support of reason. He ridiculed it as a piece of nonsense and a fable . . . a being who was three Gods in one was an impossible existence, he held."¹⁶ Yet Servetus was a scriptural literalist: "Servetus was the fruit of the freethinking of his time grafted upon the basal principle of Protestantism, namely the supreme and final authority of the Scriptures."¹⁷

Servetus is remarkable also in the fact that, in spite of his greatness, he never became the founder of a sect. But the reason for this is not far to seek. The orthodox church, and the founders of sects in general, require only faith—not understanding—in matters of religious doctrine. They insist upon obedience rather than comprehension. Servetus built up a great and difficult, though rational, system; and he demanded that his philosophy *be understood*. He would not coerce, but convince.

¹⁴ *Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1890, II. 664–5, footnote.

¹⁵ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, London, 1899, VII. 133, note.

¹⁶ Hunter, *The Teaching of Calvin*, 235.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, loc. cit.

Such methods and principles will not gain for a teacher any considerable popularity.

But they are the very methods and principles which would recommend him most highly to Milton. Our poet yearned to understand the difficult and the lofty. The proud individualism, the vigorous rationalism, and the profound metaphysical system of Servetus would make him most fascinating to Milton.

Milton read widely, nor did he confine himself to what was usual or orthodox. In the "Dedication" to the *Christian Doctrine* we read:

For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone—I follow no other heresy or sect. I had not even read any of the works of heretics, so-called, when the mistakes of those who are reckoned for orthodox, and their incautious handling of Scripture first taught me to agree with their opponents whenever those opponents agreed with Scripture.¹⁸

From this passage it may be inferred that Milton must have read many "works of the heretics, so-called," and that many of his conceptions derived from them.

Whether Milton ever read Servetus or not, it is certain that he must have known who he was, and, in a general way—by reason of the frequency of his name in current religious literature—what he thought. After the execution of Servetus, Calvin wrote a long defence of himself and his faith: in French for those who could read only the vernacular, in Latin for the learned. Beza, Calvin's understudy and successor in Geneva, wrote a well-known *Life of Calvin*. These treatises were among the handbooks of the Presbyterians by whose side Milton fought in 1641-2—it is almost impossible that he should not have known them well. In them much is said about Servetus, and from them at least a distorted conception of his teaching could be gained. A treatise against killing men for difference of opinion in matters of religion, published by Martinus Bellius in 1554, provoked Beza to a frantic reply, in which his denunciations of Servetus pass quite beyond reasonable limits. Also, throughout the fifty-one volumes of Calvin's *Commentaries*, one keeps stumbling upon the name of Servetus; it occurs in the *Institutes*. All these confused misrepresentations would only serve to stimulate a man like Milton to examine the truth at its source.

¹⁸ *P. W.*, IV. 8-9.

Servetus was also frequently mentioned by the English and Scottish Calvinists. John Knox, in his chief doctrinal disquisition—that on predestination—has much to say against Servetus and the Anabaptists, whom he assumes to be his followers. He cites a list of fourteen heretical points¹⁹ maintained by Servetus, although, of course, these scarcely represent anything actually said by him. Francis Cheynell, one of the four or five chief framers of the *Westminster Confession*, calls Servetus an Abailardus, a Samosatenus, an Arius, a Eutyches, and “the grandfather of the Socinians.”²⁰ From Cheynell we learn also that “the opinions of Abailardus, Servetus, Socinus, are already published in English in a book entitled Mr. Wotton’s defence against Mr. Walker.”²¹

Milton must have learned something—however distorted—of Servetus and his teaching through these orthodox channels, as well as from other sources. Further, the mere notoriety of Servetus—the heresiarch of the Reformation—and his execution would be no inconsiderable motive to a man like Milton to know his teaching at first hand. The *De Erroribus* was published in Dutch in 1620, and Todd says of Milton that “he drank largely perhaps from the turbid streams of the Arian and Socinian pieces published in Holland and dispersed in England.”²² Accordingly, there is no improbability in the supposition that he had a first-hand acquaintance with the *De Erroribus*. Willis says:

Servetus’ *De Erroribus Trinitatis* is generally believed to be one of the rare books but it is commonly enough met with in England. . . . There is a counterfeit edition published in Holland and only to be distinguished from the original by the paper being somewhat better and the type a shade larger. The book was never, in so far as we know, publicly condemned and burned. It was translated into Dutch (4- to

¹⁹ *Works*, Edinburgh, 1854, V. 226-7.

²⁰ *Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme*, London, 1643, p. 6. It is interesting to note here that, although there is really little connection between Socinianism and Anabaptism, Servetus was accused of being the founder of both: of the former, because of his rationalism; of the latter, because of his pantheism, which was confused with mysticism.

²¹ *Ib.*, “Introduction,” p. 3.

²² M. L. Bailey, *Milton and Jacob Boehme*, 135-6.

1620) with the epigraph: Proeft alle Dingen ende behout het goede, 1 John IV.²²

That Milton could have found this book, had he made an attempt to do so, we may consider certain. And it is a most significant fact that he was in the habit of seeking out just such books as this. We have clear evidence that he possessed a copy of Jean Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*,²⁴ a treatise setting forth a rationalistic and heretical conversation, carried on by seven men. Of Bodin's book only a few copies seem to have existed, and those precious, hard to obtain, and dangerous to possess. Queen Christina sought several years before she could obtain one. Milton must have been making diligent search for proscribed works; and he would have had less difficulty in finding, and far greater incentive for seeking, a copy of the *De Erroribus* than of the *Heptaplomeres*.

The names of Machiavel and Servetus were alike in that they called forth intense prejudice. Milton could never use the name of Machiavel to support an argument—to have done so would have blasted all hope of influence upon others—it would have been to league himself with the Arch-fiend. In the *Apology for Smectymnuus* (1642) we read: "Anger, thus freely vented, spends itself ere it break out into action, though Machiavel, whom he cites, or any other Machiavellian priest, think the contrary."²⁵

Though Milton in his published work thus uses the name of Machiavel as a term of invective to cast at his opponents, we know that in private he had no small respect for it. In the *Commonplace Book*, there are eleven distinct citations from the great Florentine,—more than from any other writer, excepting two or three historians from whom he took factual data. But from the author of *The Prince* he copied ideas, thoughts, which appear in his writings.

Our inquiry would be facilitated if we had Milton's *Index Theologicus*, to which he refers in the *Commonplace Book* and of

²² *Servetus and Calvin*, London, 1877, *Note*, p. 78. Cf. also p. 51: "Servetus's book, everywhere sold freely in the first instance, must have been read by every one of liberal education,—though it became scarce ere long."

²⁴ L. Bredvold, "Milton and Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*," *Studies in Philology*, April, 1924.

²⁵ *P. W.*, III. 135.

which he speaks in the "Dedication" of the *Christian Doctrine*. "I was in the habit," he says, "of classing under certain heads whatever passages of Scripture occurred for extraction, to be made use of hereafter as occasion might require."²⁶ He goes on to say that he made a wide study of works on theology. In this *Index*, as in the *Commonplace Book* itself, quotations probably appeared from authors whom Milton could not have countenanced openly, and we might have found passages from writers by whom the world of his time would have been deeply scandalized. It is certain that the *Index* quoted extensively from Arminius,²⁷ and no reason appears for doubting that excerpts from Servetus were also included.

The fact that Milton nowhere mentions Servetus in his publications does not imply that he had not read him. Servetus was not then considered a martyr, but a horrible blasphemer. For an author to use his name without execration would be to condemn himself. Milton wrote with the object of convincing his readers that his own religious doctrine was the true one. With this purpose in view it was politic to appeal to accepted authority, while nothing could have been more unwise than to appeal to heretics. Accordingly, Milton in the *Christian Doctrine* mentions no unorthodox theologian; yet he often invokes St. Augustine, Calvin, and Beza, to whom he was almost diametrically opposed in all essentials. In his last tract, Milton demands toleration for Calvinists, Lutherans, Arminians, Socinians, etc.; but he did not include "Servetians" because Servetus had no body of followers. I am unable to think of any work in which Milton could have mentioned Servetus without disadvantage to his argument. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to expect such mention, so, even though he was intimately acquainted with his writings.

The *De Erroribus*, it must be remembered, is a polemical pamphlet, very much like the *Areopagitica* in spirit. But the *Christian Doctrine* is a "wholesome body of divinity" which purports to be based strictly on the scriptures; it is cold, critical, analytical; it marshals a vast array of texts; it is exceedingly

²⁶ *Ib.*, IV. 3.

²⁷ Milton borrowed many points in his complex argument against the Calvinian dogma of absolute predestination from Jacobus Arminius.

cautious, and seeks to establish only what is absolutely essential to the principal theses; it is meticulously careful not to enter the realm of imagination or of mere opinion. Milton was here on the defensive; he was conscious of the hazards of his undertaking; he realized that if he assumed anything unorthodox he could not make a favorable impression. In the *De Erroribus*, on the other hand, Servetus takes the field in magnificent and intrepid offensive, evidently believing that it was necessary merely to declare what was to him the rational truth in order to win its acceptance. Accordingly, he assumes many things that Milton devotes long discussions to prove; he sweepingly asserts much that Milton did not consider essential to saving faith, and so scarcely touched upon. The *De Erroribus* is filled with imaginative conceptions, for it is the product of magnanimous youth, while the *Christian Doctrine* is the work of experienced maturity. Therefore in seeking similarities in Milton to the imaginative conceptions of the *De Erroribus* one will not turn first to the *Christian Doctrine* but to *Paradise Lost*. Here the trammels of theological argument were replaced by poetic freedom, and the suspected theologian was freed from jealous scrutiny. We may, however, expect to find the metaphysics of *Paradise Lost* confirmed by the logic of the *De Doctrina*.

PART II.

In the following comparison, I have endeavored, so far as possible, to avoid overlapping; but, because of the inter-dependence which exists among the great elements of the Christian system, a certain amount of duplication is inevitable. The parallel I propose to draw depends, not upon verbal similarities, but upon fundamental ideas, which, both in Servetus and Milton, are few in number, clearly expressed, and, when logically arranged, form a coherent body.

Christian theology consists of a great and indissoluble quaternity of dogmas:²⁸ that of creation; that of the Incarnation; that of redemption; and that of the Trinity. We may, therefore, compare the teaching of Servetus and Milton with respect to these four doctrines.

²⁸ Cf. Emile. Saisset, "Michel Servet," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1848, XXI, 585 ff; and 817 ff.

A. Theory of Creation

To what extent the creation-theory of Milton and Servetus was original with them is indeed difficult to say. I know of no other modern²⁹ theologian who held it; and of course it is radically different from the orthodox idea, which maintained that God—a personal being—created the universe “out of nothing.”

In both *Paradise Lost* and *The Christian Doctrine* Milton gives a full exposition of the creation; but in the *De Erroribus* Servetus has, as we should expect, little to say about it. We do know, however, that a thorough-going pantheism—the fundamental postulate of Renaissance philosophy—lies at the basis of both men’s metaphysics. To realize this fact means much, for it precludes the universally orthodox doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. Creation, according to Milton and Servetus, brings nothing *new* into existence: a part of God is merely placed in order—under law. God is the material of the universe and the will which controls it; the Word is the energetic force which reduces Chaos to order and performs the edicts of God’s will. Chaos is

the wide womb of uncreated night,
Devoid of sense and notion.³⁰

This pantheism Servetus several times expresses, and frequently implies in unmistakable terms; God *is* the universe:

“All things, all creatures . . . are portions of the substance of God.” . . . “I have not a doubt but that this bench, this table, all you can point to around us, is of the substance of God. . . . I hold it as a general proposition that all things whatsoever are part and parcel of God, and that nature at large is His substantial manifestation.”³¹

This quotation derives from Calvin; but the following occurs in the *De Erroribus*:

²⁹ The ancient heretic Hermogenes taught a creation-theory almost identical to that of Servetus and Milton, as we learn from Tertullian and Hippolytus, who wrote against him and summarized his doctrines. (Cf. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, III. 256, ff; V. 122-3.) But pantheism with Hermogenes signified a very different thing from what it did with the Renaissance metaphysician; for he was one of the first to teach absolute predestination. (Cf. Neander, *History of the Church*, I., 617).

³⁰ *P. L.*, II, 151.

³¹ Willis, *Servetus and Calvin*, p. 330.

Potest Jehovah Zebaot, sicut dixi, Jehovah Elohim, quasi dicat milites essentians, & inde provenit, quod divinitatis nomen, nominibus angelorum est immixtum, quia eius essentia est eis immixta. Vides hic plures Deum habere essentias, non enim possunt dici plures res in una essentia, sed bene e converso: uno dico que omnium rerum essentiae est ipse Deus, & omnia sunt in ipso.²²

The creation itself was effected by means of the Word, the creating and speaking God:

Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Omnia fecit Deus Verbo suo, id est, prima illa res per secundam. Prima illa res per secundam operabatur. . . . Omnia Verbo Dei . . . [sunt] facta. . . . Et Psalmista, Verbo Domini coeli facti sunt, quia ipse dixit & facta sunt. . . . Nec Joannes unquam excogitasset, quod Dei eloquium faceremus naturale nomen alicuius certae rei, praecipue cum ipse se referat ad eum sermonem quem Deus in principio locutus est, quando universa condidit.²³ Nam quae Paulus per Christum, Johannes per ipsum sermonum facta dicit.²⁴

We should notice also that the creation is Platonic; this Servetus insists upon time and again, under various circumstances. All things exist timelessly throughout eternity in the mind of God, but their manifestation is temporal; what has but now appeared to us existed from the beginning in God's timeless will.

Ad quae omnia respondeo, quia in Deo praedestinatio non distinguitur ab eo quod est, nec in Deo reperiuntur volebat, volet, futurum, praeteritum: sed vult hanc rem taliter fieri, & talem esse terminum eius.²⁵

The same idea is expressed in regard to Christ's temporal and eternal birth:

Ratione igitur istius prolationis in principio factae, dicitur ipse esse principium, & eadem ratione primogenitus dicendus est . . . nam prolatio illa in principio facta est ipsamet carnis generatio.²⁶

This is sufficient to indicate Servetus' pantheism and his doctrine concerning God and the Word as it relates to creation.

²² *De Erroribus*, 103 a. The quotations in this article from the *De Erroribus* are taken from the copy in the Library of Congress.

²³ *Ib.*, 51 a.

²⁴ *Ib.*, 79 a.

²⁵ *Ib.*, 81 a, b.

²⁶ *Ib.*, 54 a.

Milton, like Servetus, expressed his pantheism in various connections:

Boundless the deep, because I am who fill
 Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.³⁷

God is the boundless Deep, the infinite substance which is omnipresent in the cosmos, which, however, is endued with various forms and degrees of perfection: this is Renaissance pantheism.³⁸

One Almighty is, from whom
 All things proceed, and up to him return,
 If not depraved from good, created all
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,
 Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life.³⁹

This boundless "deep," this "first matter" "indu'd with various forms" is the

wild abyss,
 The womb of Nature and perhaps her grave,
 Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
 But all these in their pregnant causes mixed
 Unless the Almighty Maker them ordain
 His dark materials to create more worlds,⁴⁰

In *The Christian Doctrine*, Milton says:

Substance is to be considered an efflux of Deity.⁴¹ In the first place, there are, as is well known to all, four kinds of causes, *efficient*, *material*, *formal*, and *final*. Inasmuch then as God is the primary, and absolute, and sole cause of all things, there can be no doubt but that he comprehends and embraces within himself all the causes above mentioned. Therefore the material cause must be God.⁴² Matter proceeded incorruptible from God.⁴³

Thus Milton's pantheism is that of Servetus. And we find that their theories of creation are likewise similar. Milton said:

³⁷ *P. L.*, VII, 168, 9.

³⁸ Cf. Windelband, *A History of Philosophy*, pp. 366-77.

³⁹ *P. L.*, V. 469 ff. Cf. *P. W.*, IV. 178. "All things are of God."

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, II. 910 ff.

⁴¹ *P. W.*, IV, 180.

⁴² *Ib.*, 178-9.

⁴³ *Ib.*, 180.

God the Father produced everything that exists by his Word and Spirit, that is, by his Will.⁴⁴ The Father is he *of whom*, and *from whom*, and *by whom*, and *for whom* are all things. The Son is not he *of whom*, but only *by whom*. . . .⁴⁵

Uriel's description of creation casts light on our question, and we quote its first lines; it was the Word who reduced a portion of God's material aspect to form and order:

I saw when at his Word the formless Mass
This world's material mould came to a heap;
Confusion heard his voice, and wilde uproar,
Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;
Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
Light shon, and order from disorder sprung.⁴⁶

Word may here be interpreted "the sound of his voice." And that is what he is:⁴⁷ the acting, the audible manifestation of God.

Milton emphasizes the invisibility and inaudibility of the Father;⁴⁸ he cannot even see, for the arch-angels are his eyes.⁴⁹ ~ God never performs any action in his own being; he does so through his manifestations. The act of creation is simply reducing to order a portion of himself through the agency of his son and spirit—his energizing and illuminating powers. When God creates, he merely "puts forth his goodness,"⁵⁰ which he can choose to do or abstain from doing. It is the Father who thus, metaphorically, addresses the second member of the Trinity:

My Word, my wisdom, and effectual might,⁵¹

to whom the Word, prefiguring the Son, likewise replies:

Father Eternal, thine is to decree,
Mine both in heaven and earth to do thy will.⁵²

When the creator returns from his work, he sees

from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,⁵³

⁴⁴ *Ib.*, 170-1.

⁴⁵ *Ib.*, 91.

⁴⁶ *P. L.*, III. 708 ff.

⁴⁷ Cf. below, p. 927.

⁴⁸ *P. W.*, IV. 108.

⁴⁹ *P. L.*, III, 650.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, VII, Cf. 171-3.

⁵¹ *Ib.*, III, 170.

⁵² *Ib.*, X. 68.

⁵³ *Ib.*, III. 77.

the new world,

how good, how faire,
Answering his great Idea.⁶⁴

Notice the Platonic conception. We need not pause further to remark upon the identity of the creation theories held by Servetus and Milton.

B. Theory of the Incarnation

In the theory of the Incarnation, we have something far more distinctive than in that of the Creation; for this is a part of Servetus' doctrine concerning the Word, which is one of the Trinity; and it was here that he made his theological contribution.

In this connection we have two problems to consider: first, what it was that became incarnate; second, what that thing was after the incarnation.

The first principle that Servetus lays down is this: before the incarnation there was no Son, but only a Word; after that—the Word having then ceased to exist as such—we have the Son of God:

Cogita perpetuo in hoc, nam ego dico, quod Verbum illud erat in Lege, Christi praefiguratio, Verbum illud erat umbra, & Christus est veritas. Joannes tam in Evangelio quam in epistola de Verbo dicit, erat, nunc autem post manifestationem, non est tale Verbum, sed res ipsa, cuius illud Verbum erat typus, nunquam enim de Verbo illo legimus, est, sed erat, nunc autem est filius Jesus Christus, quia id quod erat in Verbo, caro extitit.⁶⁵

Servetus warns his reader against considering the Word a thing, but insists that he is rather an oracle, the voice, or the speech of God:

Nam λόγος, non philosophicam illam rem, sed oraculum, vocem, sermonem, eloquium Dei sonat. Usurpatur enim a verbo, λέγω, quod est dico. . . .⁶⁶

What, then, was the Word? To this question Servetus gives an explicit answer:

Verbum ergo in Deo proferente, est ipsemet Deus loquens.⁶⁷ Prop-

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, VII, 556.

⁶⁵ *Ib.*, 47 b, 48 a.

⁶⁶ *De Error.*, 93 b. Cf. also *Ib.*, 80 a., b.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 48 b, 49 a.

teres dicitur ipse sermo patris, quia patris mentem enunciat, & eius cognitionem facit.⁵⁸

How, then, did the speaking God, the manifestation of the Father, become flesh? Servetus declares:

Haud secus quam si ego proferens verbum ex ore meo prolicerem aurum aut margaritas, nam tunc proprie loquendo diceretur, quod vox mea facta est aurum, potuit enim potentissimum Dei Verbum sine illo re rum coagulo in carnis transire materiam: & propterea Christus ipse nunc dicitur Verbum homo, Verbum caro.⁵⁹ Id quod prius erat persona filii, nunc postquam factum est caro, est ipse Jesus Christus, qui est verus realis & naturalis filius Dei, nec est nunc in Deo alia hypostasis seu facies, nisi homo ipse Christus, nam veniente re ipsa, cessat personalia repraesentatio.⁶⁰ Quem, obsecro, saporem habent ista insulsissima verba, secunda illa res erat apud primam. Nam sana Christi doctrina aliter intelligit Verbum fuisse apud deum, quia sacramentum hoc erat ab initio reconditum in mente divina, donec venit plenitudo temporis, & tunc manifestatum est quando Verbum caro factum est.⁶¹

We have, then, before the incarnation a power or manifestation of God, which Servetus calls the *Word*; this, however, is entirely distinct from the Son, which, as Servetus repeatedly asseverates, is a man, nothing but a man—the humanized Word or Logos, a human being filled with divinity. This man we call Christ Jesus. Jesus is not the mere bearer of the human nature or humanity; but intrinsically and solely a *man*:

Dico universas scripturas a prima usque ad ultimam loqui de homine ipso Christo.⁶²

In this man there is no duality of nature, as the orthodox theologians maintained; there is no mere joining of the human with the divine, but a complete going over of God's power into humanity. Christ is, quite contradictorily to the creeds of the Church, a single nature or person:

Ex his detegitur veritas illius vulgatae sententiae, qua dicunt duas naturas in Christi unitas, facere unam personam, & unum filium, quia alia est natura Verbi, alia carnis, et haec duo sunt una persona, quia Verbum caro factum est. . . . In qua sententia tot sunt errores quot verba.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, 50 a.

⁵⁹ *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁰ *Ib.*, 93 a, b.

⁶¹ *Ib.*, 50 b.

⁶² *Ib.*, 21 a, b.

⁶³ *Ib.*, 93 a.

Quod de persona dicunt, magna est vocabuli abusio, dicere unam personam esse aggregatam ex duabus rebus, aut duabus naturis in unum cumulum unitis.⁶⁴ & non est nisi una persona & unus aspectus, quia id ipsum quod in Verbo relucebat, est ipse Christus.⁶⁵

This explanation was made possible by Servetus' pantheistic conception, of which the following doctrine was a further consequence: all men, being composed of the material of God, are sons of God. And Christ is different from each of us, not at all in kind, but only in degree, and is exalted by grace:

Ad argumentum istud pharisaeorum respondet ipse magister Joan. 10. Quia ego dixi dii estis, declarat ibi Christus se Deum non natura, sed specie, non per naturam, sed per gratiam. Nam cum argueretur, quia se deum faciebat, de Deo respondit eo modo quo prophetas deos dixit, eam sibi deitatis rationem attribuens. Etiam quia subdit, si eos dixit deos, ad quos sermo Dei factus est, quanto magis filius hominis quem pater sanctificat, nedum filius dicetur, sed etiam Deus. Ex privilegio igitur ei datum est, ut sit Deus, quia pater eum sanctificat, per gratiam unctus est, exaltatus, quia se humiliavit, exaltatus prae consortibus suis. Datum illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen. Et, ut inquit Petrus, accepit a Deo patre honorem & gloriam, quae omnia secundum gratiam sunt.⁶⁶

Christ, although he is a man purely, may, as Solomon, the prophets, and the angels are in the Old Testament, be called God because he is the messenger and representative of God:

Item, hanc in Christo Deitatis rationem, ex ueteri testamento cognosces, si scruteris quae vox hebraica ponatur, quando Christus Deus vocatur. Et cum hoc notes differentiam inter יהוה proprium Dei nomen & יהוה אלהים & alia similia Deo attributa. Et quod Thomas Joannis 20. non Jehovah, sed elohim & adonai de Christo dixerit, infra probabo. . . . Imo Salomon iuxta historiam ibi dicitur elohim, est enim ille locus ex Psalmo 44. Nec Apostolus omne suae probationis robur in voce elohim fundat. Sed etiam quia dixit, Thronus & regnum eius in seculum seculi, nam ex sola voce Elohim nom probasset Christum maiorem angelis, nec maiorem aliis principibus, qui ab eodem propheta dii dicuntur. Imo ab eodem Apostolo, & ibidem, Angeli vocantur elohim, dum dixit, Adorate eum omnes angeli. . . . Que res magnae apud Hebraeos nomine Deorum & angelorum vocantur, communibus nominibus est apud eos sermo de angelis & insignibus

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, 94 a.

⁶⁵ *Ib.*, 13 a.

⁶⁶ *Ib.*, 94 b.

hominibus. Et Petrus angelos eos vocat, qui Gene. 6 elohim, seu filii elohim dicuntur.⁶⁷

God is to be found in all his messengers, and these may, for that reason, be called gods:

Sed quia a Deo fluunt essentielles radii, & radiantes angeli, de eius thesauris a paterno pectore essentielles flatus tanquam filii ex utero patris egrediuntur, multiplices proficiscuntur divinitatis radii, quae omnia sunt Dei essentiae, & ipse est in eis. . . . Nec mittitur unquam ad nos coelestis nuncius, in quo non sit eius essentia. . . . Sicut dixi, . . . inde prouenit, quod divinitatis nomen nominibus angelorum est immixtum, quia eius essentia est eis im mixta.⁶⁸

Although Milton has no such detailed discussion concerning the nature of the Word and the Son as we find in the *De Erroribus*, it is plain that he holds the same general doctrines. Very significant is the following statement in which we find that Milton differentiates between the Word (the Logos) and the Son just as Servetus also does:

The Son existed in the beginning, under the name of Logos or Word, and was the first of the whole creation, by whom all things were made in heaven and earth.⁶⁹

The Son, then, was not specifically the Son in the beginning but the *Word* or *Logos*; and he it was who created everything. We are therefore to interpret the word *Son*, whenever it occurs in *Paradise Lost*, Platonically. He existed in the mind of God, but was not yet manifest. The fact, however, that he became incarnate in the fulness of time furnishes another good reason for calling him what he was to be; but, more important than this, he was already, in the eyes of God, the Son; for all things that ever shall come into being exist now in his mind.

That the Word was the visible, audible, acting God we learn in many passages which, because they are more important in another connection, are not quoted here.⁷⁰

Milton's doctrine concerning the humanity of Christ is next to be determined. The passages dealing with it are explicit: whenever Milton speaks of Jesus—the humanized Word—he is referring to a *man*:

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 14 b, 15 a.

⁶⁸ *Ib.*, 102 b, 103 a.

⁶⁹ *P. W.*, IV. 80-1.

⁷⁰ Cf. below, p. 926-8.

till one greater man restore us.⁷¹
 So man, as is most just,
 Shall justifie for Man, be judged, and die.⁷²

Christ has

been found
 By Merit more than Birthright Son of God,
 Found worthiest to be so by being Good,
 Far more than Great or High.⁷³

Men hereafter may discern,
 From what consummate vertue I have chose
 This perfect man, by merit called my Son.⁷⁴

We see the consonance of view on these points: Servetus and Milton both conceive Jesus Christ as the incarnation of that which had been called the Word or Logos from eternity, but which, after its humanization, was a *man*.

In the next place, does Milton deny with Servetus the duality of Christ's nature? The doctrine follows:

The two natures constitute one Christ.⁷⁵ Those who divide this hypostatical union in Christ at their discretion, strip the answers of Christ of all their sincerity.⁷⁶ Christ being God, took upon him the human nature, and was made flesh, without ceasing thereby to be numerically the same as before.⁷⁷ It is now asserted that two natures are so combined in the one person of Christ that he has a real and perfect subsistence in the one nature independently of that which properly belongs to the other; insomuch that the two natures are comprehended in one person. . . . He [Zanchius] argues as if it were possible to assume human nature without at the same time assuming man; for human nature, that is, the form of man in a material mould constitutes at once the proper and entire man. . . . It is certain that the Logos was made that which he assumed; if then he assumed the human nature, not man, he was made, not man, but human nature; these two things being inseparable. . . .

I proceed to demonstrate the weakness of the received opinion. . . .

Hence the union of the two natures in Christ must be considered as the mutual hypostatical union of two essences; so that one

⁷¹ *P. L.*, I. 4.

⁷² *Ib.*, III. 294.

⁷³ *Ib.*, 308.

⁷⁴ *P. R.*, I. 164.

⁷⁵ *P. W.*, IV. 295.

⁷⁶ *Ib.*, 100.

⁷⁷ *Ib.*, 288.

Christ, one ens, one person, is formed of this mutual hypostatical union.⁷⁸

Christ is, then, a person, a human being, a single entity; he is that which the Logos assumed. There is no duality of nature in Jesus. As in Servetus, this explanation must be based on pantheistic hypotheses. And, in both, this doctrine led to similar consequences. Any man may be called a god, and all men are sons of God: to Christ belongs these titles merely in a higher degree:

Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
Though Sons of God both angels are and men,
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than those thou bear'st that title.⁷⁹

Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art called
The Son of God, which bears no single sence;
The Son of God I also am, or was,
And if I was I am; relation stands;
All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declared.⁸⁰

Furthermore, Milton explains the attributing of the word *God* to his messengers and representatives exactly as does Servetus:

It must be observed, in the first place, that the name of God is not infrequently ascribed, by the will and concession of God the Father, even to angels and men,—how much more then to the only-begotten Son, the image of the Father.⁸¹ . . . The name of God seems to be attributed to angels, because as heavenly messengers they bear the

⁷⁸ *Ib.*, 290–2. Here we have an example of Milton's very cautious argumentation in regard to ticklish problems in theology. But there can be no doubt that he is here maintaining the absolute oneness of Jesus' nature. Of course, the orthodox doctrine held the duality of his nature; and Milton says, "I proceed to demonstrate the weakness of the received opinion." He does not state his conclusion with great bluntness or emphasis, but the teaching is plain. When he uses the expression "two natures" he is either referring to the doctrine of others concerning Jesus, or to what were his constituent parts before the hypostasis. Now, however, we have one Christ, one ens, one person, that is, an entity or uniy.

⁷⁹ *P. R.*, IV. 196.

⁸¹ *P. W.*, IV. 106–7.

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, 514–521.

appearance of the divine glory and person and even speak in the very words of the Deity.⁸²

And, lastly, Milton interprets *John*, chap. x, as Servetus had done before him:

The name of God is ascribed to Judges, because they occupy the place of God to a certain degree in the administration of judgment. The Son, who was entitled to the name of God both in the capacity of a messenger and of a judge, and indeed in virtue of a much better right, did not think it foreign to his character, when the Jews accused him of blasphemy because he made himself God, to allege in his own defence the very reason which has been advanced [cf. passages above]. *John* x, 34-36. "Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?"—especially when God himself hath called the judges children of the Most High.⁸³

We see that our parallel consists of the following remarkable agreements: both differentiate similarly between the Word and the Son; both consider the Word the visible, audible, acting, effectual God; both consider Jesus Christ the man whom the Logos assumed; both make Jesus a man, who, like every human being, may be called the son of God, and who, because he is the direct representative of God, may, for the best of reasons, be called by his name. These facts are significant.

We pass, then, to the next phase of our investigation.

C. *Theory of Redemption*

In the theory of redemption we are dealing with a problem in which the possibility of dependence can scarcely be said to exist—the material under discussion was the property of no one in particular. Nevertheless, it is of vital importance that we consider this doctrine because in it is to be found the cornerstone and goal of all the dogmas. A man's belief concerning the process of salvation was an expression of his subjective self, his personal needs, his attitude and comparative self-dependence. If Servetus and Milton hold the same heretical theory of redemption we know that their point of view was identical in religious matters.

⁸² *Ib.*, 107-8.

⁸³ *Ib.*, 109.

We wish to touch upon three principal elements in the theory of redemption: baptism, the relative efficacy of faith and works, and predestination.

We see, first, that the rationalistic attitude of both Servetus and Milton was expressed in their theory of baptism. They condemned paedobaptism on the ground that such a rite is mere mummary, for baptism should be nothing but an external seal bearing witness to an internal transformation already consciously and individually consummated. According to Milton and Servetus, holiness cannot be bestowed upon any one: it must be achieved.⁸⁴

Secondly, let us see what Servetus says about faith, works, and the nature of man's dependence upon God in salvation. Because he had no conviction concerning the corruption of human nature and therefore felt no subjective need for the Lutheran's externalized process of salvation, Servetus could not understand it. To him faith could not exist without good works: to the rationalist charity and religion are pretty much the same thing. Launching into a heated digressional diatribe, he exclaims in the *De Erroribus*:

Sed quid nunc agendum superest, postquam Christo credidimus & justificati sumus inquirant Lutherani; si non inveniant, dormiant cum sua fide: non sufficiebat eis fide Christi carere. Nisi etiam charitatis mercede & omni virtutis actione populum privarent, solo fidei vento homines suspendunt & seipsos traducunt, fidem se habere dicunt, sed ego nunquam intelligere potui, quid est id quod habent, quod fidem appellant, uellem quod liberius & sine violentia scripturas acciperent, reiectaque animi occupatione pessima, non enim est mentitus Christus, quando charitate, ieiuniis, et precationibus, nos in regno coelorum thesaurizare, & copiosam mercedem in futuro seculo nobis parare dixit imo sine hoc, iustificatio est inanis, & in uacuum gratiam Dei recepimus, ipsi tamen violenter ad haec facienda populum trahere putant charitatem aiunt habete, sed nihil nobis proderit, ita segnes sua imaginatio homines facit, ut omnia negligant, orare non curent, dare eleemosynas est inutile: si de continentia, mortificatione carnis seu ieiunio loquaris, magno cachinno ridebunt.⁸⁵

The medieval dogma of man's corruption was repugnant to Servetus:

⁸⁴ Cf. Trechsel, *Antitrinitarier*, 139; Milton, *P. W.*, IV. 405—13.

⁸⁵ *De Error.*, 100 a, b.

All that men do you [Calvin] say is done in sin and mixed with dregs that stink before God, and merit nothing but eternal death. But therein you blaspheme. Stripping us of all possible goodness, you do violence to the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, who ascribe perfection, or the power of being perfect to us.⁶⁶

Faith must be clothed with the works of faith:

If faith be not clothed with charity, it dies in nakedness; and, as habit is strengthened by action, the body by exercise, and the understanding by study, so is faith strengthened by good works.⁶⁷

The Gospel has superseded the Law:

Christ, I say, accomplished the law and then it was abrogated; in him we have the New Covenant, the Old superseded: in him we are made free. The law of Moses was unbearable; it slew the soul, it increased sin, it begat anger; virtue itself became at times transgression, and in compassion for our frailty it was annulled.⁶⁸

The works of the law—fasts, observances, beads, etc.—that is, external labors performed to gain favor in the sight of God, are, as a means of salvation, totally without efficacy:

A most pestilential thing it is that Papal decrees and monastic vows are assumed as a means of salvation. When men bind themselves by vows to particular observances, they virtually declare that the salvation they have through Christ is insufficient, and lay themselves fast in those bonds of the law from which Christ came to set them free.⁶⁹

The necessity of faith in Jesus Christ as the saviour of the world, however,—without which Christianity is not—Servetus never denied:

. . . . in me credite, ex qua Christi praedicatione nobis regnum Dei unice evangelizatur, & hypostasis aeternae salutis est credere Jesum Christum esse filium Dei.⁷⁰

Faith . . . its essence being belief in the man Jesus Christ, as the Son of God. . . . The end and object of the whole New Testament teaching . . . is to lead men to a belief of this kind, whereby they are reconciled and made acceptable to God, conceive a detestation for sin and become exemplars and exponents of the Christian virtues,—Love, Hope, and Charity. Faith of this kind makes us aware of our poverty, of our misery. For if we believe that the man Jesus is the Son of God,

⁶⁶ Willis, 175. This of course, was the old Pelagian argument.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 185. Letter to Calvin.

⁶⁸ *Ib.*, 77; from the *Dialogues*.

⁶⁹ *Ib.*, 186.

⁷⁰ *De Error.*, 96 b.

the Savior of the World, we already admit that the world lies in sin and so needs saving.⁸¹

Willis thus sums up Servetus' very modern conception of Christianity:

Far from maintaining that the heart of man is corrupt and evil by nature, he holds that the cause of good works and well-doing is proper and spontaneous to the individual, who is only answerable for his own sin, not for the sin of another. Faith in Christ, therefore, as the naturally begotten Son of God; Charity, in which are comprised all the virtues, and a good life, . . . form the backbone of Servetus's Christianity, as it is unfolded in his earliest work on the "Current Misconceptions of the Trinity."⁸²

Milton maintains the same point of view throughout. Being a rationalist, he could not understand the supra-rational quality of Christianity or wherein the virtue of passive faith consists.⁸³ It is impossible that the author of the *Areopagitica* could ever accept any incomprehensible dogma. Implicit and passive faith is worthless; the works which the Christian performs are those directly issuing from faith, and are its inevitable expression:

Hence implicit faith, which sees not the objects of hope, but yields belief with a blind assent, cannot possibly be genuine faith. . . .⁸⁴

The seat of faith is . . . in the will.⁸⁵

We are justified therefore by faith, but by a living, not a dead faith; and that faith alone which acts is counted living. Hence we are justified by faith without the works of the law, but not without the works of faith; inasmuch as a living and true faith cannot consist without works.⁸⁶

Milton, as well as Servetus, is not without the old Pelagian argument:

Hence such as are strenuous in this conflict, and earnestly and unceasingly labor to attain perfection in Christ . . . are . . . by

⁸¹ Willis, 214-5.

⁸² *Ib.*, 70.

⁸³ Cf. *Areopagitica* as a whole and especially the passages beginning "I cannot praise," and "A man may be a heretic in the truth."

⁸⁴ *P. W.*, IV. 338.

⁸⁵ *Ib.*, 342. This, of course, is a denial of the Lutheran theory of justification.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, 355.

imputation and through divine mercy, frequently in the Scripture called *perfect*.⁹⁷

The Gospel has abrogated the Law, which was an evil thing:

Under the Gospel, we possess, as it were, a two-fold Scripture; one external, which is the written word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit, written in the hearts of believers . . . which is the Spirit itself.⁹⁸

The whole of the Mosaic law is abolished by the Gospel.⁹⁹

The Law, said Milton, "worketh wrath,"¹⁰⁰ is "a law of sin and death,"¹⁰¹ "is a source of trouble and subversion,"¹⁰² "takes away and frustrates all promises."¹⁰³

The Catholic doctrine of artificial works Milton of course also condemns.¹⁰⁴ Milton, however,—again like Servetus—always emphasizes the need of faith in Christ:

Nor does this doctrine [of works which result from faith] derogate in any degree from Christ's satisfaction; inasmuch as, our faith being imperfect, the works which proceed from it cannot be pleasing to God except in so far as they rest upon the mercy and the righteousness of Christ and are sustained upon that foundation alone.¹⁰⁵

Milton's doctrine of faith, works, and charity, so fully consonant with that of Servetus, is most clearly enunciated in *Paradise Lost* on the authority of Michael:

Onely add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
Add Vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
By name to come call'd Charitee, the soul
Of all the rest; then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but wilt possess
A Paradise within thee, happier farr.¹⁰⁶

As we proceed, the uniquely similar systems of Servetus and Milton are seen to be more and more fully parallel.

Freely assuming much concerning predestination, Servetus says in one of his early publications:

⁹⁷ *Ib.*, 349.

⁹⁸ *Ib.*, 447.

⁹⁹ *Ib.*, 393.

¹⁰⁰ *Ib.*, 390.

¹⁰¹ *Ib.*, 391.

¹⁰² *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰³ *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ib.*, 356-8.

¹⁰⁵ *Ib.*, 356.

¹⁰⁶ *P. L.*, XII. 581 ff.

In the Scriptures, predestination is not spoken of save in connection with belief and believers.¹⁰⁷ God, I say, sees no one justified from eternity, unless he believes.¹⁰⁸ . . . You [Calvin] speak of free acts, yet really say that there is no such thing as free action. . . . Truly God does act in us: but in such wise that we act freely. He acts in us so that we understand and will, choose, determine, and pursue. Even as all things consist essentially in God, so do all things proceed essentially from him.¹⁰⁹ The Spirit of God is innate in man, and as the power to do is one thing, so is the necessity another.¹¹⁰

To give a full exposition of Milton's doctrine of the will, which, in sum, is that of Servetus, would be an essay in itself. We can here take no space to do this, but refer the interested reader to the documents.¹¹¹

We see, then, that in regard to the great questions of baptism, faith, predestination, the relation between the Law and the Gospel, and the nature, possibility, and efficacy of good works—wherein are comprised the principles of redemption and justification—Milton and Servetus quite agree.

D. *Theory of the Trinity*¹¹²

In the theory of the Trinity we have the vital portion of our comparison. This was what Francis Cheynell called the "object

¹⁰⁷ This is exactly what Milton also says; cf. *P. W.*, IV. 43.

¹⁰⁸ Willis, 179, Letter to Calvin.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *P. L.*, V. 469 ff.

¹¹⁰ Willis, 185; cf. *De Error*. 81 b.

¹¹¹ Cf. *P. W.*, IV. 30-77; *P. L.* III. 80-343.

¹¹² L. A. Wood, in his *Form and Origin of Milton's Antitrinitarian Conception*, thinks he has found the source of Milton's theory of the Trinity in the *XXX Dialogi* of Ochino. I wish to comment briefly on his work.

The most obvious fact is that Wood does not discuss the Trinitarian conception of Milton and Ochino at all, but only the conception of the Second Person; of course, the First and Third Persons are just as important in any discussion of this kind, in order to find the truth, as the other. In the next place, Wood does not discuss any fundamental conceptions, but the merest details and trifles, which we might find in almost any writer on the subject. And, finally, the details which he gives do, in my opinion, by no means express the similarity which he claims for them.

Wood makes a great deal of the fact that Milton and Ochino both wrote in favor of polygamy. One is tempted to think that Wood believed, because they both maintained the theory of polygamy, that Milton's Trinitarian conception must be traced to Ochino. But, as it happens, we have conclusive evidence which shows that there is no significance in this matter. In the *Commonplace*

of our Faith." But to men like Servetus and Milton reason is the greatest object of faith; and they denied the Trinity because

Book (p. 114)—about which Wood seems to have known nothing—there is an entry from Sir Walter Raleigh, belonging to the period before 1644, which shows that Milton was in favor of polygamy at this comparatively early date. And the following entry, undoubtedly made after that from Raleigh, is from Thuanus. This is a note from the historian to the effect that Sebastian Castellio had translated Ochino's book on polygamy. But beyond this Milton of course knew nothing about Ochino's views on marriage, at that time, although he himself already believed in polygamy. Wood's conclusion that Milton shows the influence of Ochino in his views concerning the marital relationship is certainly unfounded.

Now, as to the *Dialogi* themselves, and Milton's relation to them: we must remember that Ochino's treatment is a dialogue between persons of different views, and that we cannot tell what the belief of the author actually is. One of the speakers is orthodox and goes under the author's own name—Ochino thought he could shield his own heterodoxy in this way. The title of the dialogue in which we are interested is this: "Concerning the Holy Trinity: it is shown in the same that there exist three Divine Persons: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, differing in themselves, but consubstantial and alike eternal." (Benrath, London, 1876, p. 288). Now this, of course, is the perfectly orthodox point of view and that which the speaker called "Ochino" represents. If this were indeed proved, as the title asserts, the churches of Switzerland could not have objected to the dialogue, nor could Milton have derived heresy from it. But Ochino, it was charged, allowed his opponent "Spiritus" (the Spirit of Doubt) to argue better for the heretics than he did for the orthodox. The proposition contained in the title is that which "Ochino," though somewhat weakly, defends throughout the work. So, if we are going to find anything from which Milton might have drawn his ideas, we must find it in the words of "Spiritus."

Let us then examine those words in one or two passages at least. Christ is, says Spiritus, "God's Spirit generated by God, who by his voice called the world into being; then by assuming the form of man, he exercised His works as the Logos of God." (Wood, p. 68). But this is by no means Milton's conception of the problem. Christ, before the incarnation, was not the Spirit, but the Word, the Logos, the Wisdom of God, as Milton clearly says: and after the incarnation was not the Logos, nor did he exercise his works as the *Logos*, but as a *man*. This is fundamental. Wood says: "Milton's own words indicate his belief that Christ was of the same essence as the Father." (p. 64). But this is precisely the thing that the seventy-two pages of Chapter V. in *The Christian Doctrine* are written to deny. Milton goes deeply into the metaphysics of theology on this subject. I will quote just two passages to illustrate. "Now it is evident that those who have not the same will cannot have the same essence. It appears, however, from many passages, that the Father and the Son have not . . . the same . . . will." (*P. W.*, IV. 100). "The Word therefore is not of the same essence with God." (*Ib.*, 109). Further, Spiritus says: "He [Christ] was im-

of its evident irrationality; Servetus exclaims hotly in the *De Erroribus*:

Reperies quod trinitas non est intelligibilis sine tribus phantasmatibus, quia necesse est intelligentem phantasmata speculari 3 de anima. Immo quaternitatem intellectu colis, licet verbo neges. Nam quatuor habes simulachra, & quartum est circa essentiam phantasma, quia necesse intelligendo essentiam phantasmata speculari. . . . Et nunc etiam, si advertias, cognoscere potes, que tua trinitas nihil aliud est nisi quidam in imaginativa specierum motus qui dementatum te tenet.

Si dicas, omnes una voce clamant, quod sufficit credere, licet res non sit intelligibilis. . . . Quid est id quod a te intellectum credis? an forte ipsam cerebri confusionem pro sufficienti fidei objecto reputas? . . . Sed de tribus rebus unam naturam constituentibus, nec de prope, nec de longe unquam habuisti sensationem: nec aliquos gradus ad alios comparare potes, cum nec duae, nec tres, nec plures res, in unam naturam concurrentes reperiantur, & per consequens non reperiuntur fundamentum sensu perceptum, unde talem noticiam intellectus syllogizando concludat.¹¹³

Similarly Milton:

Reason itself, however, protests strongly against the doctrine in question [the Trinity]; for how can reason establish (as it must in the present case) a position contrary to reason? Undoubtedly the product of reason [the Bible, the product of God's reason], must be something consistent with reason [which exists in the mind of man], not a notion as absurd as it is removed from all human comprehension. Hence we conclude that this opinion is agreeable neither to Scripture nor reason.¹¹⁴

It is evident, of course, that Servetus and Milton sought some explanation of the Trinity comprehensible to human reason;

measurable, just as the other two persons." (Wood, 72). But Milton says: "Christ, although exalted to a state of highest glory, exists nevertheless in one definite place, and has not, as some contend, the attribute of ubiquity." (*P. W.*, IV. 308).

On the basis of what Wood has given us, it would be easy to cite a dozen such discrepancies. And if the passages which Wood quotes are so divergent from Milton's beliefs, the rest of Ochino is probably even more so. Furthermore, Wood does not seem to have clearly understood the terms which he was discussing; for example, instead of *hypostasis* he says *hypothesis*, which, theologically, is meaningless. And he also makes the ludicrous blunder of confusing the philosopher Socrates with Socrates Scholasticus. Milton's ideas concerning the Trinity cannot be traced to Ochino.

¹¹³ *De Error.*, 33 b, 34 a. ¹¹⁴ *P. W.*, IV. 95.

the merit of supra-rational faith was utterly inconceivable to them.

Before going further it would perhaps be well to set forth what Servetus' conception of the Trinity was. As the basis of it, we have a monistic pantheism, a single unified substance in the entire universe which is God himself. In this substance or essence there are not various existences, but three aspects of existence, three manifestations of the same reality. God the Father is the material of the cosmos, and also will or destiny—the fundamental (perhaps Servetus means the psychical and physical) law which governs all spirit, matter, and motion—all relations between cause and effect; God the Word is the energetic force in the universe, the power of action, creation, effectual strength—it is God exhibited as power or might; God the Spirit is nothing definite; he is illumination, vitality, irradiance. These three aspects of godhead are found in the cosmos as a whole (where they constitute the Trinity or God) and in every portion of the cosmos—in every rock, stream, tree, animal, man, and angel. In all living things, from the lowliest herb to man, we have substance, energy, and animation. Without these nothing can exist, at least it cannot exhibit the mysterious life-giving principle. Just as my body, my strength, and my warmth or animation are all myself—and none of these more so than any other—just so are the Father, the Word, and the Spirit all the same thing; they are but differing aspects of God in the universe.

At the beginning we have this Trinity, which now, however—in Gospel times—has undergone a change. God the Father is the same as always, but the Word now exists as Son, by whom the Father performs his necessary labors; and the Holy or the general Spirit of God no longer remains alone: there is also in existence a special spirit, which we call the Holy Ghost, whose business it is to illuminate the hearts of believers, and who has no existence apart from them. This conception is definite, rational, and comprehensible; the mind can apprehend it clearly. Although Servetus never gives a complete exposition of his theory in a single passage, we may gather it from various portions of the *De Erroribus* and organize the fragments into unity and coherence.

The Trinity of aspect, mode, disposition, or manifestation (the original Trinity) is fully explained in Servetus' book:

Quia tres sunt admirandae Dei dispositiones, in quarum qualibet divinitas relucet: ex quo sanissime trinitatem intelligere posses; nam Pater est tota substantia et unus Deus. . . . Et tres sunt, non aliqua rerum in Deo distinctione, sed per Dei *διανοίας* variis Deitatis formis; nam eadem Divinitas, quae est in Patre, communicatur filio J. Christo et spiritui nostro . . . ; et hoc est, quod distinctae personae dicuntur, i.e., multiformes deitatis aspectus, diversae facies et species.¹¹⁵

We are to bear in mind, further, that God and his manifestations are identical: God is wholly Word and also wholly Spirit, just as Word is also Spirit and Spirit Word. We can no more separate these than we can the voice from the speaker or the light from the luminary.

Praeterea, sicut Deus est totus logos, ita est totus spiritus, & sicut cogitando loquitur, ita loquendo spirat, . . . & propterea dicitur verbo eius & spiritu eius omnia esse facta . . . proprium enim spiritus Dei est vivificare et roborare: & sicut nulla res sine Verbo eius fit, ita nulla est res, nec lapis nec herba, quae sine spiritu dei virtutem aliquam habeat.¹¹⁶

Speaking accurately, there are really only two dispositions in God—Word (which alone is visible) and Spirit: God ought not,

¹¹⁵ *De Error.*, 29 a, b. Cf. also 37 a, b; 65a, and 85 b. We have here enunciated' in the clearest terms a, *modal* Trinity. Of course, a Trinity of mode was not the invention of Servetus; the ancient Sabellians, Photinians, etc., were all modalists, and it was probably, as Harnack says, out of their heresies, although they were more or less rational, that the Creed of Nicæa was drawn. The Sabellians, etc., were attempting to justify the belief in Christ's full divinity, which was certainly not accepted during the first century, A. D.; but they never thought of such a Trinity as that conceived by Servetus. Their thinking was crude, naïve, and was suppressed and superseded by that of Athanasius. They never conceived of more than a single existence, or even form of existence at one time. They thought that the Father had existed from the beginning or from eternity, in a more or less anthropomorphic state; that he came to earth, and, for thirty-three years, continued to exist as the Son, the Father being then no more; and, after the resurrection, both Father and Son having ceased to exist, the Deity is now Holy Spirit alone. It is easy to see that Servetus' thought has nothing in common with this ancient, simple, and naïve ratiocination. Cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, London, 1897, III. 1-113. Servetus himself, however, felt, that because he said that God had gone over into humanity in Jesus, he might be accused of Patripassianism; but he found it very easy to refute any such imputation, which he did at length. Cf. *De Erroribus*, 76 a, b; 77 a.

perhaps specifically, be called a manifestation of himself:

Et sciendum, quod licet communiter tres concedantur hypostases, tamen proprius loquendo, dico, quod in Deo erant duae dispositiones, scilicet oraculum & spiritus, & in solo oraculo erat visibilis hypostasis.¹¹⁷

The relation of the Word to God is explained in many passages: he is called God speaking, the twin-picture of God, the means by which God communicates and reveals himself in sense. He is called the oracle, the voice, the word, the speech of God. God, who is in himself utterly inconceivable and incomprehensible, makes himself known through the Word and the Spirit. This and more is made clear in the various passages relating to the problem; notice the following:

When John says, "In the beginning was the Word," we are to understand the prefiguration of Christ in Deity: invisible in himself, God the Father is visible in the Son.¹¹⁸

In principio erat Verbum, id est, eloquium seu vox Dei, quia in principio dixit Deus. . . . Nam λόγος, non philosophicam rem, sed oraculum, vocem, sermonem, eloquium Dei sonat. . . . Verbum ergo in Deo proferente, est ipsemet Deus loquens.¹¹⁹

The Word was nothing distinct from the Father:

Et Deus erat ille sermo. Praevidit Joannes istos philosophos qui ita arguunt, Verbum illud erat apud Deum, ergo erat res aliqua distincta, ad quorum tollendam calumniam, adiecit statim, & Deus erat illud Verbum, hoc est, ut inquit Ireneus, ipsemet pater loquens dicitur esse logos.¹²⁰

The Word was the prefiguration of the future man, the means by which God revealed himself in sense:

Pro quo dico et ad hoc tendit praedicatio Joannis, Verbum jam ab initio ad illud erat prolatum, praeparatum et destinatum, ut caro fieret; et jam in illo erat apud Deum futuri hominis repraesentatio et effigies.¹²¹

Joan. 1. Verbum erat apud Deum. πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Quasi dicat, in

¹¹⁸ *Ib.*, 67 a.

¹¹⁷ *Ib.*, 109 b.

¹¹⁸ Willis, 405-6. From the *Restitutio Christianismi*.

¹¹⁹ *De Error.*, 47 b; 48b.

¹²⁰ *Ib.*, 50 b.

¹²¹ *Ib.*, 87 a.

conspectu, in facie Dei, & Verbum fuisse patris *ἐκὸν* ibi significatur, quod nihil aliud erat nisi hominis effigies.¹²²

All knowledge of God must be derived from the Word or from Christ; he is, as it were, the twin-picture of God, and is like the face of the Sun seated in the midst of immeasurability and unapproachable light:

Nec dicitur ad sensum eorum imago patris, sed effigies Dei, character Dei invisibilis quasi dicat, in homine visibili esse *ἐκὸν* invisibilis Dei quae omnia tendunt ad Magistri dictorum interpretationem, qui vidit me, vidit patrem: & si me novissetis, novissetis & patrem.¹²³ Cognitionem, quam de Deo per Christum acquirimus (si capacitatem tuam solido rationis indicio examinaveris) facile agnoscas. Est enim Deus de se incomprehensibilis, nec imaginari, nec intelligi, nec excogitari potest, nisi vultum aliquem in eo consyderes, & hoc ipsum est Christi effigies & Verbi persona.¹²⁴ Et Verbi consyderatione seclusa, Deus est penitus invisibilis & inimaginabilis.¹²⁵

Ex his nota, quod improprie dicitur Christus imago Dei, immo plus est quam imago, nam imago est, quando duae res sunt simili modo figuratae & qualibet dicitur imago alterius . . . & oraculum illud non potuit proprie dici imago patris, sed plus quam imago, erat enim ipsamet facies Dei & ipsemet Deus erat effigies seu forma quaedam: ipsum met esse Dei continens.¹²⁶

Dicitur ergo Christus, aspectus, facies, effigies, signum, character, sigillum, insignis nota, insculptura quaedam hypostaseos, id est, existentiae Dei, quia in eo solo subsistit Deus, nec est Deus per aliquem apparuit eius oraculum, Jesu Christi persona, id ipsum erat Deus, id alium cognoscibilis Et sicut in medio immensitatis & inaccessae lucis apparet solaris vultus, ita in medio altitudinum & profunditatum Dei apparuit eius oraculum, Jesu Christi persona, id ipsum erat Deus, id ipsum nunc est visio Dei, iste est nobis propositus pro signo, nec est in aliquo alio salus, nec aliqua alia Dei visio, nec aliquid aliud vidit Joannes, dum dixit *ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν*. Haec est altitudo & profunditas cognitionis Christi, haec est illa Dei virtus, dispositio & *ἡ*conomia, quae omnia in mundo operabatur, sicut & Joannes dixit Omnia per ipsum fuerunt.¹²⁷

The Holy or general Spirit is the breath of God experienced or felt in the winds, the torrents, the lightning, etc.; it is given to man when the breath of life is conferred upon him. Sometimes it is an emotion, sometimes animation, sometimes an

¹²² *Ib.*, 88 b.

¹²³ *Ib.*, 107 a.

¹²⁴ *Ib.*, 103 a.

¹²⁵ *Ib.*, 106 a.

¹²⁶ *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁷ *Ib.*, 107 a, b.

impulse, sometimes the light or knowledge by which the prophets were inspired. The Holy Spirit is a very indefinite thing, neither seen nor heard, but only felt:

Et sicut eo ipso quod dixerit res adest, ita eo ipso quod virtute spiritus iusserit, res stat perfecta, proprium enim spiritus Dei est vivificare et roborare: & sic ut nulla res sine Verbo eius fit, ita nulla est res, nec lapis nec herba, quae sine spiritu dei Virtutem aliquam habeat.¹²⁸

Nam per Spiritum sanctum nunc ipsum Deum, nunc angelum, nunc spiritum hominis, instinctum quendam, seu divinum mentis flatum, mentis impetum, sive halitum intelligit, licet aliquando differentia notetur inter flatum & spiritum. Et aliqui per Spiritum sanctum nihil aliud intelligi volunt, quam rectum hominis intellectum & rationem. Et apud Hebraeos לָלוּ nihil aliud nisi spiraculum seu flatum significat, quod indifferenter ventos & spiritus dicitur, & apud Graecos πνεῦμα pro quocunque spiritu & mentis impetu capitur.¹²⁹

Frequensque est in scripturis mentio de existentia Dei patris & filii, . . . at de Spiritu sancto non fit mentio, nisi ubi est sermo de agendo, quasi per quandam accidentalem praedicationem, quod est notatu dignum, quasi Spiritus sanctus non rem aliquam separatam, sed Dei agitationem, energiam quandam seu inspirationem virtutis Dei designet.¹³⁰

Item, quod spiritus sanctus non fit res distincta, ex eo probatus, quia dicitur spiritus Christi, & spiritus filii.¹³¹

In the following we have a complete and connected exposition concerning the Spirit, in which Servetus carefully differentiates between the general and special spirit, the Holy Spirit and the Holy Ghost:

Similiter discrimen est inter Spiritum sanctum & spiritum Dei, quia sanctus dicitur, dum ad sanctificandum spiritum nostrum mittitur, ut infra dicam. Sed spiritus Dei dicitur, dum mittitur in omnem terram.¹³² Haec de spiritu Dei, ad spiritum sanctum sunt praeludia, nam sanctitatis ratio quae actioni spiritus Dei additur, nihil philosophicum importat, agit enim spiritus Dei interius & exterius, sanctificatur vero quod interius est. Unde notemus differentiam inter flatum & spiritum, nam flatus dicitur dum ab extra venit, dum vero intus agens, spiritum hominis illustrat & sanctificat; sanctus dicitur spiritus, non enim dicimur accipere flatum, sed adveniente flatu spiritum accipimus.¹³³

¹²⁸ *Ib.*, 67 a.

¹²⁹ *Ib.*, 22 b, 23 a.

¹³⁰ *Ib.*, 29 a.

¹³¹ *Ib.*, 31 b—32 a.

¹³² *Ib.*, 62 a.

¹³³ *Ib.*, 61 a.

De Spiritu sancto iam dixi, Deum dare nobis Spiritum suum, eo solo, quia dat flatum vitae. . . . Non enim ex nobis, neque ex nostra natura vita est, sed secundum gratiam Dei datur, & ex flatu Dei in materiam luteam efficitur homo in animam viventem, Gene. i. Philosophi tamen sic credunt Deum elementis & stellis virtutem suam commisisse, quasi ipse se expoliauerit, credunt nos ab ipso vento respirando conservari, quasi a naturali proprietate, non consyderata gratia Dei, quod est ingratissimum mendacium, immo dicendum est, in illa quae aspiratur & respiratur materia esse Deitatis energiam & vivificantem spiritum, nam ipse spiritu suo nobis halitum vitae sustinet, dans flatum populo qui est super terram, & spiritum calcantibus eam, ipse movet coelos solus, educit ventos de thesauris suis, ligat aquam in nubibus coeli, dat pluuiam in tempore suo, ipse solus faciens omnia haec faciens semper mirabilia solus.

Rudi Minerva, ut ad Spiritum Sanctum perveniamus, a spiritu Dei incipimus, hanc enim deitatis energiam non agnoscentes philosophi intelligere non valuerunt, quorsum spiritus venti, appellari posset spiritus Dei, Gene. i. Nec curant ipsi, si deus de thesauris suis illum ad nos mittat, & per eum influat. Sciant ergo deinceps, quod intra ipsam venti substantiam est ipsemet Deus agens, ecce in ore tuo, in spiritu tuo intra & extra est ipse Deus ita praesens, sicut si manu tangeres illum, Acta. xvii. Agitatione spiritus eius aguntur virtutes coelorum. Res mortua est orbicularis materia, nisi a spiritu Dei agitetur.¹²⁴

Nunc scio quod amplissimus Dei spiritus replet orbem terrarum, continet omnia, & in singulis operatur virtutes.¹²⁵

Speaking specifically of the Holy Ghost, Servetus explains:

Ex his patet, non esse rem separatam, sed omnis sanctitas spiritus ad hominem refertur, et nuncio excepto, qui descendens dicitur spiritus sanctus, dico, quod nihil aliud extra hominem dicitur spiritus sanctus.— In ipso enim actu dationis dicitur spiritus sanctus; nec dicitur esse, antequam detur.¹²⁶

Dic igitur, quod spiritus sanctus est divina in hominis spiritu agitatio. . . . Christo credentes, sanctificat Deus: ideo dicitur, spiritus in homine sanctus, & ex fide Christi.¹²⁷

Our chief remaining problem consists in a careful analysis of passages in *Paradise Lost* and the *Christian Doctrine* to discover their teaching concerning the Trinity.

¹²⁴ *Ib.*, 60 a—b.

¹²⁵ *Ib.*, 60 b—61 a.

¹²⁶ *Ib.*, 66 a.

¹²⁷ *Ib.*, 110 a—b.

The latter of these, as we have said, is a carefully guarded treatise on theology; that which Milton there attacks is the orthodox, post-gospel conception of the Trinity, and has little in common with Servetus' imaginative interpretation of the opening verses of the mystical fourth gospel. The orthodox creed made no distinction between the pre- and post-gospel Trinity. It was not necessary for Milton to discuss the modal Trinity in his Treatise: he did not there put forth any great constructive ideas concerning it, but, like the Socinians and all rationalists, contented himself with *suppression*. Concerning the Son, to the establishment of whose inferiority in relation to the Father, Milton devotes a considerable portion of the *De Doctrina*, he says:

Since, therefore, the Son derives his essence from the Father,¹³⁸ he is posterior to the Father not merely in rank . . . but also in essence.¹³⁹ And concerning the Holy Ghost:

He is a minister of God, and therefore a creature . . . created or produced . . . later than the Son, and far inferior to him.¹⁴⁰

There is in this neither an equality nor a Trinity; but it contains nothing contradictory to the teaching of Servetus if we bear in mind the fact that Milton is here speaking of the postgospel Trinity. Jesus is a man, although he may be called the Son of God, and God.¹⁴¹

It is in *Paradise Lost* that we find Milton freed from the guarded expression of the suspected and therefore careful theologian; where, furthermore, he was dealing, not with the post-gospel, but with the original Trinity. Do we here find inferiority attributed to the Holy Spirit and, especially, to the Son or the Word? Do we find any personal differentiation among the members of the Trinity? What is the being of God, Word, and Spirit? If we find that Servetus' unique exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity is here not only reflected, but strongly expressed, we are face to face with the conclusion that Milton had read Servetus and drawn vital inspiration from him.

¹³⁸ Milton here, of course, refers to the Son, the *man* Jesus.

¹³⁹ *P. W.*, IV. 133.

¹⁴⁰ *Ib.*, 169.

¹⁴¹ "Primo hic [Christ] est Jesus Christus [who is to be regarded as a man in the N. T.]; Secundo, hic est filius Dei; Tertio, hic est Deus." (*De Error.* 2 a).

The relationship existing among the members of the Trinity is made clear in a number of passages, of which the following are important:

Meanwhile the Son
On his great expedition now appeared.¹⁴²

And thou, my Word, begotten Son, by thee
This I perform, speak thou, and be it don.¹⁴³

Father Eternal, thine is to decree
Mine both in heav'n and earth to do thy will.¹⁴⁴

It is evident that God creates the world, even though, specifically, the *Word* performs the act. The two are as inseparable as the convex and the concave of a curve. But still more important are the following lines, in which the "King of Glorie" (God the Father) is identified with the Word and Spirit—his manifestations:

The King of Glorie in his powerful Word¹⁴⁵
And Spirit coming to create new Worlds.¹⁴⁶

It is God, then, who is coming, but in the *form* of Word and Spirit. It is obvious that the three must be various aspects of the same thing. The Word and Spirit are modes by which the Willing Power reveals itself. Again:

The creator from his work
Desisting, though unwearied, up return'd
Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode
Thence to behold this new created World
Th' addition of his Empire, how it shew'd
In prospect from his Throne, how good, how faire,
Answering his great Idea.¹⁴⁷

Analysis of this passage will reveal the fact that no differentiation is here made between God the Father and God the Word. The latter is called the Creator; not merely him *by whom* the things were made; the Empire is called his, as well as the Throne,

¹⁴² *P. L.*, VII, 192. Notice the Platonic significance of the first line.

¹⁴³ *Ib.*, 163.

¹⁴⁴ *Ib.*, X, 68.

¹⁴⁵ *Powerful* here means "might-possessing."

¹⁴⁶ *Ib.*, VII, 208. Cf. also *P. W.*, IV, 170-1.

¹⁴⁷ *Ib.*, 551.

and the archetypal Idea. It must be evident that whatever it was that went into the Deep, it was not a being separate from the Father, nor yet the Father himself in his original capacity, but a manifestation of him. The Word is simply God communicating himself in sense. In Heaven the Word and the Father are represented as speaking to one another, but God is always invisible and inaudible. This speaking is the adaptation of God to human comprehension, which Milton must concede to our human weakness and his own. We find here expressed the conception of a *modal* Trinity.

We find, in the next place, that Milton's expressions concerning the relationship existing between the Father and the Word are peculiarly similar to those of Servetus. Throughout *Paradise Lost* we necessarily notice that God *does* nothing. He "utters [metaphorically] his voice" from the midst of a golden cloud; he is surrounded and hidden by divine effulgence; the archangels are his eyes.¹⁴⁸ When Satan and his followers rebel, Michael, with his warriors, is first sent against them; next the Word, Platonically called Messiah or the Son, goes forth to battle. The Word, too, created the heavens and the earth and all creatures in them; it was he who, assuming the humanized form, became Jesus, the man, who thus performed the will of God; and, lastly, it is he who is now the mediator between God and men. The Father remains always inscrutable and unknowable. He is

Omnipotent,
Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King; thee, Author of all Being,
Fountain of light, thyself invisible
Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitt'st
Throned inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine
Dark with excessive light thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle heaven, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.¹⁴⁹

It is otherwise with the Word; it is he who reveals the Father. He is acting, visible, audible; he is God's "Wisdom and effectual might." In him is all the Father, "substantially expressed."

¹⁴⁸ P. L., III. 650.

¹⁴⁹ *Ib.*, 372 ff.

He is the "divine similitude," "the effulgence of God's glory," etc.

The Word was audible. But God, as he cannot be seen, so neither can he be heard.¹⁵⁰

God says:

My Word, my Wisdom, and effectual might.¹⁵¹

Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
In full resplendence, Heir of all my might.¹⁵²

Effulgence of my Glorie, Son belov'd,
Son in whose face invisible, is beheld,
Visibly, what by Deity I am.¹⁵³

Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
In whose conspicuous count'nance without cloud,
Made visible, the Almighty Father shines.¹⁵⁴

Other passages treating the same subject express the same idea:

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious, in him all his Father shon
Substantially expressed.¹⁵⁵

Thus saying, from his radiant seat he rose
Of high collateral glory.¹⁵⁶

On his right
The radiant image of his Glory sat
His onely Son.¹⁵⁷

All his Father in him shon.¹⁵⁸

The fact that the Word is nothing but the visible, audible, and effectual expression of God must be clear. We are further convinced of the identity of the Father and the Word by the following passage, spoken by the Creator to Adam:

What thinkst thou then of mee, and this my State?
..... who am alone

¹⁵⁰ *P. W.*, IV. 109.

¹⁵¹ *P. L.*, III. 170

¹⁵² *Ib.*, V. 719.

¹⁵³ *Ib.*, VI, 680.

¹⁵⁴ *Ib.*, III. 383.

¹⁵⁵ *Ib.*, III. 138.

¹⁵⁶ *Ib.*, X. 85.

¹⁵⁷ *Ib.*, III. 62.

¹⁵⁸ *Ib.*, VII. 196.

From all eternitee, for none I know
 Second to me or like, equal much less;
 How have I then with whom to hold converse
 Save with the creatures which I made, and those
 To me inferior, infinite descents
 Beneath what other creatures are to thee?¹⁵⁹

Who is it that speaks this? It cannot be God the Father, because he has never been seen or heard, as Milton asserts. Yet the being is called "the Almighty." Adam also calls this divine presence his "Maker," etc. The speaker must be the Word, the Son, he who brought the world into existence; and he is identified with the Father. We read that God knows no other who is not infinite descents beneath himself. But surely one would not say that he who "substantially expressed" the Father, that he who is the heir of all his might, who is his radiant image, is infinite flights below him, or that he who, being the divine similitude, makes visible what by deity God invisibly is, and he in whom all the Father shines, is such. And we find throughout that Milton speaks in this way concerning the Word, and, to a lesser extent, of the Spirit. The Word and Spirit are simply God apparent.

Milton's conception of the Holy Spirit is peculiarly similar to that of Servetus:

Nor has the word *spirit* any other meaning in the sacred writings, but that breath of life which we inspire, or the vital, or sensitive, or rational faculty, or some action or affection belonging to those faculties.¹⁶⁰

* The name *spirit* is also frequently applied to God and angels, and to the human mind. When the phrase, the Spirit of God, or the Holy Spirit, occurs in the Old Testament, it is to be variously interpreted; sometimes it signifies God the Father himself . . . sometimes the power and virtue of the Father, and particularly that divine breath or influence by which every thing is created and nourished.¹⁶¹ . . . Sometimes it means an angel. . . . Sometimes it means Christ. . . . Sometimes it means that impulse or voice of God by which the prophets were inspired. . . . Undoubtedly neither David nor any other Hebrew, under the Old Covenant, believed in the personality of that good and Holy Spirit, unless perhaps as an angel.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ *Ib.*, VIII. 403 ff.

¹⁶⁰ *P. W.*, IV. 188.

¹⁶¹ This is the vitalizing aspect of God.

¹⁶² *Ib.*, 151.

Nothing can be more certain than that all these passages [quoted by Milton from the Scripture], and many others of a similar kind in the Old Testament were understood of the virtue and power of the Father. . . .

So likewise under the Gospel, what is called the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God, sometimes means the Father himself . . . sometimes . . . the virtue and power of the Father.¹⁶³

The Spirit signifies a divine impulse, or light or voice, or word, transmitted from above either through Christ, who is the Word of God, or by some other channel.¹⁶⁴

It appears to me, that these and similar passages cannot be considered as referring to the express person of the Spirit, both because the Spirit was not yet given, and because Christ alone, as has been said above, is, properly speaking, and, in the primary sense, the Word of God.¹⁶⁵

The Spirit signifies the person itself of the Holy Spirit, or its symbol. . . . Lastly it signifies the donation of the spirit itself, and of its attendant gifts.¹⁶⁶

It is evident in the last two quotations that Milton has there in mind a being different from that of the preceding passages, where the Spirit is the virtue and the power of the Father, a breath, an impulse, or the influence by which everything is created and nourished. The former is the general spirit of God, the latter the special or the Holy Ghost, "promised alike and given, to all believers."¹⁶⁷ One is the pre-Gospel, the other the Gospel Spirit, the latter of which has personality. The former is a member of the modal Trinity. The general spirit of God and the Word were in existence from the beginning.¹⁶⁸ But the Holy Ghost and the Son—the man Jesus—became manifest only in the time of the Gospel. The Spirit, we see, was nothing in itself previous to that time—it was merely the virtue and power of God, his vitalizing force or mode of revelation. When Milton says that God sent his Word and Spirit to create new worlds, he merely tells us that God himself went into the Deep in the modes of energizing and vitalizing power.

There can be no doubt—from the following as well as from many other passages in Milton—that he conceived of the general spirit of God as being God himself, a mode in which the Deity made and makes itself manifest:

¹⁶³ *Ib.*, 153–4.

¹⁶⁴ *Ib.*, 155.

¹⁶⁵ *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ib.*, 156.

With regard to the annunciation made to Joseph and Mary, the Holy Spirit . . . is not to be understood with reference to his own person alone. . . . For it is certain that, in the Old Testament, under the name of the Spirit of God, or of the Holy Spirit, either God the Father himself, or his divine power was signified.¹⁶⁹ . . . "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters"; that is, his divine power, rather than any person.¹⁷⁰ I am inclined to believe . . . that it is the Father himself who is here (Matt. xii, 31, 32) called the Holy Spirit.¹⁷¹

And in *Paradise Lost* we read:

But on the watrie calme
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspred,
And vital vertue infus'd, and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid Mass, but downward purged
The black tartareous, cold, infernal dregs
Adverse to life.¹⁷²

That the Miltonic and Servetian doctrines in regard to the Holy Spirit and the Holy Ghost are remarkably similar must be evident.

Should we be hypercritical, it might occur to us that when Milton calls the Son or Spirit *God*, he is merely applying to them an idea elaborated in the *Christian Doctrine*, and already referred to above:

Those who maintain the Father and the Son to be one in essence . . . say that the Son is not only called God, but also Jehovah, as appears from a comparison of several passages in both Testaments. Now Jehovah is the supreme God; therefore the Son and Father are one in essence. It will be easy, however, to expose the weakness of an argument derived from the ascription of the name of Jehovah to the Son. For the name of Jehovah is conceded even to the angels in the same sense as it has been already shewn that the name of God is applied to them, namely, when they represent the divine presence and person and utter the very words of Jehovah.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ *P. L.*, XII. 519, 20.

¹⁶⁸ Both Servetus and Milton similarly define *eternity* and *from the beginning* to mean "a very long time" or "from the foundation of the visible universe." Cf. *De Error.*, 80 b, 81 a; *P. W.*, IV. 23; 131.

¹⁶⁹ *P. W.*, IV. 163.

¹⁷⁰ *Ib.*, 175.

¹⁷¹ *Ib.*, 166.

¹⁷² *P. L.*, VII. 234.

¹⁷³ *P. W.*, IV. 119-20.

Now if Milton called the Word or the Son *God*, in *Paradise Lost*, merely because he represented the divine presence, the theory of a modal Trinity was not at the basis of Milton's conception of Deity—nor, indeed, any kind of Trinity. But there are reasons for considering such an objection without foundation. The being who pronounces doom upon Adam and Eve in *Genesis* is called God (3:16–21), and so we might suppose that Milton, too, would be compelled to assign him that name on scriptural authority. But upon the same authority, Milton should have made the same being who pronounced the curse upon Adam and Eve drive them out of the Garden. (Gen. 3:23, 24). But he does not do so—it is Michael who performs the latter task. Milton has many angels in *Paradise Lost*, and they are often representatives of God, yet they are all distinct individualities. Raphael, especially, holds a discourse through several books, in which he speaks the words commanded him by God. But Raphael, Michael, Abdiel, etc., are never in any way identified or confused with the Deity; it must be evident that they sustain a relationship to Jehovah so different from that of the Word and Spirit as to be in no essential way comparable to it. It was under pressure of argument, and to prove that Jesus was not equal to the Father, that Milton said in *The Christian Doctrine* that angels are called Jehovah. In *Paradise Lost*, where he could give rein to his imagination, where he could speak without obstruction, and where he was treating the pre-Gospel Trinity, we can believe that he expressed the basic and imaginative conceptions of his theology, without being hampered by opposition. When he called the Word or Spirit "God," "the Almighty," "the Maker," "the Creator," etc., we may conclude that he meant them to be what he calls them, not mere representatives.

To sum up, then, we have found that Milton conceives of a pre-Gospel Trinity exactly like Servetus'; that God the Father is the same with both—the universe; that both believe the Word to hold the same strikingly unique relation to the Father; that both differentiate similarly between the general and special spirit of God; that the former is the vivifying force in the cosmos; and that Jesus Christ, the humanized Word, is a *man*.

The rationalism of these doctrines is apparent. Servetus proclaimed the efficacy and validity of man's reason. While

retaining his absolute faith in the divine authorship and authority of the Scriptures, he shaped the teachings of the church, even while retaining most of their essential features, into something which the mind can lay hold of, conceive, understand. Milton, likewise a tremendous rationalist, eagerly laid hold on a doctrine which satisfied the craving of his intellect without wholly invalidating the redemptive purposes of Christianity.

E. Milton's Muse

Until a comparatively short time ago, I never had any accurate conception of what it was that Milton had in mind when he addressed his Muse, his Urania, "the meaning, not the name." I have come to believe that the conception of a modal Godhead is the explanation of this Muse, for

Heavenlie borne
Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountaine flow'd,
Thou with Eternal Wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom thy Sister.¹⁷⁴

Servetus said:

Before creation was, God was; but neither was he Light, nor Word, nor Spirit, but some ineffable thing else—these, Light, Word, Spirit, being mere dispensations, modes, or expressions of pre-existing Deity.¹⁷⁵

Is not Urania the Holy Spirit, who, before the creation of the material universe, conversed with the Word, that is, dwelt with her? In the first book, there can be no doubt as to what Milton means; he is here addressing the vitalizing spirit of God, which is God himself:

Sing, Heavenly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed,
In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
Rose out of Chaos.¹⁷⁶

Many passages in *Paradise Lost* become greatly clarified when we know the theological and philosophical conceptions that lie behind them. In the passage just cited Milton is addressing the

¹⁷⁴ *P. L.*, VII. 7.

¹⁷⁵ Willis, 56.

¹⁷⁶ *P. L.*, I. 6.

general spirit of God; now his address turns to the Holy Ghost, who was manifested only in the Gospel times, although created before:¹⁷⁷

But chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples, th' upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for Thou know'st.¹⁷⁸

In his last book, Servetus has much to say of the increated light and its energizing power, which is an expression of God. In the *De Erroribus* also we find that "Christ is like the face of the sun in the midst of immensity and inaccessible light."¹⁷⁹ The Word seems to be considered the divine light brought forth to bring life out of the Deep, out of the darkness waste and wild. We saw before that Servetus' conception of God before any creation took place was that he was neither "Light, Word, nor Spirit, but some ineffable thing else," etc. The fact probably is that Milton, by God, Light, Spirit, and Word, means the same thing—they are only different aspects of Deity. When we have come to understand this the magnificent passage at the beginning of Book III. of *Paradise Lost* no longer remains in the region of the mystic:

Hail, holy light, offspring of Heav'n first-born
Or of the Eternal, Coeternal beam
May I express thee unblamed? since God is light,
And never but in unapproach'd light
Dwelt from Eternitie, dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright essence increate.
Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream
Whose fountain who shall tell? before the Sun,
Before the Heav'ns thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle didst invest
The rising world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite.¹⁸⁰

Milton again and again calls the Word, or Christ, the first-born:¹⁸¹ now he calls light first-born: it must be that Christ is identified with light. He starts his invocation to that manifestation of God which is the

Bright effluence of bright essence increate,

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *P. W.*, IV, 169.

¹⁸⁰ *P. L.*, III. 1.

¹⁷⁸ *P. L.*, I. 17.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *ib.*, V. 830-42; *P. W.*, IV. 80-1.

¹⁷⁹ *De Error.*, 107 a.

or the Word. And in line 7, he turns his address from the energizing to the vitalizing power of God, the Spirit. Here it is quite clear to whom he refers. Finally, in the first book of *Paradise Regained*, the object of Milton's invocation is not less clear; and here it is direct:

Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite
 Into the desert
 inspire
 As thou art wont, my prompted song.

Thus we find that Milton's Muse is nothing less than God himself, a God that is a *modal* Trinity.

That there is some kind of relation between Milton and Servetus I am unable to doubt. That both are imbued with the great philosophy of the sixteenth century—pantheism—which sees in all living and moving things the spirit of God which is God himself, and in all forms of existence the very substance of God himself is a fact. That certain distinctive interpretations given to questions of Christian dogma by Servetus appear in Milton is also true. And we cannot doubt that Milton may well have known the *De Erroribus* at first hand and been influenced by it.

Whatever one's conclusion may be as to the direct influence of Servetus on Milton, the parallels which have been traced in the present paper are of value in enabling us to define more clearly Milton's theological conceptions and to relate them to the history of Christian dogma. They also illustrate the similarity of result produced when humanistic ethics, Renaissance philosophy, and scriptural Christianity unite in sincere, progressive, and profound minds.

MARTIN A. LARSON

XLVIII

VINCENT MINUTOLI'S *DEPECHEs DU PARNASSE*, OU LA GAZETTE DES SAVANTS

AMONG the early literary journals which appeared in Europe toward the end of the seventeenth century was Vincent Minutoli's *Dépêches du Parnasse, ou la Gazette des Savants*, the first number of which was published at Geneva on September 1, 1693. It was the plan of the editor to put out a number every fortnight, but plagiarism on the part of some editors of Lyons, who copied each gazette shortly after its appearance, caused him to abandon his plan after a few issues. Because of the part which it played in the famous Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns, and of the light which it casts on literary men and matters of its day, this short-lived periodical has an interest and an importance which have been quite overlooked.

Very little has been known about *Les Dépêches* because of their great rarity. Brief mention has been made of them in certain works of reference, of which the following are among the most important: *Table Générale des Matières contenues dans Le Journal des Savants*,¹ the 1759 edition of Moréri's *Dictionnaire*,² Senebier, *Histoire littéraire de Genève*,³ and Hatin, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la Presse en France*.⁴ In none of these works is any definite information given concerning the nature and content of this journal. In the *Table Générale*, etc. it is stated that as early as 1764 "le volume qui contient les cinq dépêches est recherché des curieux."⁵ Further evidence of the rarity of this publication is to be found in Hatin's article in which he states that the volume containing the *Dépêches* is "très recherché et très rare." Hatin failed apparently in his search for a complete file of the work, the only copies which he found being "les quatres dernières dans un petit volume factice qui m'a été révélé (at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

¹ Paris, 1764, X, 664.

² Vol. VIII, p. 567.

³ Vol. II, p. 265.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 256.

⁵ *Table Générale*, loc. cit.

par M. Ed. Thierry."⁸ Recent investigations in prominent libraries of France have failed to bring other copies to light. Now, the volume to which Hatin refers does not contain the last four numbers of *Les Dépêches du Parnasse* for the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal has only the second, third, and fourth, dated respectively as follows: September 15, 1693, October 1, 1693, and June 5, 1694. The first and last numbers—in the event that a fifth was published as some writers have maintained—seem to have been lost, and, if they do still exist in some hidden library, they are exceedingly inaccessible. Happily there is in the Bibliothèque Nationale⁷ an apparently unpublished account which deals with the history of *Les Dépêches du Parnasse* and gives many excerpts from the first and second issues. This unsigned and uncompleted eighteenth century document is doubtless the work of some literary historian who meant to incorporate it into a treatise on the French press.

Vincent Minutoli, born about 1640, was of a well known Italian family which had established itself at Geneva.⁸ He is said to have been a Protestant preacher in Holland, and to have been obliged to leave that country because of a love affair.⁹ In 1676 he was appointed professor of history and belles lettres at Geneva "malgré la compagnie des pasteurs, et à condition qu'il n'exercerait les fonctions de son ministère."¹⁰ In 1679 he was again allowed to preach and in 1700 he was named librarian of the Academy of Geneva. He died in 1710. Among his influential friends was Bayle, whom he met in Holland, and with whom he maintained an active correspondence on literary matters. This relationship being known, there was much interest in Minutoli's venture, inasmuch as it was believed that Bayle would contribute to it. It appears that the *Dépêches* were very popular,¹¹ for the public found therein intelligent

⁸ No literary historian seems to have seen the five issues which are believed to have been published.

⁷ MS. Nouv. Acq. Fr. 22337, fol. 361 ff.

⁸ Cf. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, Amsterdam, 1734, IV, 121.

⁹ Cf. Senebier, *Hist. litt. de Genève*, 1785, II, 265.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Hatin says of the *Dépêches*, "elles eurent une assez grande vogue," (*Loc. cit.*) The manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale says (fol. 361): "l'empressement avec lequel le public recherchait le journal de M. Minutoli causa des contrefaçons." Senebier states, on the other hand: "Il entreprit en 1693 un journal sous le titre de *Dépêches du Parnasse*, mais il ne réussit pas." (*Op. cit.*, II, 265).

criticism, interesting anecdotes, and bits of prose and verse which were difficult to secure elsewhere. Unfortunately the piracy of the Lyons publishers and the unsettled conditions in France at this time discouraged Minutoli, who did not see fit to continue his widely read journal.

The first *Dépêche*, according to the manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, began with an article on the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns. Minutoli printed the well known *Parallèle de Corneille et de Racine* by Fontenelle,¹² following it by Boileau's *Ode sur la Prise de Namur*,¹³ including the preface and the stanza beginning "un torrent dans les prairies" which Boileau "n'avait osé faire imprimer, et qui ne courait qu'en manuscrit."¹⁴ Of the replies to Boileau's ode Minutoli did not print the famous lines by Fontenelle: "Quand Despréaux fut sifflé sur son ode,"¹⁵ but he did include the following epigrams "qui pour n'être pas de la même force n'en font pas moins partie de la vie de M. Despréaux."

I.

Oui, j'ai vu l'ode pindarique
De ce redoutable critique,
Qui sur le mont sacré prétend donner la loi.
Perrault, quel monument il élève à ta gloire!
Mais quand je pense à son histoire,
Que je plains le siècle et le roi.

II.

Notre ami Despréaux a fait un vilain pas
Dont rien au monde ne le pare:
Il agit contre lui s'il égale Pindare,
Et passe pour un sot s'il ne l'efface pas.

Minutoli rebuked the author of the second epigram: "Tout le monde ne tombera pas d'accord que ce dernier raisonne juste, parcequ'il suffit à Despréaux qu'il approche de Pindare qu'il ne s'est jamais mis en tête ni d'égaler ni de passer, ne s'étant proposé que de le suivre comme on vient de voir qu'il s'en explique formellement dans la strophe retranchée."

¹² Fontenelle, *Œuvres*, III, 105.

¹³ Boileau, *Œuvres* (Gidel), III, 16.

¹⁴ The author of the manuscript article reports the contemporary opinion that Boileau would have done well to have destroyed the stanza in question.

¹⁵ Fontenelle, *Œuvres*, V, 233.

On page 34 of the first *Dépêche* Minutoli printed the following thrust at Boileau by Perrault:

Un vieux opérateur fameux par ses secrets,
Arrivé dans Paris répandit des billets,
Il n'est soulagement pour eux qu'il ne promette,
Chacun y court, entr'autres un poète,
Que venait d'insulter un satirique auteur.
"Contre un si douloureux et si commun malheur.
N'as-tu point, lui dit-il, une bonne recette?"
"Oui, reprit le docteur, quelques coups de bâton
Arrêtent tout court la satire."
"N'as-tu, dit le poète, autre chose à me dire?
Si ce remède eût été bon,
Despréaux eût cessé d'écrire."¹⁶

That Minutoli was not partial to the moderns is shown by the fact that he put several poems of Boileau and Racine into his gazette. The epigrams of Boileau were, according to the author of the manuscript, too well known to be reprinted, but the following epigram by Racine "sera nouvelle pour bien des gens." It is to be noted that this poem was known to be from Racine's pen as early as September, 1693. There are several variants given in the manuscript, which are here indicated.

Ces jours passés chez un vieil histrion
Deux chroniqueurs mettaient en question
Quand à Paris commença la méthode
De ces sifflets qui sont tant à la mode.
"Ce fut, dit l'un, aux pièces de Boyer."
Gens pour Pradon voulurent parier.
"Non, dit l'acteur, *voici* toute l'histoire,
Que par degrés je vais vous débrouiller.
Boyer apprit au parterre à *brailler*,

¹⁶ The author of the manuscript points out that Minutoli was of the opinion that Perrault had administered a beating to Boileau, but, reads the manuscript, "Cette aventure a bien l'air d'un conte fait à plaisir et éclos de l'imagination fertile et peu charitable des ennemis de ce poète." Minutoli is also corrected because of his attribution of the *Sonnet contre Phèdre* to Perrault and of the parody of the sonnet "Dans un fauteuil doré" to Boileau. Of the first sonnet the author says "On sait que cette petite pièce a été composée à table par Madame Deshoulières au sortir de la représentation de cette admirable tragédie," and of the parody, "Il est certain que ce satirique n'y a eu aucune part et que ce fut un jeu d'esprit de quelques seigneurs de la cour, très amis de M. Racine."

Quant à Pradon, si j'ai bonne mémoire,
 Pommes sur lui volèrent largement;
 Or quand sifflets prirent commencement,
 C'est, j'y jouais, j'en suis témoin fidèle,
 C'est à l'*Aspar* du Sieur de Fontenelle."¹⁷

Forty-four of the forty-eight pages of the first *Dépêche* dealt with the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns. The four remaining pages contained remarks concerning the *Anti-Menagiana* (1693) of Jean Bernier. Therein were described the efforts of M. l'Abbé Regnier Desmarais to have suppressed the statement that M. l'Abbé Pertinax (Desmarais) resembled to perfection the picture of pride.

The second *Dépêche* has sixteen articles of which the first eight deal with several books of the day. The first article pertains to the two lives of Cardinal Ximénès by Fléchier (1693) and Marsollier (1693). Minutoli remarked that Fléchier was a panegyrist rather than a historian, and that Marsollier should have adhered more closely to the facts. Adrien Baillet's *Traité de la Dévotion à la Sainte Vierge* and two libels against the same author's *Jugements des Savants sur les Principaux Ouvrages des Auteurs* (1685) and his *Vie de Descartes* (1691) are the subjects of the second article. Articles three to nine deal with the following items respectively: Mlle. Bernard, *Les Mémoires Historiques*; the Amsterdam edition of *Le Journal d'Henri III*; Rondel, *De Vita et Moribus Epicuri*; Benoît, *L'histoire de l'édit de Nantes*; Jaques Koulman, *Dispute Extraordinaire en Théologie*; extracts from two letters from Turkey. In the ninth article Minutoli took up again the quarrel between Perrault and Boileau, making reference to Racine's remarks about Perrault's *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (1688). The tenth and eleventh articles contain two lampoons which were sung at Paris on the occasion of La Bruyère's entrance to the Académie Française, and three couplets against Racine's objections to Fontenelle's *Parallèle de Racine et de Corneille*. Articles twelve and thirteen contain three pieces of verse, to wit: a fable *Dans l'Age d'Or*, a rondeau against Benserade beginning "A la

¹⁷ Cizeron-Rival in his *Récrétations littéraires* (1765) page 90 is not sure that the epigram is by Racine. In Racine's *Oeuvres* (Grands Ecrivains) IV, 125, are noted early attributions to Racine, to which that of Minutoli of 1693 must be added.

fontaine où s'enivre Boileau," and the Duchesse de Bourbon's "Hélas, après un mois je vous vois de retour." The last three articles of the second *Dépêche* contain information concerning the new books which had appeared in Italy, Holland, and England.

The third *Dépêche* is much less interesting than the first two. The first article tells the story of the competition and the awarding of the prize of the Academy to Mlle. Bernard for her poem on the subject, "Que plus le roi de France mérite des louanges, plus il les évite." The second article deals with the election of M. de la Loubère to the French Academy. The third contains copies of letters of the King and the five bishops to the pope concerning the doctrine of infallibility. The fourth treats of several new publications, among others the posthumous works of the Abbé de Saint Réal, the *Portrait de l'honnête Femme*, Caillière's *Le bon et le mauvais Usage des Façons de parler bourgeoises*, and the *Anti-Menagiana*. The fifth article is devoted to Bayle's *Dictionnaire* and announces that two of the projected three hundred leaves had been printed by the middle of September 1693 by Reinier Leers of Rotterdam. An added note tells of the Holland translation into French of Dr. Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). The *Dépêche* closes with the following *avertissement*: "Un petit contretemps de contre-façon qui faisait quelque peine au libraire a retardé considérablement l'impression de cette troisième dépêche, mais cet obstacle étant levé les suivantes paraîtront régulièrement de quinze en quinze jours."

The fourth *Dépêche*, published after an interval of some eight months, shows added evidence of the author's irritation. The printer put at the head of the issue a notice in which he announced to the public that the author had promised to send his copy regularly, and that he would publish the periodical on the fifth and eighteenth of each month, together with *Le Journal d'Europe*. Minutoli prefaced the number with an *avertissement* in which he thanked the many savants who had expressed their regret at the nonappearance of the journal. He began his articles with a series of reports on literary matters which he had received from Holland, of which the first deals with Le Gendre's *Vie de feu M. du Bosc*. Reference is then made to

Le Journal d'Amsterdam which had been recommenced in February 1694 after a pause of four months. *Le Journal des Savants*, published by Pierre Chauvin is characterized as follows: "Il y a du sel et des agréments qui réveilleront le goût du public." The *Histoire de la sagesse et de la folie* (1693) by Thomasius and *La Bibliothèque d'Europe* are discussed. These criticisms are followed by two letters of the Abbé de la Trappe of December 30, 1693, and February 11, 1694, dealing with his troubles with Mabillon. The fourth article contains several epigrams against Boileau's *Tenth Satire*, which is styled by Minutoli "une très belle pièce." The last articles refer to recent publications, as follows: Pellisson's *Traité de l'Eucharistie* (1694), Bernier's *Anti-Menagiana*, Cotelendi's *Arlequiniana* (1694), Charpentier's translations of more than two hundred epigrams, Jean-Foy Vaillant's *Commentaire sur les Médailles de M. l'Abbé de Camps*, the preface to the sermons of St. Augustine by Dubois.

GEORGE B. WATTS

XLIX
ALBRECHT VON HALLER AND ENGLISH
THEOLOGY

THE philosophical poems that Haller wrote during the years 1729-1734 helped to mark a turning toward a better way in German poetry.¹ In the preface to the fourth edition of these poems (1748) he wrote:

Ich hatte indessen die englischen Dichter mir bekannter gemacht und von denselben die Liebe zum Denken, und den Vorzug der schweren Dichtkunst angenommen. Die philosophischen Dichter, deren Grösse ich bewunderte, verdrangen bald bey mir das geblähte und aufgedunsene Wesen des Lohensteins, der auf Metaphoren wie auf leichten Blasen schwimmt.

If one could paraphrase this statement and at the same time make it more definite by saying Haller had been reading Pope's *Essay on Man* and Thompson's *Seasons* and had decided to emulate them, all would be clear,² for on reading the poems in question Thomson and Pope inevitably come to mind, but reasons partly chronological preclude this explanation and one is forced to fall back on other English authors, who help to account for the arguments of the poems but not at all for their form. Shaftesbury came next into consideration and Georg Bondi (1891) stated³ or rather overstated his claims, which

¹ Priority in this respect must be conceded to Hagedorn. See Bertha Reed Coffman *A note on Hagedorn's and Haller's German-English relations, Modern Language Notes*, XLI (1926), 387-388. Haller specifically accords to Hagedorn due recognition in his well known letter to Gemmingen, March, 1772. "Der Hr. von Hagedorn besuchte Engelland, ich auch, und noch etwas früher. Diese Reise hatte auf beyde einen wichtigen Einfluss. Wir fühlten, dass man in wenigen Wörtern weit mehr sagen konnte, als man in Deutschland bis hieher gesagt hatte; wir sahen, dass philosophische Begriffe und Anmerkungen sich reimen liessen, und strebten beyde nach einer Stärke, dazu wir noch keine Urbilder gehabt hatten.

Sehr jung machte sich Hr. von Hagedorn mit seinen Poesien bekannt, ich um etwas später." The letter is quoted by Hirzel (see footnote 8), page 398-39f.

² Cf. Max Koch, *Über die Beziehungen der englischen Literatur zu der deutschen im 18ten Jahrhundert*. Leipzig 1883. p. 14.

³ Georg Bondi, *Das Verhältnis von Hallers philosophischen Gedichten zur Philosophie seiner Zeit*. Leipzig Diss. Dresden 1891; 40 pp.

led Jenny (1902) to write another dissertation⁴ in which he demonstrated that Leibniz's influence was more significant than Shaftesbury's. Disregarding Jenny's dissertation, Howard Mumford Jones⁵ has recently renewed the attack on Shaftesbury, beginning with the statement: "Current assumptions of scholars in the field indicate little argument against the view of Georg Bondi that the philosophy of the poems of Albrecht von Haller is taken from the philosophy of Shaftesbury." Reviewing Bondi's argument, Jones says:

A copy of Shaftesbury falls into Haller's hands; and we are asked to believe that this so upsets the habits of thought he has now formed that he turns from Leibniz, a scientist and thinker of the first order, to Shaftesbury, a dilettante and moralist of the third order.⁶

Some critics might wish to qualify this evaluation of Shaftesbury; moreover the copy of Shaftesbury did not "fall into" Haller's hands but came there as a result of repeated requests.⁷ Otherwise most persons interested in the question to-day will share in some measure Jones's indignation against Bondi.

For Shaftesbury, Jones would substitute Newton, and in the light of his demonstration it would seem that this is by far the most promising surmise to date. In conclusion Jones wishes "that the whole problem of Newtonian influence upon the advanced thinkers of central Europe in the closing years of the seventeenth, and the opening years of the eighteenth, century could be investigated by competent scholars"; and he expresses the opinion "that much that has been attributed to Shaftesbury upon the continent would in a truer reading be ascribed to the metaphysics and theology of Newton." One cannot do less than subscribe to this wish, yet there are reasons why one should be not too hopeful of additional light from this source on Haller's poetry.

In the first place, the range of Haller's interests and of his reading was so wide that the source of his ideas is hard to identify. He was interested in botany, ancient and modern

⁴ H. E. Jenny, *Haller als Philosoph*. Berne Diss. Basel 1902. It is to be regretted that Jones did not refer to this dissertation for it also makes several references to Newton.

⁵ "Albrecht von Haller and English Philosophy," *P.M.L.A.* XL (1925), 103 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁷ See below, p. 950.

literature, numismatics, ancient history, and mathematics in addition to his specialty, which was anatomy. To be sure his main avocations were philosophy and theology. In the latter his interest was almost morbid, so that it seems safer to suppose that he knew any contemporary work on the subject rather than that he did not. During the years of Haller's youth theology was much written about in Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. Jones has succinctly defined for us the points of similarity and difference between Leibniz, Newton, and Shaftesbury, but the fact remains, as Jones would probably admit, that Newton displayed an admixture of orthodoxy and mild daring that was rather common at the time, so that, except where external evidence is present, it is rather unsafe to attribute to Newton the origin of specific ideas of Haller.

In the second place, Haller's poems in general and his philosophic poems in particular have already been subjected to rather minute analysis and their contents have been fairly well accounted for. The best edition of his poetry is that of Hirzel⁸ containing 240 pages of poems and 700 pages of apparatus. The three philosophic poems in question⁹ contain a little over a thousand lines whose inspiration has been explained in part by Haller himself, in part by others. The metaphysical and theological elements in these poems are of a common West-European, liberal-orthodox type that Newton and several others as well might readily have sanctioned. To search thru the five heavy volumes of Newton, written largely in Latin, for further light on Haller's inspiration might therefore prove a relatively thankless task.¹⁰ Unless more cogent reasons are offered, it may seem adequate to accept simply the fact that Newton as a personality loomed up rather large before Haller's poetic eye, for most of

⁸ Ludwig Hirzel, ed. *Albrecht von Hallers Gedichte in Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz* III, Frauenfeld 1882.

⁹ Jones includes in his discussion *Die Alpen* 1729 which in respect to content seems to belong to the same group. I exclude it because Haller specifically states (Hirzel p. 21) that it was written in the Lohensteinian style, that under the English influence he sought to overcome. See opening quotation of this article. The remaining poems discuss by Jones are *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben* (1729), *Die Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden* (1730), and *Über den Ursprung des Übels* (1734).

¹⁰ *Isaac Newtoni Opera quae extant omnia* . . . ed. Horley, London 1782.

the specific references to Newton can be accounted for by this assumption alone. Before considering them it might be well to glance at one or two other English theologians or metaphysicians belonging to the same group.

The first to claim our attention is William King, Archbishop of Dublin. Struck some time ago by the similarity of their titles, I compared King's *De origine mali* with Haller's *Über den Ursprung des Übels*. It developpt that the line of their arguments, sometimes even their phraseology, was similar. As King's work was written in Latin in 1702 Haller might have read it at any time during his youth, but presumably he did read it, if at all, in the English translation of 1731, for by then he had learned to read English and he and his three Basle friends Bernoulli, Drollinger, and the Stähelin, for whom he wrote the poem, were at that time all much interested in English literature.

King's work, *De origine mali*, must have been rather widely read, for the translation of 1731 past into a second edition the very next year, just about at the time Haller was writing his similarly named poem. Haller's poem is divided into three books. The first begins with a description of the beauty of the landscape that spreads itself before the poet. Yet this beautiful earth is the arena of human woe. How can one reconcile the evil lot of man with the concept of a gracious God? The second book, with which we are chiefly concerned, begins to formulate an answer to this question and the answer is much like King's.¹¹

Both begin with the assumption of the best possible world. King says that God made the world as well as it could be made by the highest power, wisdom, and goodness.¹² Haller says (II, 5ff.):

Verschiedner Welten Riss lag vor Gott ausgebreitet,
Und alle Möglichkeit war ihm zur Wahl bereitet;
Allein die Weisheit sprach für die Vollkommenheit,
Der Welten würdigste gewann die Wirklichkeit.

¹¹ I quote King from the two volume edition of London 1732, using in most cases, for the sake of brevity, phrases from the analytical table of contents pp. lix-xcii.

¹² William King, *An essay on the origin of evil*, tr. from the Latin. 2nd ed. London 1732. Chapter I, section III, ¶ 11.

This only defines of course the orthodoxy of the time and parallels could be found in Shaftesbury or Leibniz at will.

According to King it pleased God to create things of unequal perfection with regard to their attributes provided that "those which are least perfect" be no hindrance to the number and convenience of the more perfect ones. King seems to place pure spirit at one end of the scale and matter at the other.¹³ Haller recognizes a series of things (II, 23ff.):

Die, ungleich satt vom Glanz des mitgetheilten Lichts,
In langer Ordnung stehn von Gott zum öden Nichts.

Somewhere in the midst of this series come the angels, the human beings, and the animals. Man is characterized (II, 107) as

Zweideutig Mittelding von Engeln und von Vieh.

The incautious reader recalls instantly Pope's *Essay on Man* which had appeared just the year before, with its ironic couplet:

What would this man? Now upward will he soar,
And little less than angels, would be more.

But more likely we have here a borrowing by Haller from line 17 of his own *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben* (1729) wherein he had characterized man as Unselig Mittel-Ding von Engeln und von Vieh!

This was written some years before Pope's *Essay on Man*, whose famous epigram begins to appear in the light of a commonplace of its time, and one grows more skeptical of the value of even close verbal parallels as evidence of influence. The idea of beings in a scale of values was moreover quite prevalent at the time. Leibniz too recognized Monads of unequal value.

To account for the evil in the world, King says, some would revert to the belief of the Manichæans, a Persian sect which maintained the existence of a good and a bad principle.¹⁴ Similarly Haller asks (I, 151) whether we shall yield passively to such a teaching.

Soll Manes in Triumph Gott und die Wahrheit führen?

¹³ *Ibid.*, Chapter III, ¶. 5 and 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter II, ¶. 5.

Here I thot I had at last a parallel that was not a commonplace, but it later developpt that the theologians of the time were rather fond of talking about Manichæans.

According to King there are three kinds of evil in the world, the evil of imperfection, natural evil, and moral evil. By the evil of imperfection is meant the existence of some creatures less noble than others. By natural evil is meant inconveniences connected with generation and corruption, such as pain and death.¹⁵ By moral evil is meant the possibility of man as a free agent choosing the wrong course.¹⁶ Haller too recognized, tho not in so many words, these types of evil, and both King and Haller recognize that pain is a stimulus to self-preservation, but both are chiefly interested in moral evil. The chief difference between the two is that King says explicitly: "The earth is not made for man alone but for the Universe. To think otherwise savors of human pride."¹⁷ Haller is interested in man alone and therefore seems at least to imagine a homocentric universe.

Moral evil leads to the question of man as a free agent. As King expresses it: "God might have prevented moral evils if he had refused to create any free Being. But without these the world would have been a mere machine and everything passive."¹⁸

Haller uses the same figure of speech to express the same thot (II, 53 ff.):

Gott, der im Reich der Welt sich selber zeigen wollte,
Sah, dass, wann alles nur aus Vorschrift handeln sollte,
Die Welt ein Uhrwerk wird, von fremdem Trieb beseelt,
Und keine Tugend bleibt, wo Macht zum Laster fehlt.

The use of the clock as the figure to express the perfect universe is of course of no value as a parallel. It is the commonest of the commonplaces of the time.

These are the main points of similarity of the treatise to the poem and they include nearly every essential thesis in Haller's line of argument. Only one important one remains and that will be spoken of presently. Since Haller was deeply

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter IV.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter V.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Chapter IV, section II, ¶. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Chapter V, subsection II. ¶. 1, 2.

interested in religion and particularly in the problem of evil, and since King's work was well known in its day it seems not unplausible to suppose that Haller had read it, but there is not sufficient evidence to show that he did. What we do know, however, is that Leibniz read the work of King, for he deemed it worthy of a direct reply.¹⁹ Any contemporary admirer of Leibniz would naturally have read the reply and become inquisitive about King. Whatever ideas Haller had in common with King he may have come by in any one of three ways: He may have derived them directly from King, or from King by way of Leibniz, or the ideas may have been prevalent at the time; and as long as Haller had the convictions it does not seem very important by what road he arrived at them. I had just about attained this stage of indifference when the article of Jones appeared, which tempted me to contradiction in regard to some minor points.

Tho not regarded as a notable to-day William King was of some consequence in his time and should hardly be overlooked in any discussion of the theory of the origin of evil. The very title constitutes a claim to attention. He wrote his *De origine mali* eight years before Leibniz wrote his *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal* and thirty-three years before Haller's *Ursprung des Übeln*.

Neither may Shaftesbury be treated slightly in this connexion in view of the fact that Leibniz admits the similarity of his *Théodicée* to Shaftesbury's *Moralists* and says he would have borrowed large portions of it had he seen it in time.²⁰ Leibniz and Shaftesbury seem unaware that they were later to be marshalled into opposing camps. As far as Haller's *Ursprung des Übeln* is concerned Shaftesbury comes in prominently at just one point. At a certain place Haller leaves King behind and embarks on a theme that had however been treated by

¹⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, article on William King. There are references to King in Leibniz's *Théodicée*, in the preface and in sections 240, 270, 358, 359. See also "Remarques sur le livre de l'origine du mal, publié depuis peu en Angleterre," Gerhardt's edition, Berlin 1885, VI, 400 ff.

²⁰ "Si j'avais vu cet ouvrage avant la publication de ma *Théodicée*, j'en aurais profité comme il faut et j'en aurais emprunté de grands passages," and "j'y ai trouvé d'abord presque toute ma *Théodicée* (mais plus agréablement tournée) avant qu'elle vût le jour." Quoted by Jones (footnote 57) to prove that Leibniz has the prior claim!

Shaftesbury. That is to say, he discusses the compass within man, which aids him to a right election. Shaftesbury had spoken of the two characteristics in man, the love of self and the love of mankind in general. The real and perfect gentleman should have these qualities so trained that neither should dominate, but the two should accord like two strings in a violin. The satirical Pope had regarded the selfish string as the really important one that made for human progress. Haller took him to task explicitly for this many years later in a review in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*²¹ and Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, which Haller also takes cognizance of,²² was the best exposition of this cynical view. Haller takes the opposite stand and says of God (II, 113):

Er legte tief in uns zwei unterschiedne Triebe,
Die Liebe für sich selbst und seines Nächsten Liebe.
Die eine niedriger, doch damals ohne Schuld,
Ist der fruchtbare Quell von Arbeit und Geduld:

then later (II, 137 f.):

Viel edler ist der Trieb, der uns für andre rühret
Vom Himmel kömmt sein Brand, der keinen Rauch gebietet.

According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Shaftesbury was the first English thinker to designate and define moral sense or conscience. That this is an overstatement could readily be shown, but he certainly brot the moral sense into prominence and strest its universality. Here Haller agrees with him (II, 179 ff.):

Weit nötiger liegt noch, im innersten von uns,
Der Werke Richterin, der Probestein unsers Thuns:
Vom Himmel stammt ihr Recht; er hat in dem Gewissen
Die Pflichten der Natur den Menschen vorgerissen.

and again (II, 209 ff.):

Die Kraft von Blut und Recht erkennen die Huronen,
Die dort an Mitschigans beschneiten Ufern wohnen,
Und unterm braunen Süd fühlt auch der Hottentott
Die allgemeine Pflicht und der Natur Gebot.

²¹ *Op. Cit.* 1746 p. 551. Cf. Haller, *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller und über sich selbst* Bern 1787, II, 197.

²² *Über den Ursprung des Übels*, I. 75.

Haller's correspondence shows that he was reading Shaftesbury at about the time he was writing this poem. One of his three Basle friends was a certain Stähelin of whom we know little except that he felt his German was so imperfect that he always wrote in English instead. There can be no doubt that his German was pretty bad. Haller saw the works of Shaftesbury in his hands and later wrote to him and asked him for them. On August 16, 1730, Stähelin replied that the book was not his own. In 1732 Haller borrowed this or another copy of it from Stähelin, who wrote:

Here I send you . . . the E Shaftesburys works, which, as I perused your elegant poesy, seems me not altogether to be unknown to you,

and later in the same year he wrote:

The pious reflections of Lord Shaftesbury may have been no ill companion of your solitude. Have you not admired in him the most elegant manner of writing, by which he delivers us the most abstracted subjects.²³

The second English divine to come under consideration is Samuel Clarke. Haller was only twenty-one years of age at the time of his first sojourn in England. The visit was a short one lasting only a few weeks and he knew no English at the time. So it is not remarkable that he displays so partial a knowledge of Shakespeare, Milton, Shaftesbury, Pope, and Thomson, whose *Winter* has just appeared. But since Haller knew Latin it is but natural that he should mention many mathematicians, astronomers, and theologians, whose names are not familiar to us to-day. It is perhaps no wonder that he is led to say that England has not produced much in the way of literature but excels in the sciences, jurisprudence excepted.²⁴

Haller relied then on his knowledge of Latin and his friends for his impressions of English literature. Among these friends were "My lord Viscount Tauenshend" (Townsend, I suppose), Weiss, a Swiss, and Des Maiseaux, a former minister, a French-

²³ Hirzel, p. liii f.

²⁴ Jones misquotes him as saying that the English are unsurpassed in law. Haller's phrase was: "In den Wissenschaften scheint kein Land Engelland ist vorzugehen, es muss dann in den Rechten seyn. Dann die Engelländer haben ihre eigenen Gesetze und fragen nach keinen römischen" (Hirzel p. xi).

man, and a friend of St. Evremont's. Haller notes that Des Maiseaux has the works of Leibniz, Clarke, and Newton in his library. He also notes that the work of Newton, Clarke, and Leibniz is known to the queen. Jones duly mentions these facts but fails to state at this point that Clarke and Newton on the one hand and Leibniz on the other were known to the queen and to Des Maiseaux as antagonists.

The history of that once famous controversy is as follows: Princess Wilhelmine Charlotte von Anspach lived at the Prussian court. She was a person of intellectual gifts and was a favorite pupil of Leibniz. When the house of Hanover succeeded to the English throne she became princess of Wales and later queen. One day when Samuel Clarke was calling at court she had a discussion with him in which she defended Leibniz's view of the universe and he the view of Newton. There were two questions at issue, the more interesting was this: Leibniz said that God had made the universe like a clock which never went out of order, while Newton said the clock was of such imperfect workmanship that God had to interfere personally from time to time to make it go aright. The queen reported the Newton heresy to Leibniz by letter and he answered. Clarke answered Leibniz and a prolonged debate followed.¹ Clarke published the letters in question, but another edition was published by a person who had already served as an intermediary, and this person was the same Des Maiseaux whom Haller visited in 1727.² It is furthermore clear enough that in regard to this controversy Haller is on the side of Newton and Clarke, for he says in *Über den Ursprung des Übels*, II, 65:

Drum überliess auch Gott die Geister ihrem Willen
Und dem Zusammenhang, woraus die Thaten quillen,

¹ Samuel Clarke's younger brother John Clarke, sometime dean of Salisbury, wrote an *Enquiry into the cause of the origin of evil* 1720, 2 vols. The 1731 ed. of King's *Origin of evil* contains "large notes" tending to explain and vindicate some of the author's principles against the objections of Bayle and Leibniz. The translator's preface quotes at one place from J. Clarke *On natural evil*. The question might of course arise as to whether Haller knew the work of J. Clarke as well as of S. Clarke, but there is no certain answer to this question. J. Clarke's essay on *The origin of evil* demonstrates the truth of some of the principal tenets of Newton's philosophy, but significant verbal parallels with Haller's *Ursprung des Übels* are still more difficult to find than in King's work.

Doch so, dass seine Hand der Welten Steuer behielt
Und der Natur ihr Rad muss stehen, wann er befiehlt.

A few observations in regard to Newton are at last in order, but before making them it is well to call attention to an incidental inference that may be drawn from the foregoing. Jones is inclined to place on one side the earnest thinkers, Leibniz, Newton, Clarke, and Haller and to place Shaftesbury on the seat of the scornful along with Voltaire, but it has been seen that Leibniz acknowledged most courteously and cordially an agreement with Shaftesbury and at a later time indulged in an equally hearty combat with Newton and Clarke as opponents.

Of the several references that Haller makes to Newton perhaps the most striking is the one in a letter to his friend Joh. Jak. Ritter. "Leibnitz war ein Columbus, der einige Inseln von seiner neuen Welt erblicket hatte, aber ein Newton ein Bernoulli sind geboren gewesen, die Bezwinger derselben zu sein." This remark however probably had a special application to the field of mathematics rather than of metaphysics,²⁶ but it is undeniable that Haller had a high esteem for Newton as a scientist and a man and he paid an especial visit to his grave. Newton had died only a few months before and it was related that shortly before his death he had said:

I do not know what I may appear to the world but to myself I have been only like a boy playing on the seashore and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay undiscovered before me.²⁷

It was this note of intellectual modesty in Newton that appealed most strongly to Haller when he came to know of it. Jones seems to think (footnote 43) that Haller may have heard this striking anecdote at the time he was in England, but there is a moderately good reason for thinking that he first heard of it later. Haller's interest in English literature received a new impulse in Basle, as Haller notes in the introduction to the fourth edition of his poems (as quoted above on p. 942). He

²⁶ Haller's common interest with Ritter was mathematics (Hirzel xxxiv). Regarding Newton and Bernoulli see Newton *Opera* . . . IV, 409 f. Cf. Hirzel p. xlix

²⁷ Brewster, *Memoirs of . . . Sir Isaac Newton* II, 407. Edinburgh and Boston 1885; quoted by Jones p. 112.

wrote the philosophical poems of that period, as he says, chiefly to show to his friend Stähelin and the others that the German language was a fit medium for philosophic poetry. In these poems there are several references direct and indirect to English philosophers and writers, as has been shown by Haller himself in the notes to his fourth edition, by Haller's modern editor Hirzel, and more systematically by Jones.

From the poem *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben* I draw a slightly different conclusion from Jones. Toward the beginning of this poem Haller refers to the achievements of science (27 ff.), to the reclamation of the Lincolnshire coast (45-46), to the discovery of the law of universal gravitation (51-56), and then goes on to exclaim with an irony which, despite Jones's opinion to the contrary (p. 112), seems to be directed against Newton, the last named as well as the other scientists:

Wohl-angebrachte Mühl! gelehrte Sterbliche!
 Euch selbst misskennet ihr, sonst alles wisst ihr eh!
 Ach! eure Wissenschaft ist noch der Weisheit Kindheit,
 Der Klugen Zeitvertreib, ein Trost der stolzen Blindheit.

Haller's friend Stähelin also understood that the irony was meant to include Newton, for he wrote to Haller, on receipt of the poem: "Ihre Beschreibung and Bestrafung des Pöbels, des Newtons und seiner Erfindung . . . sind, so ich je etwas verstehe, sehr künstlich und wohl disponiert."²⁸ Hirzel does not record that Haller took exception by letter to this interpretation on the part of his friend.

To be sure Haller seems to contradict himself later on in the same poem where he says in verses 369-370, to which Jones calls especial attention:

Vergnügung geht vor Witz: Auch Weisheit hält ein Maas,
 Das Thoren niedrig dünkt und Newton nicht Vergass.

It seems at first that a little strange that Haller should apparently contradict himself in a poem, and also that Stähelin should not note the contradiction. The explanation of this is, however, that Haller did not contradict himself, for in the first and second editions (1732 and 1734) we have instead at this place the rather colorless lines:

²⁸ Hirzel, p. lxxii, note 2.

Vergnügen geht vor Witz: Auch Weisheit hält ein Maas,
Der Weg von der Vernunft ist nur die Mittelstrass.

The new lines first appeared in the third edition of 1743. It might seem that Haller had come to know a little more of Newton's life and character in the period that had intervened between the first and third editions of his poems, that he first heard during this time the interesting comment of Newton regarding his own comparative ignorance and made the change in the lines by way of "Ehrenrettung." His amends would have been more complete had he changed lines 56 ff., but to do this he would have needed to make a thoroging change in a passage that was rather eloquent as it stood despite its roughness. Instead of that he may have thot it sufficient to accomplish a similar end retroactively by substituting the good lines 369-370 for their mediocre predecessors.

LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

L

ALZIRETTE: AN UNPUBLISHED PARODY OF VOLTAIRE'S ALZIRE.

THE eighteenth century is the century of parody. Its critical attitude of mind accorded with the ungenerous and censorious irreverence of these farces. The wise and witty *petit-maitre* was entirely too frigid and too supercilious not to sneer at the sublime attitudes of tragic stage-heroes, at the tearful Men of Feeling of budding Romanticism, at the dry seriousness of the savant or the metrical enthusiasm of the poet. Moreover, as the number of literates increased and furnished a steadily growing group of readers and theater-goers, the number of the æsthetically obtuse who came into contact with books or the stage, increased proportionally. And, in all times, they form the predestined public of the parodist. Unimaginative and pedestrian, gifted with a sturdy sense of reality, they are not easily beguiled by the illusions created in us by a work of art; they steadily perceive the abyss that gapes between Dream and Fact. From these two groups, the half-lettered *bourgeois* and the shallow fops, the parodist recruited the main body of his followers: he catered to the æsthetically mediocre. His public was large. As long as he kept his burlesques within the bounds of a rough and ready buffoonery, analogous to the modern *Revue de fin d'année* or to slap-stick comedy, he could count upon success.

Parody in the eighteenth century was, then, abundant, mediocre and successful. A list of the dramatic parodies from 1700 to 1800, which I hope to publish soon, contains more than 600 titles of parody-plays alone. They dressed impartially in motley the grandiloquent tragedies of the time and those of Corneille and Racine, the sentimental drama and the Italian or French Operas. Sometimes they even enacted a parody-criticism of a novel or of a critical treatise, or aimed, through the play they parodied, at the politicians or the fashions of the day; nor is it surprising that for this purpose they should select as targets the outstanding figures of the century. Among these, however, few authors were as often or as thoroughly parodied

as Voltaire. Something of a parodist himself, Voltaire transcended this safe plane to deride with cosmic, Gargantuan banter the theories and the foibles of his opponents—but he did so at his own risk and only while safely entrenched in his domain near the frontier of France. And the result was that the same *bourgeois* who took a delicate delight in seeing Racine's *Athalie* ravestied, was horrified by *Candide*.

The following list of theatrical parodies on Voltaire's works proves abundantly that the pitiless wits followed him like a swarm of irritated wasps and contributed a good deal to the imposing library of anti-Voltairian invective and pamphleteering which appeared both during his lifetime and shortly after his death:

Alzirette, parody of *Alzire*, by Panard, Pontau and Parmentier, 1736.

L'Amant deguise, parody of *Semiramis*, by Bidault de Montigny, 1754.

Artémire, parody of *Artémire*, by Dominique (Biancolelli), 1720.

Arlequin au Parnasse ou la Folie de Melpomène, parody of *Zaïre*, by the Abbé Nadal, 1732.

Le Baron d'Otrante, parody of the *Baron d'Otrante*, by Mercier de Compiègne, 1795.

Bolus, parody of *Brutus*, by Dominique and Romagnési, 1731.

Les Catastrophes liri-tragi-comiques, parody of *Eriphile*, by Riccoboni and Romagnési, 1732.

Caquire, parody of *Zaïre*, par M. de Vessaire (pseud. Bécombes, de Lyon).

Cunégonde sur les bords de la Propontide, parody of *Zaïre*, by A. Plancher Valcour, 1780.

Dialogue en vers entre MM. Le Franc et de Voltaire, parody of the 5th scene of the second act of *Mahomet*. Added to the *Nouveaux Si et Pourquoi* (Sol. V, 450). Also printed in Lèpan, *Vie . . . de Voltaire*, 1817, p. 285.

L'Empirique, parody of *Mahomet*, by Favart, 1743.

Les Enfants trouvés ou le Sultan poli par l'Amour, parody of *Zaïre*, by Dominique and Riccoboni, fils, 1732.

L'Enfant retrouvé, parody of *Mérope*, by Panard, Gallet, Pontau and Laffichard, 1734. (This is the same play as *Marotte*, parody of *Mérope*, by the same authors).

L'Ecosseuse, parody of *L'Ecosseuse*, by Panard and Anseaume, 1760.

Eriphyle, critical scene and parody of *Eriphyle*, by L. de Boissy (in his *Le Triomphe de l'Ignorance*), 1732.

La Fille obéissante, parody of *Alzire*, 1736.

Le grand Turc mis à mort, parody of *Zaïre*.

- Les huit Mariannes*, parody of the *Mariannes* of Tristan, Voltaire, Nadal and of an anonymous author, as well as of *Les quatre Mariannes*, by Fuzelier, which was a parody of the first four, 1725.
- Inès et Marianne aux Champs-Élysées*, parody of *Inès de Castro* by La Motte and of *Marianne* by Voltaire, 1724.
- Javotte*, parody of *Mérope*, by Valois d'Orville, 1743.
- Léandre-Candide ou les Reconnaissances en Turquie*, parody of *Candide*, by M. Radet, 1784.
- Marotte*, parody of *Mérope*, 1743. (See *L'Enfant retrouvé*.)
- Les Magots*, parody of the *Orphelin de la Chine*, by Boucher (pseud. of Riccoboni?), 1756.
- Le mauvais Ménage*, parody of *Marianne*, by Le Grand and Dominique, 1725.
- Mérope travestie*, parody of *Mérope*, by A. Fabio Sticotti, 1759.
- Les nouveaux Calotins*, parody of *L'Ecosaise*, by Harny, 1760.
- La nouvelle Joute*, parody of *Tancrede*, 1760.
- Oedipe travesti*, parody of *Oedipe*, by Dominique and Le Grand.
- Oreste* (by Voltaire). Querard, *France litt.*, X, 390, says "On donna aux Marionnettes une parodie dans laquelle il y avait, dit Fréron, "d'assez bons traits contre la pièce et contre l'auteur."
- Parody of the Scenes 3 and 4 of the 1st act of *Mérope* (appeared in *Les Actes des Apôtres*, 1790, ch. 44).
- La petite Sémiramis*, parody of *Sémiramis* by Bidault de Montigny, 1740.
- La petite Ecosseuse*, parody of *L'Ecosaise*, by Taconet, 1760.
- Polichinelle, Dieu du Goût*, parody of the *Temple du Goût*, 1733.
- Les quatre Mariannes*, parody of the *Mariannes* of Tristan, Voltaire, Nadal, and of an anonymous author, by Fuzelier, 1725.
- Les Sauvages*, parody of *Sémiramis*, by Romagnési and Riccoboni, 1736.
- Le Sénat académique*, parody of the two first scenes of *Brutus*, 1731. (Printed in *Le Glaneur*, 1731.)
- Le Temple du Goût*, parody of the *Temple du Goût*, by d'Allainval, 1733.
- Le Temple du Goût*, parody of the *Temple du Goût*, by Romagnési and Nivau, 1733.
- Thomet ou le Brouillamini*, parody of *Mahomet*, by Collier, 1755.
- Le Triomphe de l'Amour et de l'Amitié*.
- Les Tragédies de Voltaire ou Tancrede jugée par ses soeurs*, parody of *Tancrede* by Cailleau.
- La Tragédie de Zulime, petite pièce nouvelle d'un grand auteur*, parody of *Zulime* by Cailleau, 1762.
- Zaire*, parody of *Zaire*.
- Zoramis*, parody of *Sémiramis*.

A certain number of these parodies have remained unpublished. I wish here to call attention to one of them, which, although acted at the time never appeared in print:

Alzire was staged at Paris on January 27, 1736, and went through twenty successive representations,¹ followed by several Parisian and foreign editions (Beng. 106-109) which prove how lively an interest it aroused. The parodists hastened to exploit this success. The *Marionettes* ridiculed the play in *La Fille obéissante* and the *Italiens* made merry with it in *les Sauvages* of Romagnési and Riccoboni. The *Théâtre de la Foire* also raced to catch up with this event in the literary world. Only twenty days after the first representation of *Alzire*, on February 18, a parody, *Alzirette*, appeared on its boards for the delight of the crowd at the fair.

It was the work of several hasty hands. Not less than four "authors" are listed by Beuchot as having contributed to it some choice specimens of their wit: Boizard de Pontau, Panard, Parmentier and Marmontier.² But their number must be diminished by one: Marmontier never existed and owes his appearance as a parodist solely to a misprint in Desboulmiers' *Histoire du Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique*. In Vol. II, p. 140, *Alzirette* is attributed to Pontau and *Marmontier*, but on pages 443, 446 and 468 of the same volume it is ascribed to Panard, Pontau and *Parmentier*. It is evident that the printer alone is responsible for introducing the name Marmontier. Moreover, no theatrical Almanach or no theatrical dictionary of the times cites an author named Marmontier, whereas the *Spectacles de Paris* repeat during several years that *Alsirette* was due to Panard, Pontau and Parmentier. The *Frères Parfaict* mention only the three last authors,³ who are, moreover, well-known as purveyors of light plays to the *Théâtre de la Foire*.

Boizard de Pontau was director of the *Opéra-Comique* from 1728 to 1732 and from 1734 to 1742. He wrote, either alone or

¹ The play was acted at Cirey on January 25 and at the Court on February 21 and March 15.

² Voltaire *Œuvres*, ed. Moland, III, 372.

³ In *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des spectacles de la Foire*, II, p. 1, 165, they attribute the parody to Pontau and Panard, but in the *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris* they indicate Pontau and Parmentier.

in collaboration with Fuzelier, Panard, Piron, Gallet, Parmentier or Laffichard, a number of sketchy and short-lived plays as *L'Estaminette flamande*, *L'Ecole de Mars*, *L'Art et la Nature*, *Le Compliment*, etc.⁴ Parmentier was a collaborator of Favart, but published also a few plays under his own name, as *Le Bal de Passy*, *Le Plaisir de l'Innocence*, etc. But of the three Panard can boast of the most extensive literary renown. He was called "le roi du vaudeville" and composed together with nearly every playwright of the *Théâtre de la Foire* or of the *Théâtre Italien*, an endless series of witty and amusing trifles or more serious two- or three-act plays. He wrote parts of works by de Boissy,⁵ Fuzelier, Piron, Favart, Carolet, Gallet, Laffichard, Marignier and others.⁶

This collaboration of three veterans of the popular stage explains the rapidity of the composition of *Alzirette*, which must have been the work of a few days. It may also explain its complete lack of success, noted by contemporary stage chroniclers: It was staged but a few times at the *Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique* of the *Foire Saint-Germain, cul-de-sac des Quatre-Vents*. Like many of the ephemeral productions of the times, it remained unpublished, and is known only through incomplete and incorrect summaries in the *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris* of the Parfaict brothers, in the *Histoire du Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique* by Desboulmiers and in the thesis which M. Junge has devoted to Panard (Leipzig, 1911). It deserves to be better known, because of its bearing upon one of the most outstanding plays Voltaire ever wrote.

True to the traditional device of the parodists, *Alzirette* transposes the action of *Alzire* from the mysterious empires of Central America to a French village, apparently near Paris. Two poachers, Avalarès and Gourmand, (D. Alvarez and D. Gusman) whose names denote an insatiable appetite, have laid hands on all the worldly possessions of the good-natured

⁴ See Campardon, *Les Spectacles de la Foire*; Eulard, *La Foire Saint-Laurent*; the *Catalogue Soleinne*; Desboulmiers, *Histoire du théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique*, the *Almanachs des Spectacles*, etc.

⁵ *Strasbourg*, the 3d act of *La France galante*, unpublished play by L. de Boissy, is partly by Panard.

⁶ See, *Théâtre et Œuvres diverses de M. Panard*, 1763, 4 vol.; *Cat. Soleinne*; E. Junge, *Charles-François Panard*, Leipzig, 1911, etc.

Montblaise (Montèze). They and their followers had appropriated all the food and drink and have grown as fat as ambulating wine-barrels, whereas the despoiled Montblaise, Malingre and his followers have been reduced by forced fasting to walking skeletons, so that a group of emaciated and gaunt Don Quixotes seemed to be remonstrating with a number of rotund and overfed Sancho Panzas. This buffoonish way of caricaturing the wealthy Spanish conquerors and the impoverished Indians of *Alzire* must, no doubt, have pleased the jovial populace.

The subject of *Alzire* is well known: Don Gusman, governor of Peru, transfers his authority to his son, Don Alvarez. The former king of the country, Montèze, resides at the court of the conquerors with his daughter Alzire, who loves Zamore, another Indian prince, whom she believes to be dead. However, Zamore, incognito, is captured by the Spaniards, and she meets again her former lover at the moment that her marriage with Don Gusman has taken place. During an insurrection Zamore murders Gusman. While dying he forgives his murderer, who, touched by a sense of Christian virtue, is started on the road to conversion.

In the first scene of *Alzire*, D. Alvarez abandons to his son the care of the conquered lands; in the same way, in *Alzirette*, Avararès bestows upon his eldest son and worthy successor, Gourmand, the sign of his new authority: all the keys, but especially that of the wine-cellar. After this ceremony follows a caricature of the confidential and explanatory scene in which Alvarez lays bare to D. Gusman his feelings and his intentions:

Avararès: Mon fils, écoutez-moi. Depuis trois ans que nous nous sommes emparés de la terre et seigneurie du bonhomme Montblaise, nous vivons dans l'abondance. Ton appétit, encore plus grand que le mien, y trouve de quoi se satisfaire pleinement.

Gourmand: Cela est vrai.

Dans les champs et dans les garennes
 Nous trouvons d'excellent gibier,
 De moissons les granges sont pleines,
 Le vin remplit tous nos celliers,
 Les dindons y sont par centaines,
 Les chapons y sont par milliers.

Je m'y trouve à merveille; l'air est bon; on y engraisse à vue d'oeil.

Avalarès: Gourmand, il faut tâcher de nous y conserver, et, pour cela, je crois qu'il est nécessaire de nous relâcher un peu de notre sévérité. La force a commencé notre pouvoir; il faut l'achever par la douceur. Je t'en ai réservé la gloire et je te prie.

Gourmand drapes himself in his toga and exclaims with a solemn gesture in approved tragedy-style:

Quand vous priez un fils, Seigneur, vous commandez;
Mais daignez voir aux moins ce que vous hasardez.⁷

Avalarès then demonstrates to Gourmand that he can acquire unalienable rights upon the possessions of Montblaise by marrying his only daughter, the beautiful Alzirette, with whom Gourmand is secretly in love. To win her heart he proposes to restore to liberty the game-keepers of Montblaise who are in prison. When Montblaise appears, Avalarès finds him so well-disposed towards him, notwithstanding the fact that he has despoiled him of all his goods, that the marriage of Alzirette with Gourmand is soon resolved upon. The parallels between the situations in this parody and those in *Alzire* are so easily perceived that it does not seem necessary to indicate them further in detail and in every case. *Alzirette* aims at reducing to absurdity the lofty feelings of Voltaire's heroes, by attributing them to every day people and by making them more commonplace. An example of this method is furnished by the caricature of the generosity of Zamore in *Alzire*, who saved D. Alvarez. In *Alzirette* it is narrated as follows:

Montblaise: Apprends-moi, je te prie, dans quelle occasion l'un des miens a conservé tes jours.

Avalarès: L'année dernière j'allai passer le Carnaval à Paris. Un jour que je revenais de Vaugirard entre deux vins, je fis un faux pas.

En heurtant une grosse pierre,
J'allai donner du nez en terre,
—C'étoit, je pense, un lundi gras,—
Il me prit et me rapporta
Dans ses bras.

⁷ Lines taken from *Alzire*, Moland, III, 386.

Le lendemain,
 Passant sur le Pont Neuf
 Entre minuit et onze,
 Je tombai comme un bœuf
 Près du Cheval de bronze. . . .

J'eus l'avantage de trouver le même bienfaiteur!

Montblaise: Votre reconnaissance est bien fondée.

After this touching scene of reconciliation, *Montblaise* acquaints his daughter with his plans for her marriage:

Montblaise: Ma fille, je viens de conclure ton mariage.

Alzirette: Ah, mon père, laissez-moi la liberté!
 Les époux
 Sont toujours inconstants et jaloux;
 Ce sont des fous,
 Qui pour nous
 Deviennent de fâcheux loups garous.
 Le caprices
 De ces vilains hiboux
 Forcent jusqu'aux novices
 A les enrôler tous
 Dans les grandes milices
 Du Dieu des Coucous.

Montblaise: Vous n'avez pas toujours pensé de même, et, si *Maigrefort* étoit vivant, vous ne raisonneriez pas ainsi. Malgré cette répugnance il faut épouser Gourmand: c'est le seul moyen de rentrer dans votre patrimoine.

Alzirette: Dois-je, pour un vil intérêt, trahir ce que je dois à la mémoire de mon premier amant?

Montblaise: Penser à *Maigrefort*?
 Vous avez tort!

Alzirette: Hélas, je l'aime encore,
 Quoiqu'il soit mort.

Montblaise: Discours inutile: je vous ai promis au fils d'*Avalarès*!

Montblaise then extols the character of Gourmand:

Une face large et pleine,
 Une rotonde bedaine
 Sont une marque certaine
 D'un cœur généreux et bon;
 L'intérêt et l'avarice,
 Le mensogne et l'artifice,
 La noirceur et la malice

N'ont que les os sur la peau.
Gourmand ne chérira que toi,
Rien ne te ravira sa foi;
De la plus douce destinée
Sans cesse tu jouiras.

Alzirette:

Bon!

Ce goinfre au bout de la journée
Me quittera pour un jambon. . . .

and she adds, imitating the actress who played *Alzire*:

A cet époux craignez de donner aujourd'hui
Un cœur qui brûle encore pour un autre que lui!

Gourmand appears, to tell *Alzirette* that the game-keepers have been delivered and to declare his love. But *Alzirette* sings, to the tune of several popular *vaudevilles*, that she remains true to the memory of her lover, *Maigrefort*, whom she believes dead. Gourmand settles her objections by ordering her to the notary to sign the contract. In the meanwhile, *Maigrefort* (*Zamore* in *Alzire*), who is not dead, but in prison with the game-keepers, eloquently incites his lean troupes to revolt:

Maigrefort. Vous qui pour l'ornement accompagnez ma suite,
Valeureux champions, de mes troupes l'élite:
Freluquet, Platinot, Ventre-vide, Marpos,
Piètre-mine, Basset, Corps-sec et Maigre-dos,
Il ne vous suffit pas de grossir mon cortège,
Secondez à l'envie le bras qui vous protège,
Et montrez aujourd'hui dans nos pressants besoins
Que pour me dire mort vous n'en pensez pas moins. . . .

In the midst of his exhortation *Avalarès* brings the news that the prisoners are free, and recognizes in *Maigrefort* the man who saved him when he staggered "entre deux vins" through Paris at night. *Montblaise* arrives to congratulate his compatriots, and also recognizes *Maigrefort*:

Montblaise. Je viens féliciter mes compatriotes de la liberté qui leur est rendue. . . . Mais que vois-je?

Maigrefort. Que vois-je aussi?

Montblaise. Maigre

Maigrefort. Mon. . . .

Montblaise. fort

Maigrefort. blaise, Montblaise!

Montblaise. Maigrefort!

Maigrefort. Mon cher beau-père!

Instruisez-moi promptement

Du sort de l'objet charmant

Qu'ardemment mon cœur souhaite!

Montblaise: (à part) Turelurette. . . .

Maigrefort: Alzirette? ! ?

Montblaise: (à part) Latanturlurette. . . .

Montblaise refuses to give information about Alzirette and leaves to go to the marriage ceremony at the notary. At last Alzirette appears on the stage to visit the liberated game-keepers:

Alzirette: Mânes de mon amant dont j'ai trahi les feux,^a
 En faveur d'un rival on a forcé mes vœux,
 Et la Seine qui coule entre nos deux provinces
 A mis entre nous des barrières trop minces.
 Si j'ai signé chez le notaire,
 Je l'ai fait par l'ordre d'un père:
 Je voulois te garder ma foi,
 Mais l'on impose une autre loi.
 Si dans le manoir sombre
 Mes cris vont jusqu'à toi,
 Pardonne-moi, chère ombre,
 Pardonne-le-moi.

Elmirette (s'approchant)

Madame,

Un de ces captifs malheureux,
 Touché de vos soins généreux,
 Pour vous faire une confidence
 Demande un moment d'audience. . . .

Alzirette: Ne manquez pas de revenir avec lui: j'ai un pressentiment que je m'évanouirai et il faudra que vous me souteniez.

Elmirette: Pourquoi donc, Madame, vous trouvez-vous mal?

Alzirette: Je ne pourrai voir cet esclave sans penser au pauvre défunt
 Sa voix va redoubler le tourment que j'endure,
 Il va percer mon cœur, rouvrir ma blessure.

Maigrefort: M'est-elle enfin rendue? C'est elle que je vois. . . .

^a Line adapted from *Alzire*, Moland, III, 407. "Mânes de mon amant, j'ai donc trahi ma foi."

Alzirette: Car tels étoient ses traits, sa démarche et sa voix.⁹

Maigrefort: Cette taille dégagée,
Ce port noble et distingué. . . .

Alzirette: Cette figure allongée,
Et ce grand air efflanqué. . . .

Maigrefort: Me présentent son image. . . .

Alzirette: Me sont d'un aspect bien doux. . . .

Maigrefort: C'est elle!

Alzirette: C'est lui, je gage!

Maigrefort! Chère épouse!

Alzirette: Cher époux!

Elmirette: Ciel, elle s'évanouit. . . .

Maigrefort: Vite, qu'on coupe le lacet
de son corset!

Elmirette: La voilà qui revient un peu,
Et comme Alzire, elle respire:
Ce n'est qu'un jeu.

Alzirette explains that, against her desire, she was married that very day to Gourmand, but that she loves nobody but the resuscitated Maigrefort:

Chacun connaît l'ardeur de ma flamme constante:
Je l'ai dit à mon père, à ma mère, à ma tante,
Mon oncle le sait bien et ma cousine aussi;
Pour la dernière fois je te le dis ici.

Mais ne t'alarme point:
Cet effort surhumain,
Qu'on m'a contraint de faire
En lui donnant la main,
Ne lui servira guère:
Ma vive ardeur
Pour mon vainqueur
Garde mon cœur!

All of these successive recognitions lead us to the dramatic scene in which Gourmand-Gusman confronts Maigrefort-Zamore, the lover of his wife:

Avalarès: Je vous offre mon fils.

Maigrefort: Ciel, quelle est ma colère!
Etes-vous bien son père?
Ah, que je suis surpris
De vous voir un tel fils

⁹ Line from *Alzire*, Moland, III, 410.

- Avalarès:* Vous m'étonnez aussi
Maigrefort: Vous, père d'un barbare?
Alzirette: Ciel, détournes les coups que ce moment prépare!¹⁰
Gourmand: Esclave, d'où te vient cet aveugle transport?
 Connois en moi Gourmand!
Maigrefort: Reconnois Maigrefort!
Alzirette: La cruelle situation! Mort, tu peux seule m'en délivrer!
 Viens finir mes maux et que ta main fauche
 Le fil de mes jours. Tu m'obligeras:
 J'ai l'amant à droite et l'époux à gauche!
 Me voilà dans un grand embarras!
Avalarès: Même embarras m'occupe en cette affaire:
 Il est mon fils—lui, mon libérateur!
Gourmand: Perfide!
Avalarès: Paix!
Maigrefort: Cruel!
Avalarès: Point de colère! Je suis son père; il est mon bienfaiteur!
Alzirette: Je ne puis être à toi, mon devoir s'en offense!
 Je ne puis être à toi, ton crime m'en dispense!
 Qui des deux osera se venger aujourd'hui?
 Qui percera ce cœur qui ne peut être à lui?
 Toujours infortunée et toujours criminelle,
 Perfide à Maigrefort, à Gourmand infidèle,
 Qui me délivrera par un trépas heureux
 De la nécessité de vous trahir tous deux?

Gourmand refuses, of course, to pierce the heart of the tender Alzirette and the situation seems without an issue, when, suddenly, Pansart jumps on the stage crying: "Aux armes! Aux armes!" The liberated game-keepers have revolted and smashed the doors of the wine-cellar. The provisions are in danger and may soon be devoured by the famished followers of Maigrefort. Gourmand at once rises to heroic heights. In vain does Alzirette beg him to spare the life of Maigrefort:

- Alzirette:* Oui, ta femme a l'audace
 En ce moment,
 De demander la grâce
 De son amant!
Gourmand: O, celui-là me passe assurément!
Alzirette: Je pense que ce Gourmand, tout affamé qu'il est
 Doit à la grandeur d'âme immoler l'intérêt!

¹⁰ Line from *Alsire*, Moland, III, 413.

Gourmand: Mais vous n'y pensez pas! Pour moi le péril est grand!

Alsirette: Que ma vertu vous rassure!

Gourmand: Vous qui me la prônez tant,
En pouvez-vous être sûre?
Eh, bon, bon, bon, tourelourette, va,
Nage toujours, ne t'y fie pas!

Alsirette: Tu seras dans la liste heureuse
Des gens d'illustre renom!

Gourmand. Dans une liste plus nombreuse
Peut-être me mettroit-on!
Ha, ha, ha,

Ouiche, ouiche.

Alsirette. Ne crains point que sur ce point-là
Ta femme triche!

Gourmand. Ouiche, ouiche,
Eh, oui-da!

While Alzirette attempts to propitiate the inexorable Gourmand, Elmirette, her confidante, has succeeded in delivering Maigrefort:

A travers les hallebardes
J'ai su gagner la prison,
J'en ai corrompu les gardes
Avec un regard fripon

Alsirette. Courir sans qu'on te le commande
Dans un corps de garde pour moi!
Ta bonté vraiment est bien grande.
Je suis très contente de toi!

Elmirette. O, dame Elmirette a plus fait qu'Elmire! Celle-ci n'avoit
séduit qu'un garde, pour moi j'ai emboisé tout le corps
de garde!

Alsirette. Combien étoient-ils, dis-le moi?

Elmirette. Ils étoient dix.

Alsirette. O, par ma foi,
L'adresse est merveilleuse.
Gagner dix soldats, sonica,
Hola, la fine enjoleuse, lon la,
Hola, la fine enjoleuse!

Maigrefort appears and tries to persuade Alzirette to flee with him and upon her refusal, threatens to take revenge upon Gourmand. We soon learn that the climax has come:

Montblaise. On est aux prises!

Alzirette. Y a-t-il du sang de répandu?

Montblaise: Non, il n'y a que du vin. Maigrefort qui connaît le faible de votre époux, s'est servi, pour arrêter son courage, d'une ruse que je vais vous raconter:

Autour de la table il arrange
Trente bouteilles de Coulange,
Vingt cervelas, dix saucissons,
Sont mis dans des plats de faïence,
A côté de quatre dindons
Et de deux jambons de Mayence.

Alzirette: Hélas! Tout est perdu!

Pansart arrives to tell about the progress of the epic feast and the deeds of Gourmand:

Alzirette: Eh bien, Pansart, où en est mon époux?

Pansart. Au second service!
Sitôt qu'un plat se présente
D'abord on en voit le fond
Et sa bedaine pesante
Est un abîme où tout fond. . . .

Alzirette. Je l'avois bien prévu!

Pansart. Quoiqu'il en ait jusque là,
Sans relâche ni trêve
Son gosier sans cesse va.
Dans un instant il faudra
Qu'il crève!

Alzirette. Qu'il crève!

Pansart! Qu'il crève!

Another messenger, Elmirette, arrives with the news that Gourmand has fallen a victim to acute indigestion. Soon after he is brought upon the stage, seated on a chair, a caricature of the death of Don Gusman in Voltaire's play.

Alzirette. Qu'il est dur de vous voir mourant sur cette chaise!

Avalarès. Ha, mon fils!

Gourmand. Ha, mon père!

Montblaise. Ha, mon gendre!

Gourmand. Ha, Montblaise!
Plus de rancune,
Cher Maigrefort!

Maigrefort. Votre infortune
Me touche fort.

Gourmand. En ce moment j'étouffe mon courroux.

Je vous pardonne!

D'Alzirette soyez l'époux.

Je vous la donne!

Et prouver ma franchise, voilà notre contrat de mariage
que je déchire!

Maigrefort. Sensible à ta bonté, j'embrasse tes genoux!

Alzirette. A vos pieds je voudrais mourir pour vous!

Avalarès. Serai-je aussi malheureux qu'Alvarès? Aurai-je la douleur
de voir mourir mon fils?

Maigrefort. Non, ce n'est point la règle de la parodie et j'y ai pourvu!

Maigrefort has called in his ordinary doctor, Mrs. Diet, who takes care of the suffering Gourmand and orders him not to eat anything for two days, after which to help him in forgetting this painful prescription, she organizes a ballet, which is danced by all the actors and a group of dancers.

The main object of the authors of *Alzirette* was obviously to divert the crowds at the fair with a roguish farce, but, at the same time, they tried to show that the situations in Voltaire's tragedy were so unnatural that their absurdity would at once become apparent, when the incidents were transposed to another *milieu* and deprived of all heroic glamor. In their burlesque fashion they made Voltaire the same reproaches as did other contemporary critics: that, for instance, Zamore remains three years without learning where Alzire was; that, after three years, he comes to the city built by the Spaniards without knowing that Gusman, the governor, resides in it and without realizing that Alvarès, whose life he saved—but who did not even inquire about his name—is the father of the Governor. The very day that Alzire was going to marry D. Gusman, her former lover, whom she believes dead—although without any proofs,—is made a prisoner by the Spaniards! Why did D. Alvarès, who is depicted as so human and so full of noble feelings, force so tyrannically Alzire to marry his son? Why is Montèze so easily reconciled with D. Alvarès, who has despoiled him of his kingdom? These and many other objections are voiced, for instance, by Clément in his *De la Tragédie, pour servir de suite aux lettres à Voltaire* and they are repeated sometimes even in our days.

"L'entrée de Zamore est un chef-d'œuvre de démente. Il sort de prison, lui et ses camarades, et il parle comme un vainqueur qui entre dans une place prise d'assaut. Il est dans la ville qu'habitent Alzire, Montèze, Gusman et Alvarès, et il a été pris, il est délivré avec ses compagnons d'infortune, sans savoir en quel lieu ils se trouvent, sans avoir appris que tant de personnes, qu'il est venu chercher, sont rassemblées dans le même lieu. . . . Alvarès, qui cherche partout l'Américain son libérateur, et qui, pour le trouver plus aisément, n' a pas voulu savoir son nom, le rencontre enfin à point nommé, le jour que son fils va épouser la maîtresse de ce généreux Américain." . . . etc.

But, after all, most of these reproaches must be directed against the traditional construction of classical tragedy rather than against Voltaire. This concentration of incidents, very unlikely when tested by reality, were imposed by the exigencies of the Unities. Moreover, parodists and critics notwithstanding, tragedy plays in a realm where the limitations of every day life have almost vanished and where the improbable readily yields to the dramatic. The poet—as Socrates said—is like "the prophets and the divines, who all say many beautiful things, without knowing exactly what they say."

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK

LI

LA DATE D'ACHÈVEMENT DE

La Nouvelle Héloïse

DANIEL Mornet vient de nous donner son édition monumentale de *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, en quatre volumes, dans la collection des 'Grands Écrivains de la France' (Paris, 1925): c'est un travail de Bénédictins, résultat de longues années d'études, et accompli au milieu d'un nombre prodigieux d'autres occupations.

Un volume entier est consacré à l'Introduction; et c'est l'une des thèses de cette Introduction que nous voudrions étudier ici pour la discuter. Mornet conclut après un examen détaillé des faits, que *La Nouvelle Héloïse* était achevée avant que Rousseau ne se mît à *La Lettre sur les Spectacles*, c'est à dire était achevée dès l'automne de 1757.

Citons ce passage:

Rousseau annonce à son éditeur Rey, le 13 septembre 1758, que le roman en six parties est entièrement achevé. Il semble même que cette rédaction définitive ait été prête, pour l'essentiel à peu près un an plus tôt. Un des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés est conforme, sauf certains détails, au texte imprimé par Rey sur une nouvelle copie de Rousseau. Ce manuscrit est évidemment la copie que Jean-Jacques fait pour lui-même et dont il parle à Mme d'Houdetot, le 1er octobre 1757. Il veut l'achever avant de commencer celle qu'il destine à "Sophie." Or il entreprend cette copie le 19 ou 20 novembre 1757 (p. 82).

Nous ne voyons pas d'argument à opposer à la théorie de Mornet que le manuscrit en six parties de la Chambre des Députés est celui que Rousseau a mis au net pour lui-même avant de faire la copie pour Mme. d'Houdetot.

Mais nous observons deux choses: (1) Que Rousseau dit seulement (1 octobre 1757) qu'il a l'*intention* d'achever le livre avant de commencer la copie ("Dès que j'aurai fini ma copie des lettres de Julie, je commencerai la vôtre," *Corr. Gén.*, Dufour-Plan, III, p. 126). (2) Que Rousseau ne dit pas que

quand il a commencé la copie Houdetot (19 ou 20 novembre; Dufour-Plan dit 23 novembre) il a réellement achevé le roman ("J'ai déjà réglé le papier et commencerai ce soir la copie de Julie," *Corr.* III, p. 205).

D'autre part, il y a un texte précis qui rend bien difficile d'accepter la thèse de Mornet. On le trouve dans une lettre du 13 février 1758, publiée pour la première fois par Buffenoir (*Comtesse d'Houdetot*, Paris, 1905, p. 242), re-publiée dans la *Correspondance Générale* (III, p. 278-79), et dont Mornet ne conteste pas l'authenticité (quoiqu'il lui donne la date du 18 février, p. 84).

Voici ce texte:

Voilà la seconde partie de Julie. . . . Mon dessein est d'achever cet ouvrage et de l'achever pour vous seule; car quand même les quatre parties faites verroient le jour, la Cinquième, que je vous destine ne le verra jamais (*Corr.* III, pp. 278-79).

Il y avait donc d'après cela, à la date du 13 février 1758, seulement quatre parties faites, ou même en train d'être faites. Mornet sent la difficulté puisqu'il cherche à s'en débarrasser. Et il le fait en disant que ce texte "s'oppose aux textes que nous avons vus, et qui montrent ou suggèrent que le roman est achevé dès la fin de 1757, ou le début de 1758" (p. 84).

Dans cette opposition de textes à texte, cependant, nous ne voyons pas qu'il donne aucun argument convaincant vraiment pour départager contre celui de la lettre à Mme d'Houdetot du 13 février 1758, et en faveur de ceux qu'il invoque.

Quels sont ceux qu'il invoque?

1. Celui où il est dit (Lettre à Mme d'Houdetot, 23 nov. 1757, *Corr.* III, p. 205) que Rousseau est en négociation avec Rey pour la publication de la Julie (p. 82). Cela, cependant, ne constitue certainement pas une preuve; car quand Rousseau n'a-t-il pas commencé des négociations pour l'impression avant qu'un écrit fût achevé?

2. Le témoignage de Marmontel auquel Mornet en appelle ensuite (qu'avant le 5 décembre 1757 Jean-Jacques lisait à Diderot sa *Nouvelle Héloïse* qu'il "avait achevée," pp. 82-82, cf. p. 85) n'a guère plus de valeur, car cela peut s'entendre aussi bien du roman en quatre que du roman en six parties.

3. Le mot de Duclos enfin ("Vous auriez un grand tort de supprimer les deux dernières parties; l'ouvrage est trop fait pour qu'il puisse se passer de dénouement," p. 85) est de novembre 1760, donc il n'entre pas en ligne de compte; cela revient à dire: Il *aurait été* dommage de supprimer,—mais il n'y a rien là relatif à la date d'achèvement de la *Julie*.

Tout ceci n'élimine donc pas le texte du 13 février 1758: Quatre parties peut-être prêtes, le reste en tout cas, à achever, et le "dessein d'achever" (pas même la certitude).

Et en outre la lettre de Rey du 13 Septembre 1758 (pas 1757), rappelée par Mornet lui-même ("l'ouvrage dont je vous ai lu quelques morceaux est entièrement achevé") a tout de même quelque poids. Tout semble indiquer qu'il s'agit vraiment de quelque chose de plus que simplement "achevé pour l'envoi," ou "achevé pour l'impression"; surtout quand ce texte est appuyé par un autre de Rousseau, dans une lettre antérieure, 13 février 1758, à Mme d'Houdetot: "mon dessein est d'achever cet ouvrage. . . ."

[L'argumentation de Mornet, d'autre part, est tout-à-fait probante quand il montre (pp. 83-84) que l'objection tirée d'une allusion au livre *De l'Esprit*, d'Helvétius, dans la cinquième partie de la *Julie* n'infirmerait pas la thèse qu'il préconise. Il est vrai que le livre *De l'Esprit* parut fin juillet 1758, mais le passage en question a été introduit après coup dans le texte].

En résumé; s'il faut choisir d'une part entre le texte de la lettre de Rey (*Corr. IV*, 52), appuyé par celui de la lettre à Mme d'Houdetot (*Corr. III*, p. 279) dont l'un dit positivement qu'en février 1758 le livre n'est point prêt, et l'autre qu'on l'achèvera, et, d'autre part, les textes invoqués par Mornet, où Rousseau dit (1 octobre 1757) qu'il copiera pour Mme d'Houdetot quand il aura mis au net son manuscrit, et que le 19-20 novembre (ou 23), il dit 'je commence ce soir votre copie': nous disons qu'il faut préférer les premiers qui sont bien plus de plus, nous précis certainement que les seconds. Et pensons (à l'inverse de Mornet) qu'il n'est pas impossible de réconcilier les seconds avec les premiers: Il suffit pour cela d'admettre que quand même Rousseau n'avait pensé d'abord à commencer la copie qu'après avoir achevé le roman, il a

finallement commencé vers le 20 novembre la copie des parties achevées (et des copies qu'au fond, seules, il avait décidé d'achever). Et notons que cela est tout à fait en accord avec la façon de procéder de Rousseau dans d'autres circonstances.

Ajoutons que les données que nous avons relatives aux copies d'Houdetot ne peuvent nous être d'aucun secours ici. Nous savons qu'elles traînèrent beaucoup, que le 6 mai 1758 il n'y avait encore que la seconde partie de prête, et un certain nombre des pages de la première. Et la dernière allusion à nous connue (et encore est-elle indirecte et pas *absolument* certaine) est du 29 octobre 1759 (*Corr.* IV, p. 322): à cette date la copie Houdetot n'est pas terminée encore.

ALBERT SCHINZ

LII

HEINRICH VON KLEIST: LEHRJAHRE (1799-1801)

THE YEARS 1799 to 1801 in Kleist's life may, with certain reservations, be characterized as *Lehrjahre*. In the early spring of 1799, at latest, his resolve to leave the army was definitely established.¹ Before the end of the year 1801 the *Wanderjahre* had begun with work on *Die Familie Schrockenstein*. The period includes Kleist's betrothal with Wilhelmine von Zenge, his time of study in Frankfurt an der Oder and in Berlin up to and including his *Zusammenbruch über Kant*—or Fichte,² the much discussed trip to Würzburg, the poet's conflict within himself and with his family concerning his right to reject a civil office, and the more or less voluntary trip with his sister Ulrike to Paris. Then came his final break with the past, and the synchronous break with Wilhelmine, when Kleist fled, we may say without exaggeration, to Switzerland, ostensibly to become a peasant. He became a poet.

Concerning these years of Kleist's life we have an unusually full and reliable source of information in his letters, for of the collected correspondence something over one quarter of the letters, (52 out of 195) date from this period. Of these fifty-two letters forty-seven are to Wilhelmine von Zenge and Ulrike von Kleist, the stepsister to whom young Kleist was attached by the strongest ties of affection. Besides this correspondence we have a certain amount of information furnished by friends,

¹ *Heinrich Kleists Werke. Im Verein mit G. Minde-Pouet und R. Steig hrsg. von Erich Schmidt*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1904, V, 24 ff. This volume of the works is regularly referred to in abbreviated form as *Br.* Quotations from the *Briefe* in the body of this article are regularly followed by numerals indicating the page, or page and lines, of this volume.

² The view of Ernst Cassirer presented in *Heinrich von Kleist und die Kantische Philosophie*, Berlin, 1919. Kleist himself refers to "der neueren sogenannten Kantischen Philosophie" (*Br.* 204, 14 f). Cf. Braig: *Heinrich von Kleist*, Munich, 1925, p. 53 ff.

a brief narrative attributed to Ulrike,⁸ and a few letters written by Wilhelmine von Zenge.⁴

This comparative abundance of information concerning these three very important years of Kleist's life was not available to Kleist's earlier biographers, and we naturally find in Bülow,⁵ Wilbrandt,⁶ and others conjectures and conclusions that have had to fall in more recent years. The year 1884 brought Biedermann's edition of *Kleist's Briefe an seine Braut*⁷ and Brahm's biography.⁸ Brahm followed essentially in the footsteps of Wilbrandt in the interpretation of the significance of the *Würzburgerreise* (August to October 1800) for Kleist's poetic development. Biedermann recognized, in his introduction to the letters, the inadequacy of such interpretations, though he himself offered no positive substitute.⁹

The first recognition of the real facts behind Kleist's journey in the fall of 1800 was given by Bormann¹⁰ in 1886 in his review of Biedermann's edition of the letters to Wilhelmine, but his discreet discussion was apparently generally overlooked, and it was left to the harsher study of Max Morris¹¹ to bring to an

⁸ *Was mir Ulrike Kleist im Jahre 1828 in Schorin über Heinrich Kleist erzählte*. Author unknown; contributed to *Euphorion*, vol. 10, by Paul Hoffman. Reprinted in *Heinrich v. Kleists Gespräche. Nachrichten und Überlieferungen aus seinem Umgange von Flodoard Frhrn. von Biedermann*, Leipzig, 1912; referred to in these foot-notes as *Gespräche*.

⁴ Readily accessible in *Gespräche*, Nos. 17-19, 60. No. 17 reprinted from J.E.G. Ph. VI. Nos. 18, 19 reprinted from *Briefe*, pp. 466-469, where No. 18 is given in full.

⁵ *Heinrich von Kleist's Leben und Briefe*. (usw.), Eduard von Bülow, Berlin, 1848.

⁶ Adolf Wilbrandt: *Heinrich von Kleist*. Nördlingen, 1863.

⁷ Karl Biedermann: *Heinrich von Kleists Briefe an seine Braut*, Breslau, 1884. Superseded now by the edition referred to in note 1 above, though the introduction is still of interest because of its interpretation of various phases of Kleist's development.

⁸ Otto Brahm: *Heinrich von Kleist*, Berlin, 1884. Neue Ausgabe 1911.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, X-XXV.

¹⁰ Walter Bormann: *Neueres über Heinrich von Kleist in Unsere Zeit*, 1886, I, 549 ff. Bormann concludes: "Gleich dem rücksichtsvollen Brockes gebieten wir uns hier ein Halt und leisten nicht einer dreisten Neugier den Namen Wissenschaft." He is undoubtedly of the opinion that the object of the journey was a surgical operation of intimate, though not severe, nature.

¹¹ Max Morris: *Heinrich von Kleists Reise nach Würzburg*, Berlin, 1899. Morris regards Kleist as a victim of self-abuse and erotic hysteria.

end the fanciful interpretation of the journey as one of self-discovery as a poet. The explanation offered by Morris seems to have won the approval of recent biographers of Kleist¹² with the exception of Meyer-Benfey.¹³ Some seem to prefer a synthesis of the views of Morris with those of Rahmer.¹⁴

With the journey to Würzburg thus reinterpreted a reconsideration of the data became necessary. Herzog,¹⁵ Meyer-Benfey, and Brahm, in the later editions of his biography, disagree in their interpretation of the factors leading to Kleist's decision to realize his destiny as a dramatic poet and in the fixation of this moment. It is to a discussion of this question that I wish to devote the following pages.

The second lieutenant Kleist who resigned from the Prussian Guards in the spring of 1799 certainly gave no inkling of the future dramatist. Chafing under the intellectually and spiritually sterile conditions of the then military service, in which he felt that he had lost completely seven years of his life, he had at last torn himself free, and was determined to devote himself henceforth to the cultivation of the ideal values of life: virtue, truth, knowledge; in a word, to his religion. In a letter written before leaving the army to his former tutor Martini he confesses frankly to a certain vagueness in his conceptions.¹⁶ We have, however, a brief statement made two years later to Wilhelmine which undoubtedly summarizes as concretely as possible the ideal which inspired him:

Ich hatte schon als Knabe (mich dünkt am Rhein durch eine Schrift von Wieland) mir den Gedanken angeeignet, dass die Vervollkommenung der Zweck der Schöpfung wäre. Ich glaubte, dass wir einst nach dem

¹² So Friedrich Gundolf in his *Heinrich von Kleist*, Berlin, 1922.

¹³ Heinrich Meyer-Benfey: *Das Drama Heinrich von Kleists*, 2 vols., Göttingen, 1911-13; *Morris' Hypothese über Kleists Reise nach Würzburg* in the *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, August/September 1916. He denies vigorously the validity of the arguments presented by Morris.

¹⁴ So Brahm and Herzog in their biographies. Quite unsatisfactory is J. Sadger: *Heinrich von Kleist. Eine pathographisch-psychologische Studie* which appears in No. 70 of the *Grenzfragen des Nerven-und Seelenlebens*, Wiesbaden, 1910. S. Rahmer: *Das Kleist-Problem*, Berlin, 1903, diagnoses, p. 63: 'Impotentia coeundi e defectu seu deformatione.'

¹⁵ Wilhelm Herzog: *Heinrich von Kleist. Sein Leben und Sein Werk*, Munich, 1914.

¹⁶ *Br.* 27, 26 ff.

Tode von der Stufe der Vervollkommenung, die wir hier auf diesem Sterne erreichten, auf einem andern weiter fortschreiten würden, und dass wir den Schatz von Wahrheiten, den wir hier sammelten, auch dort einst brauchen könnten. Aus diesen Gedanken bildete sich so nach und nach eine eigne Religion, und das Bestreben, nie auf einen Augenblick hienieden still zu stehen, und immer unaufhörlich einem höhern Grade von Bildung entgegenzuschreiten, ward bald das einzige Princip meiner Thätigkeit. *Bildung* schien mir das einzige Ziel, das des Bestrebens, *Wahrheit* der einzige Reichtum, der des Besitzes würdig ist. (*Br.* 203. 27 ff.)

On the realization of this ideal the impassioned dreamer was determined to stake his all; moreover, with the intolerance of one who is convinced that he has found the sole way of salvation, he also set about guiding the younger members of his own home circle and more intimate friends of the family in the path of truth and education. His efforts, to be sure, were not always appreciated, and were sometimes scoffed at, yet it is indicative of his strong personality that he was able to stimulate a number of these friends to such an extent that they were ready to attend a course of lectures given by Wunsch of the university faculty, as well as to listen to those given by Kleist,¹⁷ and to accept his guidance and instruction for improvement in their mother tongue.

Among the pupils of this intimate circle was Wilhelmine von Zenge. Kleist's first mention of her reveals the attraction which drew him to her:

Die älteste Zengen, Minette, hat sogar einen feineren Sinn, der für schönere Eindrücke zuweilen empfänglich ist; wenigstens bin ich zufrieden, wenn sie mich zuweilen mit Interesse anhört, ob ich gleich nicht viel von ihr wieder erfahre. Aber von allem diesen ist nichts, wenn der ganze Haufen beisammen ist. (*Br.* 50.15ff).

If to these first words concerning Wilhelmine we add at once others which Kleist wrote to her personally some months later we have, I believe, the explanation for this most bizarre of all courtships, and an essential element of the explanation for the break which came fifteen months later:

Denn das ist nun einmal mein Bedürfniss; und wäre ein Mädchen auch noch so vollkommen, ist sie *fertig*, so ist es nichts für mich. Ich

¹⁷ *Gespräche*, No. 14.

selbst muss es mir formen und ausbilden, sonst fürchte ich, geht es mir, wie mit dem Mundstück an meiner Clarinette. Die kann man zu Dutzenden auf der Messe kaufen, aber wenn man sie braucht, so ist kein Ton rein. Da gab mir einst der Musiker *Baer* in Potsdam ein Stück, mit der Versicherung, das sei gut, *er* könne gut darauf spielen. Ja, *er*, das glaub' ich. Aber *mir* gab es lauter falsche quikende Töne an. Da schnitt ich mir von einem gesunden Rohre ein Stück ab, formte es nach meinen Lippen, schabte und kratzte mit dem Messer bis es in jeden Einschnitt meines Mundes passte—und das gieng herrlich. Ich spielte nach Herzenslust. (*Br.* 109. 17 ff).

No writer on Kleist has expressed more clearly than he himself did by this apt figure the reason for the joy that he found in Wilhelmine's love. She lent herself as clay in the hand of the potter to every mood of his creative passion.

Concerning the letters Kleist wrote to Wilhelmine during their courtship some very harsh things have been said, the harshest of all, perhaps, by Heinrich von Treitschke.¹⁸ In quite positive contradiction to his opinion are the words of Wilhelmine herself:

Als ich mich verheiratete, nahm ich mir vor, diese Briefe nicht wieder zu lesen, weil sie alle in der höchsten Leidenschaft geschrieben, und da ich mir selbst nicht soviel Kraft zutraute, meinem Vorsatz treu zu bleiben, verbrannte ich die Briefe, zum Glück kam meine Schwester Luise dazu, und rettete, was ich noch besitze.¹⁹

It is certainly impossible to accept at face value Wilhelmine's statement that the letters were *all* written "in der höchsten Leidenschaft." It is equally impossible to deny that many of them were. It is very clear, in any case, that twenty-two years after Kleist broke with Wilhelmine the latter recalled the intensity of his love, and, in the letter just cited, laid special stress upon it.

¹⁸ Heinrich von Treitschke: *Historische und Politische Aufsätze, Neue Folge, Zweiter Teil*, Leipzig, 1870, p. 664: "Jeder Brief beginnt mit einigen zärtlichen Worten, deren abstracte Metaphern starke Zweifel an der Tiefe seiner Empfindung erregen. . . . Kurz, er liebt sie nicht, er will sie erst bilden, und auch eine reiche Phantasie kann eine solche Täuschung des Gefühls nicht mit poetischem Zauber verklären." Treitschke's harsh judgement may perhaps be explained by the fact that only a limited portion of Kleist's letters were available at the time he wrote.

¹⁹ *Gespräche*, No. 60.

Turning from Kleist's paradoxical love affair and the attest furnished by Wilhelmine we are confronted by the question: Do we find in Kleist's poetry the crystallization of this love? This question, it seems to me, must be answered very definitely with a negative. What a contrast to Goethe and the idyl of Sesenheim! If we look at the few extant poems that Kleist wrote during this period of his life it seems possible to draw but one conclusion: Kleist, the poet, was as yet nonexistent.²⁰

A passionate love which is strikingly didactic; a nature highly endowed with poetic power and yet poetically sterile in the most emotional years of life. The facts find a partial explanation in the later and productive years; Kleist's poetry was dramatic, not lyric. A brief but vivid bit of self-characterization in one of his letters to Ulrike helps us to understand why, for him, this was true:

Selbst das einzige, was wir besitzen, die Sprache taugt nicht dazu (zur Mitteilung), sie kann die Seele nicht mahlen und was sie uns giebt sind nur zerrissene Bruchstücke (*Br.* 195. 2-4).

Further, we must bear in mind Kleist's passionate absorption

²⁰ Cf. *Werke*, vol. iv, pp. 9-12. Less than 100 lines of verse can be assigned to this period of Kleist's life; 79 of these are contained in the *didactic* poem printed under the title *Für Wilhelmine von Zenge*. Erich Schmidt comments, vol. iv, p. 9: "Aufgefädelte Sentenzen, zitiert im Brief an W. vom 21. August 1800." Biedermann comments in his edition of the letters to Wilhelmine, p. XII: "Ausserdem ist es ungewiss, ob dasselbe . . . überhaupt von Kleist herrührt."

I see no reason to doubt Kleist's authorship of the poem.

Meyer-Benfey, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff. discusses at length the importance to be attributed to Wilhelmine in Kleist's works. I cannot agree with him when he writes: "Und dennoch hat dieses Erlebnis in Kleists Leben eine grosse, unersetzliche Bedeutung. Einmal ist die Liebe Kleist nahe getreten, und einmal hat er sich ihr hingegeben. . . . Aber dieses eine Mal, unvollkommen und jäh abgebrochen, genügte dem Dichter, um alles, was von Liebesfähigkeit in seiner Seele schlief, zu wecken und ans Licht zu locken; und in seinen Werken fanden alle diese Keime reiche, üppige Entfaltung. Denn so ist der Dichter geschaffen, dass er das volle Erleben nicht bedarf. . . . So dürfen wir zweifeln, ob es ihm ohne die Wilhelmine-Episode möglich gewesen wäre, die wundervollen Liebes-Offenbarungen in seinen Werken vom ersten an in so einziger Natürlichkeit, Innigkeit und Anmut auszuführen." Meyer-Benfey is of the opinion that Kleist loved but once, a hypothesis that seems to me rather *gewagt*.

An even more exaggerated importance is attributed to this love for Wilhelmine by Ernst Kayka in his *Kleist und die Romantik*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 34, 46, 47.

in an ideal that, for the time being, shut out from his perception all thoughts not immediately compatible with it—his “eigne Religion.” To the realization of this supermundane ideal he gave himself with the zealous devotion of one who would take the kingdom of heaven by force.

Certainly, alongside this early passion for perfection there was no place for another that seemed to him in any way contradictory to it or even distracted his attention from his main purpose. His love for Wilhelmine, however, as his letters constantly bear witness, brought nothing that was antagonistic to the great ideal; rather, we may say, Wilhelmine fitted so perfectly into his fantasy of self-perfection, and subjected herself so completely to his ideas, that she furnished him with additional fuel for the maintenance of his fire. As we learn from Wilhelmine’s letter to Professor Krug,²¹ to whom she was married later, it was through the relationship of pupil and teacher that the intimacy of the young people ripened into love.²² Moreover, in the teachings of Wünc’s *Kosmologische Unterhaltungen*,²³ which seem to have had great influence upon Kleist at this time, there was much that would harmonize his love with his intellectual passion, and indeed, direct the latter to love. And, after all else is said, the way of a man with a maid—depends much on the man and the maid.

Into this period of betrothal, which must have been one of comparative peace and happiness in Kleist’s troublous life, came the separation of the *Würzburgerreise*. Kleist seems to have had some such journey as this in mind for some time past; it is interesting to observe in his letters to Wilhelmine the steps that gradually lead up to it. In his first letter to her he writes:

Von meiner Reise habe ich, aus Gründen, die Sie selbst entschuldigen werden nichts erwähnt. Schweigen Sie daher auch davon. *Wir verstehen uns ja* (Br. 55, 31–33).

In the next letter, without date, as was the first one, but clearly in the earliest period of their engagement, he writes:

²¹ W. T. Krug, at that time Professor of Philosophy in Frankfurt, later in Königsberg and in Leipsic.

²² *Gespräche*, No. 17.

²³ I have not seen the work, but base my statement on that of Kayka in *Kleist und die Romantik*.

Auch wäre es mir lieb, von Ihnen zu erfahren, was Sie sich eigentlich von einer Zukunft an meiner Seite versprechen? (*Br.* 60, 6-8).

To this request Wilhelmine seems to have made no response, and we find it repeated later. After a series of questions that Kleist had given her to answer he continued:

Damit indessen nicht immer bloss Dein Verstand geübt wird, liebe Wilhelmine, sondern auch andere Seelenkräfte, so will ich auch einmal Deiner Einbildungskraft eine kleine Aufgabe geben. Du sollst mir nämlich die Lage beschreiben, die Deinen Erwartungen von dem künftigen Glücke der Ehe am Meisten entsprechen könnte. Du kannst dabei Deiner Einbildungskraft freien Lauf lassen, den Schauplatz des ehelichen Glückes ganz nach deinen Begriffen vom Schönen bilden, das Haus ganz nach Deiner Willkühr ordnen und einrichten, die Geschäfte bestimmen, denen Du Dich am liebsten unterziehen würdest und die Vergnügungen nennen, die Du Dir oder mir oder Anderen am liebsten darin bereiten möchtest (*Br.* 63, 28-64. 3).

Even after this third request Wilhelmine very evidently held back with her response, as if hesitating to open her soul fully to her lover. She seems to have asked for further information concerning his wishes—fencing for time perhaps. Kleist, quite characteristically, is not backward in suggestions:

Wenn ein Mädchen gefragt wird, was sie von einer zukünftigen Ehe fordert, um am Glücklichsten darin zu sein, so muss sie zuerst bestimmen,

then follow eight points which Kleist considers worthy of mention, all questions to be answered by the head rather than by the heart, after which he adds:

Da das Ganze nichts als ein Wunsch ist, so hat die Phantasie ihren uneingeschränkten Spielraum, und darf sich an keine Fessel der Wirklichkeit binden (*Br.* 64. 21-65. 21).

Since these various sheets repeating Kleist's question are undated we cannot know how much longer Wilhelmine waited before giving her answer. Finally, however, it came, and from the heart, not from the head, in the month of August, 1800. It was, very evidently, quite different from what Kleist had expected, and the result, undoubtedly, more far-reaching than Wilhelmine had anticipated. Kleist set out post-haste on the journey that eventually brought him to Würzburg. He refers to her answer in his long letter of October 10, 1800:

Ich ersuchte Dich doch einst mir aufzuschreiben, was Du Dir denn eigentlich von dem Glücke einer künftigen Ehe versprächst Sein erstes Blat, das Du mir mittheiltest, und das mir eine unaussprechliche, aber bittersüsse Freude gewährte, scheuchte mich aus Deinen Armen und beschleunigte meine Abreise. Weisst Du wohl noch mit welcher Bewegung ich es am Tage vor unsrer Trennung durchlas, und wie ich es unruhig mit mir nach Hause nahm—und weisst Du auch, was ich da, als ich allein war mit diesem Blatte, alles empfand? Es zog mein ganzes Herz an Dich, es stiess mich zugleich unwiderruflich aus Deinen Armen—Wenn ich es jetzt wieder lesen werde, so wird es mich dahin zurtückführen. Damals war ich Deiner nicht würdig, jetzt bin ich es. Damals weinte ich, dass Du so gut, so edel, so achtungswürdig, so werth des höchsten Glückes warst, jetzt wird es mein Stolz und mein Entzücken sein. Damals quälte mich das Bewusstsein, Deine heiligsten Ansprüche nicht erfüllen zu können, und jetzt, jetzt—Doch still.

Jetzt, Wilhelmine, werde auch ich Dir mittheilen, was ich mir von dem Glücke einer künftigen Ehe verspreche. Ehemals durfte ich das nicht, aber jetzt—o Gott! Wie froh macht mich das!—Ich werde Dir die Gattin *beschreiben*, die mich *jetzt* glücklich machen kann (*Br.* 141. 16-142. 7).

The writer then depicts in glowing terms the glory of motherhood, and his dream of Wilhelmine as the mother of his children. The closing words are: "Gute Nacht, Wilhelmine, meine Braut, einst meine Gattinn, einst die *Mutter* meiner Kinder!" (*Br.* 144. 28-9).

If it is possible to read between the lines of such a letter as this we must surely read that when Wilhelmine had finally complied with Kleist's request to tell him how she pictured to herself the happiness of her future marriage this picture was to be summarized with the word *motherhood*, and that the purpose of the journey was to make it possible for him to meet her 'most sacred demands'.

That Kleist exaggerated the danger involved in a minor operation to the extent of making it appear a matter of life or death can surprise no one who is familiar with his way of presenting in the extremest form an action which seems to him at the time to be of supreme importance; as his intention of settling in Switzerland, for example, or the founding of the *Phöbus*. And so quite characteristically he wrote:

Ich gieng an jenem Abend vor dem wichtigsten Tage meines Lebens in Würzburg spazieren. Als die Sonne herabsank war es mir, als ob mein Glück unterginge. Mich schauerte wenn ich dachte, dass ich vielleicht von *Allem* scheiden müsste, von Allem, was mir theuer ist (*Br.* 160. 4-8).

This is the same highly sensitized emotional nature that Kleist presents to us in the youthful Homburg as he looks upon the grave that is to receive him on the morrow. Moreover, surgical operations have become a commonplace to us; it was not so before the days of anesthetics and aseptic surgery.

It seems possible to follow with reasonable precision the course of events during Kleist's stay in Würzburg. On September 11 he wrote hopefully, but quite indefinitely:

Mein liebstes Herzensmädchen, o wenn ich Dir sagen dürfte, wie vergnügt ich bin.—Doch das darf ich nicht (*Br.* 114. 7-8).

September 12 brought the decision to remain in Würzburg. The letter of September 13 is more jubilant and more precise than that of two days earlier:

Mädchen! Wie glücklich wirst Du sein! Und ich! Wie wirst Du an meinem Halse weinen, heisse innige Freudenthränen! [Wie wirst Du mir mit Deiner ganzen Seele danken!—Doch still! Noch ist nichts ganz entschieden, aber—der Würfel liegt, und, wenn ich recht sehe, wenn nicht Alles mich täuscht, so stehen die Augen gut. Sei ruhig. In wenigen Tagen kommt ein froher Brief an Dich, ein Brief, Wilhelmine, der—Doch ich soll ja nicht reden, und so will ich denn noch schweigen auf diese wenigen Tage. Nur diese *gewisse* Nachricht will ich Dir mittheilen: ich gehe von hier nicht weiter nach Strassburg, sondern bleibe in Würzburg. Eher als Du glaubst, bin ich wieder bei Dir in Frankfurt. . . . Denn das, was mir die ganze Seele erfüllt, darf ich Dir nicht, *jetzt noch nicht*, mittheilen (*Br.* 120. 3-19).

The mass of the letter of the thirteenth is taken up with the description of the visit to the Julius-Hospital.

The few lines written on September 14 (in the morning, I believe,) contain the satirically humorous account of the visit to the "Lesebibliothek,"²⁴ where, it would seem, Kleist and Brockes had wished to find something to read while Kleist should be confined to his room after the operation. Of his favorite authors, Wieland, Goethe, and Schiller, nothing was to be had.

²⁴ *Br.* 124. 8-30.

On the thirteenth Kleist had written: "Wie glücklich wirst Du sein—" in the future tense. On the fifteenth the tense is changed:

Schiltst Du ihn leichtsinnig, den Reisenden, ihn, der auf dieser Reise Dein Glück mit unglaublichen Opfern erkaufte und jetzt vielleicht—*vielleicht* schon gewonnen hat? . . . Wird er Undank bei dem Mädchen finden, für deren Glück er *sein Leben* wagte? (*Br.* 125. 20-26).

September 14, then, is the day that he refers to later as "dem wichtigsten Tage meines Lebens," and the evening of the preceding day the occasion which brings

den Augenblick (in Würzburg), wo ich zum erstenmal auf den Gedanken kam, auf diese Art bei der grossen Lehrmeisterin Natur in die Schule zu gehen (*Br.* 172. 10-13).

not, as he makes perfectly clear, for poetic inspiration, but for moral and ethical reinforcement, the essential purpose of his philosophic studies and the core of his 'religion'. Brahm, (p. 36) seems to refer this passage to budding poetic consciousness.

Those portions of Kleist's letters written on September 16, 18, 19, 20, and 23 contain no hint of wanderings about the city, rather of his being constantly indoors. On the nineteenth he writes:

So stehe ich nun auch zuweilen an meinem Fenster, wenn die Dämmerung in die Strasse fällt, und öffne das Glas und die Brust dem einströmenden Abendhauche (*Br.* 134. 11-13).

It is the deep inbreathing of one who has been confined all day to his room. On the twentieth; although he has made no mention of the life of the city since the fourteenth:

Jetzt, da wir so ziemlich Alles gesehen haben in dieser Stadt, sind wir viel zu Hause, Brokes und ich, und lesen und schreiben, wobei mir meine wissenschaftlichen Bücher, die ich aus Frankfurt mit nahm, nicht wenig zu statten kommen. Von der Langeweile, die ich nie empfand, weiss ich also auch hier nichts. Langeweile ist nichts als die Abwesenheit aller Gedanken, oder vielmehr das Bewusstsein ohne beschäftigende Vorstellungen zu sein. Das kann aber einem denkenden Menschen nie begegnen . . . und das ist eben das Talent der Dichter,²⁵

²⁵ This passage is not to be interpreted, as it seems to be by Brahm, p. 35 (neue Ausgabe), as meaning that Kleist timidly feels or thinks of himself as a poet; rather he groups himself definitely with the thinkers. A Frenchman expressing the same thought would undoubtedly have used for Kleist's *wir*, *nous autres penseurs*.

welche ebensowenig wie wir in Arkadien leben, aber das Arkadische oder überhaupt Interessante auch an dem Gemeinsten, das uns umgibt herausfinden können. Wenn wir weiter nichts zu thun wissen, so treten wir ans Fenster, und machen Glossen über die Vorbeigehenden (*Br.* 137. 10-26).

Quite in keeping with this secretiveness about the details of his life in Würzburg, and of the purpose of the whole journey, there is in no letter during this period any mention of the regular visits of the doctor; we learn the fact from a chance remark four months later.²⁶

It has seemed worth while to discuss the details of Kleist's life while in Würzburg because of the divergence of opinion still prevalent concerning the significance of this period of his life and its bearing on his poetic development.

As to the purpose of the journey: Both Herzog and Brahm, in the later edition of his biography, see in it Kleist's desire for both psychic and physiological treatment, making thus, as already indicated, a synthesis of the studies of Morris and Rahmer. Herzog, however, lays such slight stress on the nature of the physiological treatment that one wonders if he really takes it into account at all. He writes:

Kleist erhielt täglich den Besuch des Arztes, und wenn die Konsultation beendet war, so ging er mit Brockes spazieren. Sie bummelten durch die Strassen von Würzburg und sahen sich das bunte Leben der alten Bischofsstadt mit der Überlegenheit des mehr oder minder interessierten Reisenden an. So lernte er sehen. Und dieses kühle Interesse gab ihm die Fähigkeit, das, was er sah, klar und in anschaulichen Bildern auszudrücken.²⁷

The matter does not, to me, seem so simple as Herzog's description would indicate. That Kleist was confined to his room for a period of something like ten days seems very probable. In brief, the surgical treatment was the essential end for which the journey was undertaken.²⁸

Meyer-Benfey seems still to hold to the idea that industrial

²⁶ *Br.* 191. 21-24.

²⁷ Herzog, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

²⁸ Not for psychopathic treatment and not on a mission of industrial espionage. It is worth noting that neither Wilhelmine, *Gespräche* 17, nor Ulrike, *Gespräche* 20, mention the journey to Würzburg. They both mention his appointment to a civil office later. Cf. Erich Schmidt, *Werke*, I, 9, 11-13.

espionage was the purpose of the journey, and that by it Kleist obtained his appointment to a civil office in the following November. He concludes, however:

Wir werden also schliessen: der erstrebte und erreichte Ertrag der Würzburger Reise ist *die Idee eines grossen schriftstellerischen Werkes, in dem Kleist sein Ideal einer Gattin und Mutter darstellen wollte.*

Aber freilich—mit dieser Annahme allein kommen wir auch nicht zurecht. . . . Wir werden also zwei Erklärungen kombinieren und einen doppelten Zweck, einen offiziellen und diesen rein persönlichen annehmen müssen. Vielleicht haben wir auch so noch nicht die vollständige Lösung des Problems und die ganze Wahrheit. Aber darauf dürfen wir wohl vertrauen, dass wir damit der Wahrheit einigermassen nahe kommen und wenigstens einen Teil der Wahrheit erfasst haben, —vielleicht eben den, der für Kleists Entwicklung der wichtigste ist.²⁰

As to the fruits of the journey: Kleist's first letter to Ulrike after his return to Berlin is buoyant; the following scattered phrases are characteristic:

Erdenglück . . . innern Ruhe und Fröhlichkeit . . . das Leben gerettet . . . ich achte mein ganzes Vermögen nicht um das, was ich mir auf dieser Reise erworben habe. . . . Das wird mir wohl thun nach einem Leiden von 24 Jahren (*Br.* 148 ff).

We observe at once, however, a much greater repugnance to accept permanently a civil office. To Wilhelmine he justifies his objections at length, and reveals a new self-confidence:

Ich bilde mir ein, dass ich Fähigkeiten habe, seltene Fähigkeiten, meine ich—Ich glaube es, weil mir keine Wissenschaft zu schwer wird; weil ich rasch darin vorrücke, weil ich manches schon aus eigener Erfindung hinzugethan habe—und am Ende glaube ich es auch darum, weil alle Leute es mir sagen. Also kurz, ich glaube es. Da stünde mir nun für die Zukunft das ganze schriftstellerische Fach offen. Darin fühle ich, dass ich sehr gern arbeiten würde.—O da ist die Aussicht auf Erwerb äusserst vielseitig. Ich könnte nach Paris gehen und die neueste Philosophie in dieses neugierige Land verpflanzen (*Br.* 154. 5-14).

A typical Kleistian statement in its optimistic inclusiveness; equally sweeping were his pessimistic utterances when his hopes failed him. The use of the word "Erwerb" seems to

²⁰ Meyer-Benfey, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 37.

exclude from the phrase "das ganze schriftstellerische Fach" the idea of poetry. Cf. *Br.* 261.13-17.

Was one of the fruits of this journey—and the most important of all—Kleist's self-discovery as a poet, or the unconscious development of poetic vision and poetic powers which led definitely, later, to the decision to find self-realization in poetry? This question is answered by Meyer-Benfey in the negative. Herzog answers it essentially in the affirmative, though he does not formulate the statement to that effect as definitely as did Wilbrandt. Brahm, in later editions, rejects the explicit statement that he had made in the first edition of his work, substituting for it a series of vaguer statements that in the end seem to mean much the same thing.³⁰

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 40: "Wir hatten bisher jene Naturbilder als Dichtungen auf uns wirken lassen und in den Bezügen zum Menschenleben ein Mittel zur Belebung und Beseelung gesehen. Aber das können sie ja in Kleists eigem Bewusstsein gar nicht sein, denn er denkt noch nicht daran, ein Dichter zu sein. Und hier sehen wir, welchen Sinn sie für ihn selbst haben. Nämlich die Analogien zum Seelischen und Moralischen sind ihm die Hauptsache und der eigentliche Zweck, die Naturschilderung nur Mittel dazu. Die Beobachtung der Natur ist für ihn ein Weg, um moralische Lehren zu finden, indem er die Analogie als heuristisches Prinzip benutzt, vielleicht ihr gar wirkliche Beweiskraft zutraut."

Notwithstanding Meyer-Benfey's assumption of a double purpose behind the journey to Würzburg, we find in note 28 to chapter I of vol. i, (II, 524): "Vielmehr zeigen alle Angaben eine so vollkommene Kontinuität, dass wir wohl annehmen müssen: der Zweck, den Kleist beim Beginn der Reise erreichen wollte, und der, den er nach Abschluss erreicht zu haben glaubt, sind identisch. Auch die Annahme eines doppelten Zweckes, eines dienstlichen und privaten, oder eines Haupt- und Nebenzweckes, findet in den Urkunden keine Stütze. In his *Kleists Leben und Werke*, Göttingen, 1911, pp. 24-26, he again assumes the double purpose.

Brahm (neue Ausgabe) refers to Kleist frequently as "der werdende Dichter," pp. 33-63. His clearest statement is: "es wird der Anfang seiner poetischen Selbsterziehung, zwischen der Natur und dem menschlichen Leben die merkwürdigsten Verknüpfungen herzustellen" (p. 37). Meyer-Benfey's interpretation of these "Verknüpfungen" seems to me much the sounder.

Herzog's viewpoint is, in essence, the same as Brahm's. From page 84 on he refers to Kleist frequently as "Dichter." Commenting on a letter of November 13, 1800, i.e., one written shortly after the return from Würzburg, he writes, p. 111: "Er zweifelt an sich selbst, an seinen Fähigkeiten, an seiner poetischen Begabung . . ." I am convinced that Kleist had, at the time this letter was written, no inkling of or interest in "seiner poetischen Begabung." The source of Kleist's trouble at this time is threefold: (1) Actual experience in civil office has shown him that the thing is really much worse in reality than it had been in

Kleist writes many and lengthy letters to Wilhelmine during the journey, as many other young men have written letters under similar circumstances. And he speaks for himself and other young lovers when he writes:

Ich will durch diese immer wiederholten Briefe, durch diese fast unterbrochene Unterhaltung mit Dir, durch diese nie ermüdende Sorgfalt für Deine Ruhe, bewirken, dass Du zuweilen, wenn das Verhältniss des Augenblickes Dich beklommen macht, wenn fremde Zweifel und fremdes Mistrauen Dich beunruhigen, mit Sicherheit, mit Zuversicht, mit tiefempfundenen Bewusstsein zu Dir selbst sagen mögest: ja, es ist gewiss, *es ist gewiss*, dass er mich liebt! (Br. 98. 4-11).²¹

And he lives up to his profession. Not only does he write her all that he believes will interest her; he sends her views from Dresden; he very definitely studies his descriptions in order to give them finish and vividness. The same picture occurs repeatedly, each time more developed, more carefully worked out in order to produce the greatest effect. An interesting example of such a study is found in a bit of description which he applies successively to the Weissritz in a letter of September 3, and again on the fourth, slightly developed, to the same stream; something over a month later it is applied to the Main, and again in the summer of the following year to the Rhein.²²

anticipation, (2) he feels the necessity for immediate marriage: "Ich fühle, dass es mir notwendig ist, bald ein Weib zu haben . . . auch damit ich moralsich gut bleibe, ist es nöthig" (Br. 154. 21-27), (3) he is searching vainly for some way to meet the material needs for the establishment of the modest domestic life which he desires. It is in this connection that he comes forward with his visionary scheme of "der entworfenen Verpflanzung der neusten Philosophie in dieses Land (Frankreich)" (Br. 156. 11-32).

²¹ Cf. Br. 157. 7-9: "Ich kann jetzt nicht mehr so lange Briefe schreiben, als auf der Reise, denn jetzt muss ich für Dich und mich arbeiten."

²² A very interesting collation of recurring figures and phrases in Kleist's letters and works is given by Minde-Pouet in his *Heinrich von Kleist. Seine Sprache und sein Stil*, Weimar, 1897, pp. 219-245. He is certainly correct in his interpretation of this phenomenon: "Was Kleist niederschrieb, war bereits in seinem Kopfe so und so oft überdacht und fertig. Gewisse Gedanken . . . bildeten, so zu sagen, einen eisernen geistigen Bestand des Dichters, die er selbst nach Jahren mit gleichen Worten, in gleicher Form . . . geäussert hat" (p. 220).

These poetic prose descriptions are certainly something new in Kleist's letters, but I find it impossible to interpret them as indications of "dem werdenden Poeten" or as "der Anfang seiner poetischen Selbsterziehung." They are studied, even forced sometimes, verging on 'fine writing.' The primary impulse behind them is, as the passage last cited indicates, to write Wilhelmine interesting letters, to make her as far as possible a companion of his journey, both in his own thoughts and hers. We have no hint in his letters that he thinks of himself as a poet now, nor as a poet to be; we have no hint of poetic production, unless one should so interpret the lines:

Aber was ich in der Nacht denken werde weiss ich nicht, denn es ist finster, und der Mond verhüllt.—Ich werde ein Gedicht machen. Und worauf?—Da fielen mir heute die Nadeln ins Auge, die ich einst in der Gartenlaube aufsuchte. Unaufhörlich lagen sie mir im Sinn. Ich werde in dieser Nacht ein Gedicht *auf* oder *an eine* Nadel machen. Adieu. Schlafe wohl, ich wache für Dich (Br. 113. 25-31).

I find it exceedingly difficult to make such an interpretation.

The outstanding fact, however, is that we find absolutely no indication of any *essential* turning away from the ideal which Kleist has pursued so zealously for several years past. When he does turn to poetry in the summer of the following year we at once find very clearly all the indications that are now lacking.

One change, to be sure, is to be observed: an enlargement of the old ideal, a touch of the practical has come into it. Filled with joy at the success which has crowned his journey he gives himself over to passionate anticipation of his future with Wilhelmine, in a much greater degree than ever before. And so he writes in his letter of October 10, 1800:

Jetzt, Wilhelmine, werde auch ich Dir mittheilen, was ich mir von dem Glücke einer künftigen Ehe verspreche. Ehemals durfte ich das nicht, aber jetzt—o Gott! Wie froh macht mich das!—Ich werde Dir die Gattin *beschreiben*, die mich jetzt glücklich machen kann. . . . Ich werde jede Stunde, die mir meine künftige Lage übrig lassen wird, diesem Geschäfte widmen (Br. 142. 3-10).

and at the close of the letter:

Und so lass uns denn beide, Hand in Hand, unserm Ziele entgegen gehen, jeder dem seinigen, der ihm zunächst liegt, und wir beide dem letzten, nach dem wir beide streben. Dein nächstes Ziel sei, *Dich zu*

einer Mutter, das meine, mich zu einem Staatsbürger zu bilden, und das fernere Ziel, nach dem wir beide streben, und das wir uns beide wechselseitig sichern können, sei das Glück der Liebe.

Gute Nacht, Wilhelmine, meine Braut, einst meine Gattinn, einst die Mutter meiner Kinder! (Br. 144. 21-29.)

This wife and mother of whom he intends "einst ein vollkommnes Wesen zu bilden" (Br. 142. 33-34) is, apparently, to be the central figure of a didactic work which he hopes to be able to finish in five years.³³ Rousseau, evidently, not Goethe,³⁴ is the idol from whose brow the wreath of glory is to be torn. And so we find during the next months much attention given to the acquisition of "moralische Revenüen;" Wilhelmine is to develop her "Ideenmazagin" as does her lover, "den Stolz haben, zu einem künftigen Erwerb auch etwas beizutragen (Br. 165. 10-15); she too is to learn in the school of the great teacher

³³ Cf. Br. 142, 3-13. "Jetzt, Wilhelmine, werde auch ich Dir mittheilen, was ich mir von dem Glücke einer künftigen Ehe verspreche. Ehemals durfte ich das nicht, aber jetzt—o Gott! Wie froh macht mich das!—Ich werde Dir die Gattin beschreiben, die mich jetzt glücklich machen kann—und das ist die grosse Idee, die ich für Dich im Sinne habe. Das Unternehmen ist gross, aber der Zweck ist es auch. Ich werde jede Stunde, die mir meine künftige Lage übrig lassen wird, diesem Geschäfte widmen. Das wird meinem Leben neuen Reiz geben, und uns beide schneller durch die Prüfungszeit führen, die uns bevorsteht. In fünf Jahren, hoffe ich, wird das Werk fertig sein."

We can trace back this "grosse Idee" some distance. Earlier in this letter he had written (Br. 141. 9-15): "In meiner Seele sieht es aus, wie in dem Schreibtische eines Philosophen, der ein neues System ersann, und einzelne Hauptgedanken auf zerstreute Papiere niederschrieb. Eine gross Idee—für Dich, Wilhelmine, schwebt mir unaufhörlich vor der Seele! Ich habe Dir den Hauptgedanken schon am Schlusse meines letzten Briefes, auch schon vorher auf einem einzelnen Blatte mitgetheilt." Since the "letzten Brief" to which Kleist refers was the "Hauptbrief" of early October and is lost we can obtain no information from that source. We do find, however, in the letter written on several different days, September 13-18 inclusive, a *Beilage*, which seems to be the inclosure to which Kleist refers (Br. pp. 128-132). The opening paragraph of the inclosure runs: "Alle ächte Aufklärung des Weibes besteht am Ende wohl nur darin, meine liebe Freundinn: über die Bestimmung seines irdischen Lebens vernünftig nachdenken zu können." The next to last paragraph reads: "Deine Bestimmung, Liebe Freundinn, oder überhaupt die Bestimmung des Weibes ist wohl unzweifelhaft und unverkennbar; denn welche andere kann es sein, als diese, Mutter zu werden, und der Erde tugendhafte Menschen zu erziehen?"

³⁴ *Gespräche*, No 43: "'Ich werde ihm (Goethe) den Kranz von der Stirne reissen', war der Refrain seiner Selbstbekenntnisse, wie seiner Träume"; quoted by Wilbrandt (p. 174) with Pfuell as source.

Nature, "was recht ist, und edel und gut und schön" (*Br.* 172.8f). We recognize here very clearly the old ideal, enlarged somewhat by a more generous inclusion of Wilhelmine and tinged for the first time with a vague idea of some practical end.

The lost "Hauptbrief" of early October seems to have contained a reiteration of Kleist's objection to accepting a civil office. At any rate, the letter of November 13 implies that he had recently expressed again to Wilhelmine his antipathy to such an office, had received a reply in which Wilhelmine had acceded in some respects to his wishes, while at the same time she interposed certain objections. The question is threshed out again in the letter of November 13, in which we see very clearly the new phase of Kleist's plans for the future:

Mein Plan in diesem Falle wäre dieser. Wir hielten uns irgendwo in Frankreich auf, etwa in dem südlichen Theile, in der französischen Schweiz, in dem schönsten Erdstrich von Europa—und zwar aus diesem Grunde, um Unterricht dort in der deutschen Sprache zu geben. . . . Dieser Aufenthalt in Frankreich wäre mir aus 3 Gründen lieb . . . und drittens, welches der Hauptgrund ist, weil ich mir da recht die französische Sprache aneignen könnte, welches zu der entworfenen Verpflanzung der neuesten Philosophie in dieses Land, wo man von ihr noch gar nichts weiss, notwendig ist (*Br.* 156. 11-32).^{*}

It is very interesting to note how very different is Kleist's idea of settling in Switzerland, as expressed in this letter, from that which moves him later when he has broken completely with his former ideal.

We have then, as fruits of the *Würzburgerreise*: a new sense of physical well-being, a heightened consciousness of intellectual power, and, what is most important for the immediate future, the intention to give a practical turn to his studies by writing and teaching. To what extent he set about the imaginative realization of his ideal woman in a work of didactic literature we have no way of knowing. We do know very definitely, however, that he took up his philosophical studies with renewed energy, and apparently set to work to get a more thorough hold on the Kantian philosophy than he already had, in order that

^{*} The first and second reasons were that he might escape the advice of friends, and that he might live a few years "ganz unbekannt".

he might be an apostle to carry the new light to the capital of the world.

The result was disastrous, and quite inevitably so. Kleist's ideal had been the acquisition of positive knowledge, which he regarded as a treasure beyond the reach of moth or rust, a possession of this world which could be taken with him to the life beyond. The more intense study of Kant which he now undertook swept away from beneath his feet the very ground on which he had thought to stand so firmly.

The storm which had been gathering broke suddenly. Early in March the conflict which tore his soul was still the old question of deciding between a civil office and his high ideal:

Mehr als einmal bin ich nahe gewesen mich endlich geduldig in ein Amt zu fügen, bei dem doch viele Männer, wie sie es sagen, froh sind. . . . Aber immer noch reizt mich mein früheres, höheres Ziel, und noch kann ich es nicht (wie viele es können) verächtlich als unerreichbar verwerfen, ohne vor mir selbst zu erröten (*Br.* 199. 23–200. 3).

but on March 22, 1801, he wrote to Wilhelmine:

Ich weiss nur nicht, wie ich das, was seit 3 Wochen durch meine Seele flog, auf diesem Blatte zusammenpressen soll. . . .

Vor Kurzem ward ich mit der neueren sogenannten Kantischen Philosophie bekannt—und Dir muss ich jetzt daraus einen Gedanken mittheilen, indem ich nicht fürchten darf, dass er Dich so tief, so schmerzhaft erschüttern wird, als mich. . . . Wir können nicht entscheiden, ob das, was wir Wahrheit nennen, wahrhaft Wahrheit ist, oder ob es uns nur so scheint. Ist das letzte, so ist die Wahrheit, die wir hier sammeln, nach dem Tode nicht mehr—und alles Bestreben, ein Eigenthum sich zu erwerben, das uns auch in das Grab folgt, ist vergeblich.

Ach, Wilhelmine, wenn die Spitze dieses Gedankens Dein Herz nicht trifft, so lächle nicht über einen Andern, der sich tief in seinem heiligsten Innern davon verwundet fühlt. Mein einziges, mein höchstes Ziel ist gesunken, und ich habe nun keines mehr.

. . . . Ach, es ist der schmerzlichste Zustand ganz ohne Ziel zu sein, nach dem unser Inneres, froh-beschäftigt, fortschreitet. . . .

Liebe Wilhelmine, lass mich reisen. Arbeiten kann ich nicht, das ist nicht möglich, ich weiss nicht zu welchem Zwecke. Ich müsste, wenn ich zu Hause bliebe, die Hände in den Schoss legen, und denken. . . . Sobald ich einen Gedanken ersonnen habe, der mich tröstet, sobald ich einen Zweck gefasst habe, nach dem ich wieder streben kann, so kehre ich um, ich schwöre es Dir (*Br.* 203. 19–206. 17).

It has seemed necessary to quote at considerable length from this letter of March 22 because it shows how completely all Kleist's thoughts and aims were still centered in his intellectual-moral ideal. It is hard to conceive how he could possibly have made his point more clear: his anguish is brought about by the complete breakdown of the ideal which has been his inspiration for many years past.

It goes without saying that in this general shipwreck of his past ideal all thoughts of "das schriftstellerische Fach" were lost, for this activity, as he conceived of it, was merely a practical application of his studies, suggested to him, undoubtedly, by his reading of Rousseau; he never mentions the subject again.

The whole letter, further, seems to make it very clear that Kleist had never thought of himself as a poet, for if he had, surely, at this time when all the world seemed to sink beneath him he would have laid hold of such a thought; but he could think of no thought to comfort him, could lay hold of no goal nor purpose after which he might strive.

In a letter to Ulrike on March 23 we find—a Kleistian characteristic—the same thoughts repeated in almost the same terms:

Mein *einziges* und *höchstes* Ziel ist gesunken, ich habe keines mehr. Seitdem eckelt mich vor den Büchern, ich lege die Hände in den Schoss, und suche ein neues Ziel, dem mein Geist, froh-beschäftigt, von Neuem entgegenschreiten könnte. Aber ich finde es nicht, und eine innerliche Unruhe treibt mich umher . . . und doch ist der einzige Gedanke, den in diesem äussern Tumult meine Seele unaufhörlich mit glühender Angst bearbeitet, dieser: dein einziges, und höchstes Ziel ist gesunken . . . arbeiten könnte ich doch nicht, ich wüsste nicht, zu welchem Zwecke (*Br.* 207. 10-26).

In a letter of March 28 to Wilhelmine he refers to himself again as "ohne Ziel." On April 9, while still in Berlin, he writes to her:

Ich nehme Abschied von Dir!—Ach, mir ist es, als wäre es auf ewig! Ich habe mich wie ein spielendes Kind auf die Mitte der See gewagt, es erheben sich heftige Winde, gefährlich schaukelt das Fahrzeug über den Wellen, das Getöse übertönt alle Besinnung, ich kenne nicht einmal die Himmelsgegend, nach welcher ich steuern soll, und mir flüstert eine Ahnung zu, dass mir mein Untergang bevorsteht (*Br.* 212. 4-10).

On April 14 we have the same despair:

Ach, ich sehne mich unaussprechlich nach Ruhe! Alles ist dunkel in meiner Zukunft, ich weiss nicht, was ich wünschen und hoffen und furchten soll. . . . (Br. 217. 26-29).

In the latter half of the month of April Kleist set out with his sister Ulrike, in a roundabout way, for Paris. The journey, to be sure, was not without its healing influences: the art and music of Dresden brought balm to his lacerated emotions. He was not yet able, however, to free himself from the agony over his lost ideal, and concerning his stay in Dresden he wrote:

o wie oft habe ich diese glücklichen Menschen (junge Künstler) beneidet, welche kein Zweifel um das Wahre, das sich nirgends findet, bekümmert, die nur in dem Schönen leben, das sich doch zuweilen, wenn auch nur als Ideal, ihnen zeigt. Den einen fragte ich einst, ob man, wenn man sonst nicht ohne Talent sei, sich wohl im 24^{te} Jahre noch mit Erfolg der Kunst widmen könnte? (Br. 222. 17-23.)

He was still without hope, and groping blindly. Indeed, there is no note of cheer in any of his letters during the months of April and May.

In the letter of June 3 to Wilhelmine we have for the first time a note of optimism and of new decision:

Ich selbst fange an, zu glauben, dass der Mensch zu etwas mehr da ist, als bloss zu *denken*—*Arbeit*, fühle ich, wird das einzige sein, was mich ruhiger machen kann. Alles was mich beunruhigt ist die Unmöglichkeit, mir ein Ziel des Bestrebens zu setzen, und die Besorgniss, wenn ich zu schnell ein falsches ergriffe, die Bestimmung zu verfehlen und so ein ganzes Leben zu verpfuschen—Aber sei ruhig, ich werde das *rechte* schon finden. Falsch ist jedes Ziel, das nicht die reine Natur dem Menschen steckt. Ich habe fast eine Ahnung von dem rechten—wirst Du, Wilhelmine, mir dahin folgen, wenn Du Dich überzeugen kannst, dass es das rechte ist—? Doch lass mich lieber schweigen von dem, was selbst in mir noch ganz undeutlich ist (Br. 226. 16-28).

Of fundamental importance in the above passage is the re-statement of the fact which had brought his agony of soul some months before, "die Unmöglichkeit mir ein Ziel des Bestrebens zu setzen," and the contrast to this; the conviction that he will find the right goal,—even now has an inkling of what it is. Anyone familiar with Kleist's letters knows how necessary to his peace of soul was a goal for the attainment of which he might

strive with self-approval. The words, "wirst Du, Wilhelmine, mir dahin folgen," refer without doubt to Kleist's idea, not a new one, of settling in Switzerland. There is more in them than this, however. The last sentence: "Doch lass mich lieber schweigen von dem, was selbst in mir noch ganz undeutlich ist," refers rather to the new hope which has dawned upon him; he wishes, however, greater clearness in his own mind before making any decision.

Reading further in the same letter we find:

In Halberstadt besuchten wir *Gleim*, den bekannten Dichter, einen der rührendsten und interessantesten Greise, die ich kenne. An ihn waren wir zwar durch nichts addressirt, als! durch unsern Namen; aber es giebt keine bessere Adresse als diesen. Er war nämlich ein vertrauter Freund Ewald Kleists, der bei Frankfurt fiel. . . . Alles was Kleist heisst, ist ihm theuer. Er führte uns in sein Cabinet, geschmückt mit Gemälden seiner Freunde. Da ist keiner, sagte er, der nicht ein schönes Werk schrieb, oder eine grosse That begieng. Kleist that beides und Kleist steht oben an. . . . Er besitzt einige hundert Briefe von Kleist, auch sein erstes Gedicht. Gleim war es eigentlich, der ihm zuerst die Aussicht nach dem Parnass zeigte, und die Veranlassung ist seltsam und merkwürdig genug. . . . Aus Dankbarkeit widmete Kleist der Dichtkunst das Leben, das sie ihm gerettet hatte (*Br.* 228. 24-230.1).

To this visit with Gleim Kleist devotes much more of his letter than to the account of all other persons visited.³⁶

³⁶ Concerning this visit to Gleim the biographers noted below comment as follows:

Meyer-Benfey, *op. cit.*, I, 58: "Noch ist das alte Ziel deutlicher und stärker als das neue." In his *Kleist's Leben und Werke*, p. 39, he says with regard to Kleist's words, "Ich habe fast eine Ahnung von dem rechten (Ziel)", "Vielleicht hat der Besuch bei Gleim diese Ahnung geweckt und unwillkürlich deutet sie sich an, wenn er im Brief an Karoline v. Schlieben vom 18. Juli seinen Namen umschreibt als 'einen Namen, der hold klingt, wie ein Dichternamen.' Aber noch steht das alte Ziel trotz allem viel deutlicher und gebietender vor ihm als das geahnte neue." I do not find this last statement of Meyer-Benfey borne out by Kleist's letters. On April 9 (*Br.* 214. 15f) he had written: "und doch wollte *ich* eigentlich nichts, als allem Wissen entfliehen." and on July 21 (*Br.* 245. 21-23): "Ach, Wilhelmine, die Menschen sprechen mir von Alkalien und Säuren, indessen mir ein allgewaltiges Bedürfniss die Lippe trockenet—." With the *Zusammenbruch über Kant* Kleist broke away definitely from his old ideal; the visit to Gleim brought the conception of a new one; in the travail of his soul he brought forth "das Kind seiner Liebe."

In the following letter, a brief note of June 28, Kleist writes:

Ich wollte Dir heute von Strassburg aus einen recht langen Brief schreiben, wozu ich auch so ziemlich gestimmt war (*Br.* 231. 15-17).

Even such a mild note of cheerfulness as this has been lacking in his previous letters. And again he returns for a moment to Gleim:

Als ich in Halberstadt bei Gleim war, trauerte er, dass ich nach Frankreich gieng. Auf meine Frage: warum? antwortete er: weil ich ein Franzose werden würde. Ich versprach ihm aber, als ein Deutscher zurück zu kommen (*Br.* 231. 33-232. 2).

The next letter is that of July 18 to Karoline von Schlieben in Dresden. To her he wrote:

Blättern Sie in Ihrem Stammbuch nach—und wenn Sie ein Wort finden, das warm ist, wie ein Herz, und einen Namen, der hold klingt, wie ein Dichternamen, so können Sie nicht fehlen; denn kurz, es ist Heinrich Kleist (*Br.* 232. 29-32).

To paraphrase slightly: der Name Heinrich Kleist klingt hold, wie ein Dichternamen. Six weeks have passed since he wrote to Wilhelmine: "Doch lass mich lieber schweigen von dem, was selbst in mir noch ganz undeutlich ist." He has had time to become clearer in his own mind, to test his powers in a new field, time for confidence to develop, and his words to Karoline von Schlieben are a confession of his new aspiration and his new

Herzog, *op. cit.*, p. 141: "Diesen artigen Scherz erzählt Kleist in all seiner anekdotischen Umständlichkeit der Braut, um ihr wenn auch an einem solchen Beispiel des Zufalls in seiner lehrhaften, oft schon abstrusen Manier zu zeigen, was die Poesie vermag. Und wie er sich heimlich immer als Dichter fühlte und es nach aussen verschleierte, so liebte er es doch, irgendeine Beziehung zwischen seiner Lage und der berühmter Männer leise anzudeuten." The italics in the above passage are mine, not Herzog's.

Brahm, *Neue Ausgabe*, p. 58: "Gleim unterhielt ihn und Ulrike zumeist von Ewald von Kleist, der sein Freund gewesen war, und nichts konnte den werdenden Dichter angenehmer berühren, als von dem Vorfahren, dem er in manchem verwandt war, vierzig Jahre nach seinem Tode ein so herzliches Andenken lebendig zu finden. Ausführlich schildert er der Braut, wie Ewald von Kleist, nach Gleims Erzählung, auf eine seltsame Art zur Dichtung geführt worden sei; und nicht ohne Beziehung auf seine eigene Lage sagt er ihr, dass die Poesie es gewesen sei, welche jenem das Leben gerettet habe." For Brahm, Kleist has been "der werdende Dichter" since September of the preceding year.

confidence. Again we have a brief reference to Gleim, "der ein Freund von Allem ist, die Kleist heissen."

The letter of July 21 to Wilhelmine is much more optimistic:

Mir war es zuweilen auf dieser Reise, als ob ich meinem Abgrunde entgegen gieng (Br. 241. 22 f).

Then he wanders from the subject to revert to it later:

Und dann—ist es denn auch so *gewiss*, dass ich meinem Abgrund entgegen eile? Wer kann die Wendung des Schicksals errathen? Giebt es eine Nacht, die ewig dauert? So wie eine unbegreifliche Fügung mich schnell unglücklich machte, kann nicht eine eben so unbegreifliche Fügung mich eben so schnell glücklich machen? Und wenn auch das nicht wäre, wenn auch der Himmel kein Wunder thäte, worauf man in unsern Tagen nicht eben sehr hoffen darf, habe ich denn nicht auch Hilfsmittel in mir selbst? Habe ich nicht Talent, und Herz und Geist, und ist meine gesunkene Kraft denn für immer gesunken? . . .

Küsse mein Bild, Wilhelmine, so wie ich so eben das Deinige geküsst habe—Doch höre. Eines muss ich Dir noch sagen, ich bin es Dir schuldig. Es ist gewiss, dass früh oder spät, aber doch gewiss einmal ein heitrer Morgen für mich anbricht. Ich verdiene nicht unglücklich zu sein, und werde es nicht immer bleiben. Aber—es kann ein Weilchen dauern, und dazu gehört Treue. Auch werde ich die Blüthe des Glückes pflücken müssen, wo ich sie finde, überall, gleichviel in welchem Lande, und dazu gehört Liebe (Br. 242. 15–243. 2).

These are the most buoyant notes that Kleist has sounded in many months. The words, "Habe ich nicht Talent, und Herz und Geist," I find impossible to refer to anything other than the strong conviction on his part that he has at last found the calling in which these gifts will save him from 'the abyss.' The reference to future settlement in Switzerland is very clear. Most striking—allowing even for rhetorical exaggeration—is his choice of words: the first incomprehensible and unhappy dispensation—chance, we should perhaps better say—had taken from him his supreme aim and purpose in life; an equally incomprehensible and happy one had given him aim and purpose anew. Here we have a frank recognition of the fact that the impulse which has brought new meaning to his life is not, in his own consciousness, due to a process of development; it is something sudden and unexpected from without. Is not this the normal thing in Kleist's life rather than the abnormal? Did not his first ideal of an intellectual and moral treasure capable of

being transported from this life to the life beyond come to him in the same way? His own account of the matter, in any case, justifies such an assumption.³⁷

In the letter of July 21 Kleist recounts two adventures, either one of which might have resulted in his death. The horses in his carriage had been frightened by the braying of an ass, and had bolted. The carriage was overturned, and Kleist and Ulrike were thrown to the ground. The writer comments:

Also an ein Eselsgeschrei hieng ein Menschenleben? Und wenn es geschlossen gewesen wäre, *darum* hätte ich gelebt? *Das* wäre die Absicht des Schöpfers gewesen bei diesem dunkeln, rätselhaften irdischen Leben? *Das* hätte ich darin lernen und thun sollen, und weiter nichts—? Doch, noch war es nicht geschlossen. Wozu der Himmel es mir gefristet hat, wer kann es wissen? (*Br.* 243. 24–30.)

And after describing a violent storm on the Rhine, when death had seemed near, he concludes:

Ach, es ist nichts ekelhafter, als diese Furcht vor dem Tode. Das Leben ist das einzige Eigenthum, das nur dann etwas werth ist, wenn wir es nicht achten. Verächtlich ist es, wenn wir es nicht leicht fallen lassen können, und nur der kann es zu grossen Zwecken nutzen, der es leicht und freudig wegwerfen könnte (*Br.* 244. 25–30).

And so forth for a good half page of the printed letters. These are notes which sound again in *Die Familie Schroffenstein*.

Now, and not before or during the *Würzburgerreise*, are we justified in applying to Kleist the term "der werdende Dichter" if by these words we mean consciousness of poetic power and *der Wille zur Dichtung*.

The letter of August 15 to Wilhelmine goes even further in its tone of cheerfulness than had the others since the visit to Gleim. Harking back to his figure of himself as a thoughtless child putting forth into the midst of the sea with neither chart nor compass (a letter written over four months earlier) he writes:

Ja, seit einigen Wochen scheint es mir, als hätte sich der Sturm ein wenig gelegt—Kannst Du Dir wohl vorstellen, wie leicht, wie wehmüthig froh dem Schiffer zu Muthe sein mag, dessen Fahrzeug in einer langen finstern stürmenden Nacht, gefährlich-wankend, umhergetrieben ward, wenn er nun an der sanfteren Bewegungen fühlt, dass ein stiller, heitrer Tag anbrechen wird? Etwas Ähnliches empfinde ich in

³⁷ Cf. *Br.* 203, 27—204. 13.

meiner Seele—O möchtest Du auch ein wenig von der Ruhe genießen, die mir seit einiger Zeit zu Theil geworden ist, möchtest Du, wenn Du diesen Brief liesest auch einmal ein wenig froh sein, so wie ich es jetzt bin, da ich ihn schreibe (*Br.* 246. 32–247. 5).

“Seit einiger Zeit, seit einigen Wochen,” says Kleist, the change has come over him. These statements harmonize perfectly with what we have seen as we have followed his letters through the months just past. The first of the letters in which we noted the changed tone was the one recording the visit to Gleim, and in each letter since then we have found an increasing note of confidence and hope, a purposefulness which finds its final expression in his first dramatic creation.

Again Kleist devotes some space to a discussion of his future calling, and closes with the pregnant words:

Dürfte ich auf meine eigne Bildung keine Kräfte verschwenden, so würde ich vielleicht jetzt schon wählen. Aber noch fühle ich meine eigne Blößen. Ich habe den Lauf meiner Studien plötzlich unterbrochen, und werde das Versäumte hier nachholen, aber nicht mehr bloss um der Wahrheit willen, sondern für einen menschenfreundlicheren Zweck—Erlasse es mir, mich deutlicher zu erklären. Ich bin noch nicht bestimmt und ein geschriebenes Wort ist ewig. Aber hoffe das Beste—Ich werde Dich endlich einmal erfreuen können (*Br.* 250. 31—251. 3).

These lines, and especially the phrase, “einen menschenfreundlicheren Zweck,” can refer, it seems to me, to nothing else than to his poetic mission. Quite positive is the contrast which the writer draws between the purpose of his studies before the *Zusammenbruch über Kant* and the goal which now lies before him. If later reports are to be trusted, Kleist again took up in Paris the study of Greek.²⁸

The next letter to Wilhelmine, that of October 10, 1801, might well receive the title that Kleist gave to his letter of approximately a year earlier in Würzburg, “einen Hauptbrief.” He announces to Wilhelmine that he will not return to his fatherland, but will become “ein Bauer, mit einem etwas wohlklingenderen Wort, ein Landmann” in Switzerland. He renounces definitely and finally the pursuit of the sciences, as he had renounced and again renounces the service of the state. And with regard to the humiliation of applying again for a civil office he adds:

²⁸ *Gespräche*, No. 24

Und doch würde ich auch dieses saure Mittel nicht scheuen, wenn es mich nur auch, zum Lohne, an meinen Zweck führe. (*Br.* 260, 18-20).

This "Zweck," an old word with Kleist, but now carrying a new meaning, is, beyond any further possibility of doubt, his poetic mission. Just what his conception of his new calling is, and just what importance we are to attribute to his plan of settling in Switzerland he makes clear:

Nahrungssorgen, für mich allein, sind es doch nicht eigentlich, die mich sehr ängstigen, denn wenn ich mich an das Bücherschreiben machen wollte, so könnte ich mehr, als ich bedarf, verdienen. Aber Bücherschreiben für Geld—o nichts davon. Ich habe mir, da ich unter den Menschen in dieser Stadt so wenig für mein Bedürfniss finde . . . ein Ideal ausgearbeitet; aber ich begreife nicht, wie ein Dichter das Kind seiner Liebe einem so rohen Haufen, wie die Menschen sind, übergeben kann.—Also aus diesem Erwerbszweige wird nichts. Ich verachte ihn aus vielen Gründen, das ist genug. Denn nie in meinem Leben, und wenn das Schicksal noch so sehr drängte, werde ich etwas thun, das meinen innern Forderungen, sei es auch so leise, widerspräche. (*Br.* 261. 13-29).

We know, to be sure, that Kleist did not hold to this view of "Bücherschreiben für Geld," but the words just cited tell us clearly why the idea of settling in Switzerland assumed such supreme importance in his mind—such importance that he broke peremptorily with Wilhelmine when she refused to accede blindly to his new plan: for literature as a livelihood he had as little stomach as he had had for "die Wissenschaften aus Speculation auf Brod," as he told Martini in his letter of March 18, 1799. He would earn his bread as a peasant, but he would not desecrate his art, and degrade it to an "Erwerbszweig." It is difficult to escape the feeling that Kleist at times masked in contempt his sense of weakness in the face of the practical affairs of life, or his unwillingness to give them due consideration in his plans.

"Ein Dichter"—At last we have the full-voiced announcement of the ambition which was suggested to Kleist by his visit to Gleim, and of which he has hinted so constantly in his letters to Wilhelmine during the past three months. We may pass over the winter of 1801-02. We know that during this period Kleist was working on his first drama, and per-

haps on others. On the first of May, 1802, he wrote in a letter to Ulrike:

ich habe keinen andern Wunsch, als zu sterben, wenn mir drei Dinge gelungen sind, ein Kind, ein schön Gedicht, und eine grosse That. Denn das Leben hat doch immer nichts Erhabneres, als nur dieses, dass man es erhaben wegwerfen kann (*Br.* 287. 20-24).

We hear the echo of a phrase that had appeared in a letter to Wilhelmine ten months before, and that we hear again in the words of Ottokar in *Die Familie Schroffenstein*.²⁹

Das Leben ist viel werth, wenn man's verachtet!
Ich brauch's. (Lines 2368-69).

This is not the only echo to reach our ears, however. We hear again the words spoken by Gleim when Kleist and Ulrike had visited him almost a year before in Halberstadt:

Da ist keiner, sagte er,³ der nicht ein schönes Werk schrieb, oder eine grosse That begieng. Kleist that beides und Kleist steht oben an (*Br.* 229. 7-9).

Gleim's words, telling how Ewald von Kleist had been saved from death by poetry (more accurately, by a poem), and had found fulfillment of his life in poetry, came to Heinrich von Kleist as a possible parable of his own life at a time when he felt that he was facing oblivion; they fell upon his seared soul like a spark on tinder, and hope burned anew at the thought of an activity in which the heart might come into its own after "der kalte Verstand" had so signally failed him. Now, as his first literary work seems to justify his decision, he paraphrases to Ulrike the words that Gleim had spoken to him in her presence, making himself one of Gleim's worthy company.

This echo of a phrase that had struck Kleist's fancy or appealed to his imagination is a characteristic of his letters and of many of his works very evident to even a superficial reader. In the above case it completes the chain that binds together the moment of first inspiration and the moment of approaching achievement. As Heinrich von Kleist wrote of Ewald we may, I believe, write of Heinrich:

²⁹ Under the one title, *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, I have included the other two stages of Kleist's work, *Die Familie Ghonorez* and *Die Familie Thierza*. I am inclined to find the beginnings of this work in June, or the first half of July, 1801. The poet's optimism increases as the work grows under his hand.

Gleim war es eigentlich, der ihm zuerst die Aussicht nach dem Parnass zeigte (*Br.* 229. 13 f).

To a number of Kleist's biographers it has been a stone of stumbling that his muse should have been so silent during an earlier and apparently more favorable period, and suddenly found voice in such full strain in *Die Familie Schroffenstein*. It is for this reason, I believe, that they have so eagerly seized upon his stylistic studies in the letters of the Würzburg journey, and date from this period his conscious strivings after poetic self-realization. Such a conception, however, is in contradiction with every definite expression which he voices concerning his ideals at this time. Before, during, and for several months after the journey to Würzburg Kleist's supreme passion is the attainment of "Wahrheit und Bildung" (printed in black face type in the *Briefe*.) On the other hand, the stylistic studies of this period are quite in harmony with, and a natural expression of, the one half of his ideal, "Bildung." And when finally Kleist does turn to poetry he is not long in telling us of the fact.

The obvious explanation for Kleist's late realization of his powers, lies, I believe, in the fact that he was for a number of years so completely obsessed by his double ideal, "Wahrheit und Bildung," which he pursued with a mystic and almost fanatic zeal, that his ears were closed to other voices within him. The lyric crystallization of Kleist's love for Wilhelmine finds expression in *Die beiden Tauben. Eine Fabel nach Lafontaine*, written apparently in 1806, and called into being by renewed contact with Wilhelmine, now the wife of Professor Krug, in Königsberg; a meagre offering in truth, yet convincing in the elegiac note it strikes.

To find the poetic expression of Kleist's emotional life we must turn, very evidently, to his dramas. *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, for example, gives us the poetic precipitation of his anguish at the *Zusammenbruch über Kant*. One might say that the biographical unity of the piece is greater than its dramatic, for the jarring notes at the end of the drama are quite in harmony with the poet's great disillusionment.

Speaking in general terms we may characterize the achievements of Kleist's period of apprenticeship as negative from the standpoint of poetic creation, and as largely negative in the

way of preparation for his later work. The outstanding feature of this period, and its greatest value, is the series of liberations which it brings the future poet, liberation from the fetters of family and caste conventions on the one hand, and of false and subversive ideals on the other. Among these liberations, it seems to me, we must include the broken engagement with Wilhelmine. On the positive side, we must count a wide acquaintance with literature, much greater than the mere mention of names and titles in his letters would indicate. *Die Familie Schrockenstein* reveals something of this. Expressed in terms of his ideal, this reading would have come under the category of "Bildung." His "moralische Revenüen", which he would have classed as "Wahrheit", went by the board, except as they were capable of transference to poetic figure; thus a portion of that which he had been able to acquire "bei der grossen Lehrmeisterin Natur" could be saved; much of it was useless.

Die Familie Schrockenstein marks the beginning of Kleist's *Wanderjahre*.⁴⁰

GEORGE M. HOWE

⁴⁰ I have not had access to the following work which is published privately; it seems to cover the same period of Kleist's life that is dealt with in this study: *Kleist in Paris*, by Paul Hoffmann, Berlin, 1924. Volksverband d. Bücherfreunde, Wegweiser-Verlag.

LIII

E. TH. A. HOFFMANN'S RECEPTION IN ENGLAND

OF ALL German romanticists few have been so widely read and none so extensively imitated as E. Th. A. Hoffmann. He was in France the most popular of all foreign novelists, and exerted a strong and lasting influence upon French writers of the nineteenth century. His popularity and influence in his fatherland has been by no means so steady as in France. To be sure, at the time of his death in 1822, his books were the best sellers in Germany. But he soon lost favor with German readers, partly because the majority of literary men were hostile to him. Still worse did he fare in England, where he became known much earlier than in France, but never succeeded in gaining the favor of critics or public.

Curiously enough, the first work of Hoffmann which was translated in England soon after his death was not one of his more realistic stories, but his wildest and most confusing novel *Die Elixiere des Teufels*.¹ This book was reviewed in *John Bull's Magazine* and in *Blackwood's Magazine*.² The praise bestowed upon it by the reviewer in the latter may be accounted for by the circumstance that it was published by Blackwood. The anonymous writer considers *Die Elixiere des Teufels* as the best work of Hoffmann—a judgment quite in opposition to almost all critics except Friedrich Hebbel and the most modern ones. The reviewer defends the supernatural elements when he says: "Nothing that is a part, a real essential part, of human nature, ever can be exhausted—and the regions of fear and terror never will be." Ghosts, spirits, and dwarfs "have taken such a place in the imagination, and indeed in the hearts of men, that their total banishment from thence must remain for ever an impossibility"—a statement to which the enlightened twentieth century will probably take exception. Hoffmann's technical skill is recognized in the judgment that "the superior excellence of the *Devil's Elixir* lies in the skill with which its author has

¹ Edinburgh and London 1824.

² Vol. XVI, pp. 55 ff.

contrived to mix up the horrible notion of the double-goer [sic.] with ordinary human feelings of all kinds." In trying to tell the fable of the novel the reviewer fails miserably, admitting that it is not quite clear to him. And when he believes that the translator, by pruning off all indelicacy, has not only not done the smallest injury to the author's genius, but, on the contrary, has thereby improved it to great and manifest benefit and advantage of the work in every possible point of view, we must seriously doubt his ability as a literary critic.

A second article, in which the writer intended to draw moral lessons from the literary and personal career of Hoffmann (who, according to the friendly critic, "died of nothing but Rhine wine and brandy punch") was promised but never written. Instead of that we find two years later in the same magazine³ a violent attack on Hoffmann. Another writer discusses Gillie's *German Stories*,⁴ a collection containing two of Hoffmann's stories more suited to the taste of Puritan England: *Das Fräulein von Scudery* and *Das Majorat*. Since these stories are somewhat less fantastic and since Gillie's work was published by Blackwood again, the reviewer feels obliged to recognize some merit in the two stories. His praise, however, is rather colorless in comparison with his overestimation of such third-class writers as Tromlitz, whose *Belagerung von Antwerpen* he advertizes as the best, most effective, and noblest story yet translated from the German. Contrary to the previously-mentioned writer he condemns all supernatural elements, and in speaking of Hoffmann's *Der Doppelgänger* he bursts into a wild denunciation:

The dreams of dyspeptic lunacy can go no further. . . . Books of this class do not fall so much within the province of criticism, as of medicine or police; they are preparations to be administered by the physician as emetics, or to be prohibited by the law-giver as occasions of epilepsy or abortion.

This criticism is quite in agreement with that of Walter Scott, who devoted a long article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*⁵ to Hoffmann and his work. What the anonymous writer in

³ Vol. XX, pp. 844 ff.

⁴ Edinburgh and London 1826.

⁵ I (1827), 61 ff.

Blackwood's Magazine had said about the *Doppelgänger*, Scott applies to *Der Sandmann*, declaring:

It is impossible to subject tales of this nature to criticism. They are not the visions of a poetical mind, they have scarcely even the seeming authenticity which the hallucinations of lunacy convey to the patient; . . . we can not help considering his case as one requiring the assistance of medicine rather than of criticism.

On the other hand, Scott willingly concedes that Hoffmann is not without talents, and, wrongly assuming that Hoffmann was "a high-spirited patriot," thinks that he would have been able to make much of his personal observations during the battle of Dresden: "We could willingly have spared," he says, "some of his grotesque works of *diablerie*, if we had been furnished, in their place, with the genuine description of the attack upon, and the retreat from Dresden, by the allied army." Scott's conclusion is that Hoffmann's works "ought to be considered less as models for imitation than as affording a warning how the most fertile fancy may be exhausted by the lavish prodigality of its possessor." This article of Scott not only hurt Hoffmann's reputation in England, it also influenced many German critics, after it had been favorably commented upon by Goethe.

Not more lenient than Scott is Carlyle in the biographical note appearing in his edition of *German Romance*⁶ which contains Carlyle's excellent translation of *Der Goldene Topf*. Though giving full credit to the genius of Hoffmann, he, too, speaks bitterly about his life, and condemns the extravagance of his muse in the statement:

There grew up in Hoffmann's character something player-like, something false, brawling and tawdry, which we trace both in his writings and his conduct. His philosophy degenerates into levity, his magnanimity into bombast. . . . There is too little meaning in that bright extravagance; it less resembles the creation of a poet, than the dream of an opium eater.

Until the middle of last century, when the fairy tale *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* suddenly became very popular in England, only a few works besides the above named were translated: *Meister Floh*, *Die Jesuiterkirche*, *Der Sandmann*, *Der Elementargeist*, *Meister Martin der Küfer*. In the leading English

First published 1826.

journals Hoffmann is hardly ever mentioned after 1830, in spite of the fact that numerous authors, now long forgotten, receive detailed and sympathetic treatment. If on rare occasions one chances upon some favorable comment by a British critic, there is likely good reason to suspect French influence. In a discussion of French novelists in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1833 a critic discovers the real secret of Hoffmann's artistic realism:

Only by such a mind [he says] so accustomed to brooding over and dissecting in its own case the origin and connexion of such phenomena, and the way in which, in certain states of mind they blend themselves with the real influences of the world about us, could the slender vein of connexion between this phantasmagoria and human feelings and motives be detected and laid open, with that certainty and delicacy of anatomy which imparts even to the reader some portion of the spell under which the author himself seems to heave and labor.⁷

And because this is inimitable, the critic condemns sharply Balzac and the other followers of Hoffmann among the French novelists.

A similar view we find expressed in the *Athenæum* of 1847 in a review of Hoffmann's biography by the French professor Christian.

Hoffmann [we read] opened a new field of literature, deriving its strength from, and running its course in, the spectral limits of that doubtful region where rationality and insanity come in contact. . . . This tendency was carried to an excess which, as there are few who can by possibility feel it, there will always be only a limited number to appreciate.⁸

We need not look very deep for the cause of the cool and sometimes even hostile reception of Hoffmann in England. Already Madame de Staël had stated in her famous book *De L'Allemagne*: "Les Anglois veulent à tout des résultats immédiatement applicables, et de là naissent leurs préventions contre une philosophie qui a pour objet le beau plutôt que l'utile."⁹ And English writers, especially those averse to Carlyle's enthusiasm, have frequently laid bare what they thought was the greatest shortcoming of German literature. In the *Edinburgh Review* of 1845 for instance, we find this opinion: "The parent vice of German literature is want of distinct purpose and as

⁷ Vol. 57, pp. 330 ff.

consequences of this, want of masculine character, and chastened style. It is this want of definite purpose—or call it want of culture—which generates their idle speculation. . . .”¹⁰ To such critics Hoffmann must have appeared as a typical example of a writer of good-for-nothing stories. In 1847 a writer stated in the *Athenæum* England’s judgment upon Hoffmann thus: “Sober, practical England, where visionaries have no chance of toleration, save when they exaggerate a popular prejudice—regarded him as an author who heaped extravagance upon extravagance, without a thought of aim or purport. . . .”¹¹

However, it was not only literary but also moral puritanism which influenced Englishmen in their judgment of the great writer. The biography of Hoffmann by the narrow-minded pedant Hitzig was the only source for the life of the man, and apparently all English writers not only repeated the complaints of Hitzig, but were even more violent in their condemnation of the wayward and irregular life of the poet.

The last decades however, have witnessed a renaissance of the great East Prussian writer and his works. What Vernon Lee said in 1878: “Poor Chapelmaster Kreisler! He has long been forgotten by the world in general,—even those few that still are acquainted with his weird portrait, smile at it as at a relic of a far distant time”¹²—is no longer true. Literary men of modern Germany have given us a new interpretation of Hoffmann, and his books are enjoyed by a multitude of readers. In England, too, a new appreciation of the poet is taking place, as is testified by a number of articles on the anniversary of Hoffmann’s death in 1922. In 1919 a new version of *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* (“translated, mutilated, and terminated, by O. Eliphaz Keat,” as the title-page announces) was published under the title *Princess Pirlipatine and The Nutcracker*.¹³ And in 1923 the first collection of Hoffmann’s Tales, most of which had never been translated before, was

⁸ No. 1031, pp. 811 ff.

⁹ Paris 1813, I, 209 f.

¹⁰ Vol. 82, pp. 451 ff.

¹¹ No. 1031, pp. 811 ff.

¹² *Fraser’s Magazine*, New Series, XVIII, 767.

¹³ By malice or ignorance, the story is not ascribed to Hoffmann, but to Alexandre Dumas, who had translated it into French.

given to the English-speaking public¹⁴. In this we have only another example of how little value we may attach to the judgment of such famous critics as Carlyle, who believed that Hoffmann's tales would soon be forgotten and the author remembered mainly as an object of curiosity and of censure.

ERWIN G. GUDDE.

¹⁴ Tr. by J. T. Bealby. American ed., New York 1923.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF RIME

THE history of rime reveals an interesting coincidence. Rime was practically unknown to the ancients. It probably originated in the early mediæval Latin of the age of Tertullian (155–222) in connection with the choral singing in the Christian churches, and came to prominence in the poetry of troubadours, precisely at the time when the modern European music came into existence. It is well known that the troubadours produced the first learned musicians in Europe. In the thirteenth century Adam de la Halle wrote his celebrated play, “Jeu de Robin et Marion,” which is considered as the first example of pastoral play and comic opera in France, and is—according to Suchier—the oldest musical play in Europe.¹ At the same time it is one of the first dramatic experiments in which rime is extensively used. It was not before the fifteenth century, however, that rime was universally accepted throughout Northern Europe as a powerful device of literary expression. And at the same time, i.e., in the first half of the fifteenth century, John Dunsdale, an Englishman, invented counterpoint, and through his musical compositions acquired an international reputation. Thus our European sense for rime appears to have been trained in the great school of music. *The origin of rime coincides with the origin of modern harmony.*

This remarkable coincidence, it seems to me, can hardly be accidental; it is to be accounted for, rather, on the basis of the fundamental laws of the ear. For rime is primarily an acoustic phenomenon²; it is based on sound, or more precisely on the

¹ Herman Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Französischen Literatur*, p. 272.

² Sidney Lanier (*Music and Poetry*, p. 3) maintains that we must “abandon the idea that music is a species of language—which is not true—and substitute for that the converse idea that language is a species of music.” Lanier’s contributions to this problem, however, are lacking any exact physical basis, and are confined to mere analogies.

succession of sounds. But the succession of sounds has two different aspects: rhythm and melody. Which of these is the determinative factor for rime?

Different Theories of Rime

Rime—"this delight for the nordic ear"—is most commonly regarded as a mere auxiliary of rhythm. Herder, the great enthusiast for classical rhythms, is inclined to regard rime as a substitute for the antique meter where the syllables were different, not merely in accent, but also in length. Since the length-quality of vowels is generally lost in modern languages there appeared the necessity of finding some auxiliary device that would help our ear in organizing the rhythmic material of the verse. Thus rime had to accomplish what could no longer be accomplished by measure and length.³ It was supposed to assist our mind in forming and comprehending larger units of rhythm, such as lines and stanzas, by giving them a symmetrical division, and thereby uniting them into comprehensive wholes. "Some other means of poetical language," says R. Müller-Freienfels, "are utilized to assist rhythm. Such in the first place is the old Germanic Stabreim (alliteration). Also the end-rime is a powerful assistance to rhythm."⁴ Similar ideas in regard to the nature of rime we find among such modern thinkers as Lipps and Santayana. Lipps maintains that rime belongs to the class of rhythmical phenomena; its function consists in dividing and connecting the elements of verse.⁵ Similarly Santayana sees the principal justification of rime in its power to give "an artificial relationship to the phrases between which it obtains,

³ Herder, *Werke*, XVIII, 29: "Da der Rhythmus der Griechen verloren ist und sich der poetischen Genius hier ungebildeten, mit dem Römischen Volks-dialect vermischten Sprachen mittheilen soll, so werden in dieser Verwirrung ohne Sylbenmasse der Alten sich ohne Zweifel rohere Volksgesänge nach dem Model der Mönchpoesie formen. Was das innere Maas und Gewicht der Sylben nicht thun kann, wird der Reim ersetzen sollen mit dem von jeher das Ohr und die Zunge der Völker spielte."

⁴ R. Müller-Freienfels, *Psychologie der Kunst*, II, 82.

⁵ Th. Lipps, *Aesthetic*, p. 400-401: "Zum Versrhythmus tritt der Reim, als ein verwandtes und doch auch wiederum dazu gegensätzliches Element. . . . Der Endreim scheidet und verbindet verse. Er schliesst unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgende Verse zu einem Ganzen zusammen." Similar views are maintained by M. H. Liddell and V. Zirmunski.

which, but for it, would run away from one another in a rapid and irrevocable flux."⁶

Thus we see that rime is commonly regarded as an attribute of rhythm. Its æsthetic power, according to the general belief, lies in its rhythmic efficiency. This traditional explanation, however correct, is insufficient. For it confuses rime with something that is accomplished through the mechanism of rime, and fails to account for the genuine phenomenon of rime itself. The experience of rime cannot be reduced to the experience of rhythm. From the standpoint of human apperception the two are fundamentally different, for one is experience in time while the other is primarily an experience in tone. The latter may prove to be of value in obtaining a comprehensive view of large rhythmic bodies, such as heroic couplet, sonnet, triolet, etc., but in order to do this it must possess its own characteristic features as a phenomenon *sui generis*. In other words, the attempt to regard rime as an auxiliary of rhythm fails for the simple reason that it overlooks the true nature of rime itself in view of its secondary function. For the question is, why is rime able to assist rhythm? What is it that makes the repetition of sound at the end of a verse so effective?

If rhythm cannot be regarded as the determinative factor for rime, melody must be considered as such. Indeed a number of thinkers are inclined to regard rime as a purely musical phenomenon. J. S. Schütze in his *Essay on Rime*, published first in 1802, attempts to reduce rime to the phenomenon of consonance, and believes that its fundamental function consists in connecting ideas by means of the harmony of words.⁷ Similarly Tieck appears as an enthusiastic advocate of musical interpretation of rime. But he spoils the effect of his otherwise keen analysis by introducing an element of mysticism into his theory.⁸ In this article I desire to present a few arguments in favor of

⁶ G. Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty*, p. 173.

⁷ J. S. Schütze, *Versuch einer Theorie des Reims*, p. 18.

⁸ Tieck, *Kritische Schriften* I, 187: "Es ist nichts weniger als Trieb zu Künstlichkeiten oder zu Schwierigkeiten, welche den Reim zerst in die Poesie eingeführt hat, sondern die Liebe zu Ton und Klang, das Gefühl, dass die ähnlich lautenden Worte in deutlicher oder geheimnisvoller Verwandtschaft stehen müssen, das Bestreben die Poesie in Musik, in etwas Bestimmtes-Unbestimmtes zu verwandeln." (Quoted from Ehrenfeld, *Studien zur Theorie des Reims*.)

what may be termed a melodic interpretation of rime which are based on purely physical processes. Without venturing into any mystical depths I propose simply to consider rime as a technical device to intensify the effect produced by the music of words, and to connect it with the system of overtones contained in the vowels of our speech. In undertaking this it will be necessary to remind the reader of Helmholtz's theory of vowels, and his physical interpretation of melody.⁹

The Music of Words

The vowels of our speech are subject to the law of harmonic complication that governs other musical sounds. The tone-quality of a vowel—that which gives individuality to each vowel—depends on the position of the mouth cavity which acts as a resonator and reinforces certain overtones contained in the speaking voice while subduing others. Thus the distribution of energy of the sound with reference to its own harmonic partials is different for different vowels. Of all the overtones contained in the speaking voice the mouth cavity, being placed in a certain position, selects one or two particular overtones, and by sympathetic vibration brings them into prominence, thus producing a certain quality of tone which is psychologically identified as a vowel. This characteristic overtone remains within a certain very limited range of variation, and is practically independent of the fundamental tone of the voice. The larger part of the energy of the sound is in the partials which fall within these limits, no matter at what pitch the vowel is pronounced. Hence we may safely conclude that each vowel is nothing else than a specific chord whose partials have not merely a definite arrangement, but also a very definite intensity. If, knowing the exact composition of vowels, we could artificially reproduce precisely the same chord by giving to each component its proper intensity, we could obtain a mechanical vowel exactly corresponding to its vocal equivalent. The difficulty of producing such artificial vowels consists in the difficulty of giving the exactly required intensity to its components.¹⁰ But one may easily obtain a mechanical approximation of any

⁹ Helmholtz, *Die Lehre von den Tonhörfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik*.

¹⁰ D. C. Miller, *The Science of Musical Sounds*, p. 244.

vowel by holding the right pedal of a piano and speaking with sufficient loudness into the mechanism of the instrument. By sympathetic vibration the strings will repeat the sound.

Strictly speaking, each vowel is characterized by a specific chord in which each component sound has a specific intensity. Among the variously intoned partials, however, there is in each vowel one characteristic overtone to which falls the larger part of the energy of the sound,—the tone which is intensified by the sympathetic vibration of the mouth cavity. Prof. D. C. Miller testifies that the partials lying within a characteristic region of resonance contain often as much as ninety per cent of the total energy of the sound. This means that the human ear must be able to perceive the characteristic overtone of each vowel as a distinguishable sound, and only our habit of associating it with the rest of the vowel chord makes us unaware of its individuality; in the process of hearing it becomes fused with the other partials, and then appears in the disguised form of a concrete vowel. Thus, according to L. Bevier,¹¹ the most decided characteristic for the identity of the vowel "a," as contained in the word "father," is the overtone or overtones whose frequencies of vibration chance to fall between 1000 and 1300 vibrations to the second, the maximum seeming to lie at about 1150, i.e., approximately at d'' flat (re bemol); "this is the main resonance of the mouth when formed to utter this vowel, and remains remarkably constant no matter what the fundamental pitch may be." The eight standard vowels of the English language contained in the following words: *father*, *raw*, *no*, *gloom*, *mat*, *pet*, *they*, and *bee*, have been analyzed and found to contain the following characteristic tones respectively: d'' flat, g' flat, b flat, e flat, e' flat-b'' flat, f'-b', b-e'' flat, e flat-g'''.

When we speak, these sounds produce a gentle accompaniment to our speech which only lacks a certain unity to become a melody. It is a continuous flow of subdued musical sounds, a sort of "infinite melody" in a Wagnerian sense that is gently whispered into our ear by the vanishing vowels. In a very precise, and not at all metaphorical, sense our vowels produce music; and the peculiar beauty of various languages largely depends on purity and variability of vowels which, when set

¹¹ "The acoustic analysis of the vowels," *Physical Review*, April, 1900.

in motion, may produce highly variegated musical effects. Our ear seems to be very sensitive to those musical effects; for we easily distinguish what is musical and what is unmusical in prose and poetry, and even in ordinary speech. If we agree to neglect the disturbing influence of consonants, we may represent the musical content of a phrase or verse in common musical signs. The analysis of the following lines from Wordsworth may serve as an illustration:

Hail, Zaragoza! If with unwet eye
We can approach, thy sorrow to behold,
Yet is the heart not pitiless nor cold;
Such spectacle demands not tear or sign.

The vowels of this fragment, when pronounced, contain the following melody:



Another illustration may be taken from Poe's *Raven*:

Once upon a midnight dreary, while I pondered, weak and weary,
Over many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore—
While I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping,
As of some one gently rapping, rapping at my chamber door.



Such, or approximately such, melody is actually contained in the above lines. If by some appropriate physical device we were in position to intensify the characteristic overtone of every vowel, we might be able to hear the melody directly at its source. By playing it on the piano, or some other musical instrument, one may obtain but a very imperfect reproduction of it. At any rate it is a very strange music that reminds one of those fantastic sounds, probably suggested by our own imagination, which one may occasionally hear in a moving railroad car when one listens intently to the monotonous voice of the rolling wheels. It is an abstract musical vision that never exists for our consciousness as a distinct, individual perception, but is blended with other sound perceptions producing what is generally called the musical value of the verse. Every poem, apart from its meaning, has a characteristic musical appearance. The physical cause of the latter lies in the arrangement of overtones associated with individual vowels. The musical value of a verse depends directly upon that arrangement. The peculiarly melodic character of the above fragment from Wordsworth is, if not exactly identical with the melody given above, yet no doubt a function of that melody.

What is, now, the function and significance of rime in the music of vowels? To answer this question it is necessary to consider the physical nature of melody.

What is Melody?

Melody, according to Helmholtz, is based upon the harmonic affinity of the tones involved. "In the ear even every simple tone, if sufficiently intense, excites feeble sensations of harmonic upper tones." Singing or listening to a musical sound we never perceive a single tone, but a whole chord. Therefore, in the infancy of music, the transition from one tone to another was probably determined by the fact that the second tone is indistinctly heard together with the first. For this reason the most natural melodic transition is that from *c* to *g*. This transition is actually the foundation of all melodic motion. But as soon as the second note of the interval is actually taken or even heard a strong impulse is born in our mind to return to the original tone. *This impulse is the real origin of melody.* It may be immediately satisfied in the most primitive way by a direct

return to the tonic, or else the motion may be executed by the way of another note that would lead the voice to the original tone. In the latter case a feeling of suspense is produced that modified the original craving for return.

Helmholtz considers the musical tones to be related to each other in the first degree which have two identical partial tones; and related in the second degree when they are both related in the first degree to some third musical tone. From the physical standpoint melody is the relation of affinity among the successive tones. On the subjective side this relation stimulates in each particular distribution of tones a peculiar tendency, or desire to come back to the original tone. Psychologically, therefore, melody is nothing else than a variety of desire, a longing or craving. It is not—I am aware—an expression of some heterogeneous desire, such as love, longing for God or moonlight, or what not, which the composer is supposed to transmit to us. He does not transmit anything except his immediate and perfectly *unique desire to move from one tone to another*, which is melody. The manner in which a desire is expressed in consciousness is called *emotion*; we are aware of our own desires only through the medium of our emotions. Therefore, from a strictly psychological standpoint melodies represent a specific class of emotions,—a class that is peculiarly connected with tones.

It is well known that our visual and auditory sensations are accompanied by slight emotional effects. In a melody, due to the instinctive impulse to reach the end, i.e., to return to the original tone, the emotional effect associated with each coming sound is greatly intensified. Every coming tone appears now in a definite emotional relation to the original tone; that is the whole movement is dominated by the sensation of tonic, or sense of key. No other emotions are connected with melodies except those which lie immediately in the material of tones. They may be in a way vaguely similar to the emotions of love, reverence, or joy; but in themselves they are genuinely different from those. They are all based on the psycho-physical fact that when we hear an harmonic deviation from a given tone we feel a peculiar tendency to go back to the original. Every melody starts and ends with the tonic. "The tonic note," says Helmholtz, "as the connecting core of all the tones in a regularly

constructed melody, must be heard on the first accented part of a bar, and also at the close, so that melody starts from it and returns to it." In other words, *melody is a peculiar tendency to repeat the same sound after several others have been taken*. The fundamental tone which forms the center of melodic motion brings unity into the formless succession of tones, and is commonly called tonic, or key. Unless one feels and perceives the relation of every coming tone to that original center, one cannot hear the melody; like a savage taken to a modern opera, he would perceive the succession of tones without being able to organize them into a melody. Key is, therefore, the organizing principle, the unity of melodic motion.

What is Rime?

If an harmonic deviation from a well-perceived musical tone is bound to cause in our mind a feeling of alienation and a desire to go back to the original tone, there are reasons to believe that an indistinct musical tone, such as perceived, for instance, in the vowels, would do the same thing, only in a smaller degree. The phenomenon of assonance corroborates that view. There is a great deal of satisfaction connected with the return to the same vowel, especially after certain definite intervals. For rhythmical reasons the last accentuated vowel in a verse line, being involuntarily stressed, stays prominently in our mind, and naturally modifies the perception of following vowels in the same way in which the first stressed tone in a melody modifies the perception of the next coming tones. In other words, the last vowel in a verse line acts in a manner similar to that of the key-note in a melodic motion. The deviation from that vowel acts melodically, i.e., stimulates a desire to come back to the originally perceived tone. Our ear seems to detect a faint shadow of melodic motion on the background of the spoken vowels, and involuntarily selects one of those vowels for tonic. The difference between melody and verse consists chiefly in the position of the tonic note, or key. In melody the key is generally given in the first accented part of a bar. In verse on the contrary the first actually accented part is the last vowel of a line. But the nature of the phenomenon in both cases remains fundamentally alike. One tone is selected to dominate the melodic motion in each case, and every other

tone is, then, taken in relation to that fundamental tone, with a constantly increasing tendency to come back to the original. *This is accomplished by the rime.*

Why a harmonic deviation from a given tone (which, besides, must be rhythmically stressed) excites a desire to return to it, may serve as a subject for psychological speculation. Here it is simply admitted as a fact. Everyone knows by experience that when he begins to sing or whistle he cannot arbitrarily break up the melodical motion on one of the middle notes without doing violence to his own emotions; in singing a melody one has a peculiar desire to go through with it, and bring it to its natural end, i.e., back to the tonic note, or, in other words, to finish it in the same key in which the melody was started. If the melody is broken in the middle, one is left more or less strongly dissatisfied, and ordinarily within a very short time will unconsciously resume singing or whistling until he will bring the melodical sentence to its natural end. I believe I have shown that a similar situation lies at the basis of our appreciation of poetry. The vowels of our speech, when set in motion, actually produce a series of musical tones. Those series only lack the unity of key to become melodious. But when our speech becomes rhythmical, the last stressed vowel in a line acquires particular importance. It divides the lines and therefore stays prominently in our consciousness. The corresponding tone of that vowel is then naturally perceived as the starting point of the melodical motion, and the deviation from it, accomplished by the next following vowels, stimulates a desire to repeat the tone, i.e., *to end the melody of vowels in the same key in which it was started.* Without such repetition, i.e., without rime, a series of vowels cannot be organized into a melodical whole; it may still possess certain musical qualities, especially those which are based on rhythm, but it lacks melody. If the melody of vowels is broken in the middle, i.e., if the next line does not give the reader the expected melodic satisfaction in the rime, his feeling of dissatisfaction is increased, the expectation becomes more tense, and consequently the musical pleasure from striking the right tone at the end of the third line more complete. That is perhaps the reason why the alternating rimes produce a stronger musical effect than ordinary couplets. If the melody of the verse is completely

broken, as for instance in the blank verse, the reader perceives a slight musical disappointment throughout the poem which partly, perhaps, intensifies the emotional longing associated with the poem as a whole, and partly even creates a peculiar pleasure similar to the esthetical charm derived from dissonance. Verse without rime is deprived of an essential part of its melodic charm. But it is precisely for this reason that in certain poems we decidedly prefer the blank verse to rime. For rime producing a strong musical effect diverts the larger part of our attention from the subject to the pure sound. The tonal material of a verse organized by rime into a melodic whole becomes an object of aesthetical enjoyment apart from its meaning, and may under circumstances irritate us as false and annoying.

Thus rime may be properly defined as the unity of key in the melody of vowels. The tendency to repeat the same vowel at the end of the next line, i.e., the desire for rime, is from the musical point of view nothing else than the tendency to close the verse in the same key in which it was started. Herewith rime is reduced to a more familiar phenomenon of melody. Now it remains for me to answer a few possible objections.

First, it might be objected that rime is not based exclusively on vowels; it requires a complete identity of sound at the end of a line. What is the function of consonants in producing that identity? Why are such rimes as 'tree' and 'street' considered monstrous? It seems to me that the reason for complete identity of sound is largely based on the very natural determination on the part of the poet to retain the *tone-quality* of the tonic notes as pure as possible. The impression from an impure rime may be properly compared to the impression that one would possibly receive if a melody played on a piano were suddenly to end in flute or violin. In poetry the tendency to retain the tone-quality of the terminal sound must be still stronger, for psychologically the tone in this case is not perceived as an individual tone, but through the medium of its tone-quality, i.e., as a definite vowel. For this reason a vowel accompanied by different consonants psychologically appears as varying in tone-quality. It is also possible that the vowel itself is slightly changed by the consonant that follows it.¹³ Besides it seems to

¹³ See M. H. Liddell, "The Physical Characteristics of Speech Sound" (*Bulletin of Purdue University*).

me that literary traditions and even conventions have a great deal to do with the strict prohibition of the usage of impure rimes. In the Russian language, where rimes are too easily obtained, they lose for poets a great deal of their natural fascination. To the refined ear of a modern poet an ordinary rime appears trivial and poor; he is constantly in search of strange and unusual rimes which are difficult to connect by ideas. That caused in the modern Russian poetry a reaction against what is called rime puritanism, and gave rise to a strong movement among the young poets in favor of substituting for regular rime the more or less complete assonance of the terminal syllables. These artificial fake-rimes give the reader almost as much satisfaction as the ordinary rimes, thus indirectly corroborating our view with regard to the alleged preponderance of vowels in the structure of rime. The above objection, therefore, does not destroy the value of our argument. It does not even suggest any reasonable restriction to our fundamental definition of rime. It merely justifies—for the sake of clearness—a slight addition to that definition. Rime must be defined as the unity of key in the melody of vowels as perceived through the *tone-quality of the whole ending*.

Another objection may be raised by musicians. It may be pointed out that the key in the melodic motion of vowels does not necessarily coincide with the tone contained in the last accented vowel. The key in which, for instance, the above given melody seems to move is g flat major, whereas according to our interpretation the first and the last measure should be regarded as composed in the key of d flat, while the two middle ones ought to move—from the musical point of view quite absurdly—in the key of b flat. Such objection, however, could be raised only by a person who completely misunderstood the meaning of the above argument. I have already pointed out that the conception of key could not be simply transferred from music to poetry; it must be rather substantially modified not merely in one respect. The technique of musical composition, of course, does not apply to the quite natural music of vowels, which is not composed by anybody. What I believe I have demonstrated is not the technical coincidence, but the identity of physical basis of two otherwise totally different phenomena. Far from proclaiming a complete *technical* identity of rime and

key, I merely maintained that rime *fulfills a function* similar to that of key. Physically speaking, the foundation of both rime and melody lies in the system of overtones which, on the subjective side, produce that peculiar effect of craving for the the repetition of sound.

In conclusion one more suggestion may be ventured which aims, it will be said, at rehabilitating an international reputation. Among various languages the Italian is generally regarded as the most musical one. The English on the contrary is often branded as utterly unfit for musical purposes and, therefore, as unmusical. In touching upon such a delicate question one is in danger of being favorably or unfavorably prejudiced in regard to a certain language by what may be termed a linguistic patriotism. But putting aside all patriotic considerations I shall attempt to discuss the question on purely objective grounds. To judge a musical work by the amount of sweet pleasure it gives to the ear is a symptom of incurable diletantism. A musician must possess other criteria and standards for criticism beyond his personal enjoyment. Similarly the musical qualities of a language cannot be judged on the basis of the acoustic impression it is apt to produce upon a foreign ear. The mere sweetness of sound—as for instance in Italian—is not sufficient to decide in favor of a particular language. One of the most important factors in the musical structure of a language is *the variety of vowels*. It is impossible to produce a great masterpiece of music on the seven strings of the Hawaiian guitar. There are only 6 vowels in Italian, and over 15 different vowels in English. For this reason as far as the melodic opportunities are concerned the English language stands to the Italian in the same relation in which the grand-piano stands to a banjo. The variety of vowels presents to the English poet such musical opportunities as can never be found in any other language, except perhaps the ancient Greek. If expression, and not sweet beauty, is the pivot of art, there is certainly much more to express on the basis of twenty than on the basis of only five vowels. That accounts perhaps for the fact that, in spite of the scarcity of rimes in the English language and other unfavorable circumstances, England has created one of the richest poetical literature in history.

HENRY LANZ

A PROPOSED COMPROMISE IN METRICS

IF I WERE optimistically inclined, I might call this paper "A Ready and Easy Way to Establish Harmony among Metricians." Being aware, however, that the establishing of such harmony is about as probable as was the establishment of a republic in England on the eve of the Restoration, I shall be content with the more modest course of pointing out certain confusions which mark current controversy, and proposing certain simple remedies for them. Like most compromises suggested by onlookers, this one will doubtless fail to win the approval of extreme partisans on either side; but I hope that it is not wholly destitute of features which may commend it to those of more moderate leanings.

Let me begin by a few words about my general position. All metrical problems are by definition problems of recurrent and measured rhythm—so much, I suppose, we should all grant. Rhythm, I take it, is a sequence of sensations marked by stresses, pauses, or both, recurring at intervals either approximately (that is, perceptibly) equal, or varied in accordance with some definitely acting influence. It can be either so markedly unvaried as to become unendurably insistent, or so relaxed as to become almost imperceptible. The problem of its effective use therefore becomes that of modifying it in the direction of pleasurable or expressive variety without allowing the sense of its structural disposition to be lost.

In the case of literature, the stresses and pauses which mark rhythm are in part inherent in the verbal medium. Certain words have a fixed stress, certain groups of words are divided by natural pauses; and in consequence any piece of composition may possess a rudimentary rhythm; as we observe when we listen to a conversation from a distance too great to allow us to distinguish the separate words. But certain words—notably monosyllabic particles—may receive different stresses according to their position in a phrase, and many three- or four-syllable words may or may not receive a secondary stress. Nor are

these stresses determined solely by verbal collocations; they may also be intentionally brought out by logical or emotional emphasis. When these latter factors are absent and no special attention is directed to the position of the inherent stresses, we have ordinary "unrhythmical" prose; when the natural stresses are consciously arranged, or when logical or emotional emphasis enters, we have more or less definitely rhythmical prose; when rhythmical members are arranged in a recognizable and recurrent pattern, we have verse.

My proposed compromise is to be based on the distinction between what may be called the anatomy and the physiology of versification. No line of verse is intended to stand by itself; at the very least it is a member of a couplet, and most likely of a larger group of lines, be it a verse-paragraph or a specific stanza. Hence its full effect can not be grasped if it is divorced from its environment. Just as the skeleton neatly strung on wires in an anatomical cabinet is not the skeleton subject to the muscular and other strains of the living organism, so the isolated verse is not the verse doing what it is designed to do, but merely a metrist's specimen. Yet we can learn much from the isolated verse, as well as from the isolated skeleton; indeed, some facts can only be learned at first from and in such isolation. Only, we must beware of thinking that either in isolation can tell us its whole story; and, with the verse as well as with the organism, we must remember that different members will function differently in different environments. In other words, a verse in one metrical context may differ in effect from a similarly constructed verse in an unlike context. In short, what we need is a biology of versification, made up, like the other biology, of more than one mode of study. With the aid of this analogy, I hope to throw light on three controverted points: (1) the structure of the "normal" ten-syllable line; (2) the distinction between "rising" and "falling" movement; and (3) the question of notation.

I

Before we can dissect, we must collect some material for dissection; and just as the biologist chooses for the work the ordinary domestic tom-cat, let us take the ordinary ten-syllable "iambic" line which is the staple of English versifica-

tion. Its simplest conditions is represented by such a line as Pope's

At once | the source | and end | and test | of art.

Here we have ten monosyllables, arranged in two alternate series, those occupying the odd places being unstressed, those occupying the even ones being stressed. The combined series, if measured, are found to constitute five "feet," each containing an unstressed and a stressed syllable, in that order. Now it is important to note that such a "foot" is as much a measure of metrical length as a foot-rule is of linear length—no less and no more. That is, it gives us just the sort of information about a line that a foot-rule does about a brick wall. A wall is not marked off into foot lengths unless we do the marking; and a foot-length may not coincide with the end of a brick unless the wall is so laid as to make it do so. Precisely so, the application of a metrical "foot" to a line can be made so many times; but the intervals exist only as we mark them, and whether or not they coincide with the ends of words will depend on circumstances. Donne's line

Before, behind, between, above, below

is no better because each foot consists of a single word; indeed, the nature of the English language is such as to make such lines extremely rare. They may be interesting as curiosities, but they are not rhythmically significant.¹

But are all monosyllabic lines of the simple alternating type? Obviously not; such lines are rather infrequent because of their very simplicity. Take the famous line of Ford's,

A great while since, | a long long time | ago,

and we find an obvious multiplication of long syllables, producing a retarded movement which is yet not felt as alien to the "iambic" scheme, an effect still further emphasized in Ben Jonson's

Slow, slow, fresh fount, keep time to my salt tears.

In the following line,

The long day wanes; | the slow moon climbs | the sky

¹ "Feet are not organic elements of rhythm. . . . Analysis of verse by feet is like analysis of pictures by square inches. . . . Such an index-method is a labor-saving convenience"—C. M. Lewis, *The Principles of English Verse*, p. 39.

we have the addition of a longer pause after the fourth syllable; but here I must depart from my plan sufficiently to give the context of the line as Tennyson wrote it:

The long day wanes; | the slow moon climbs; | the deep
Moans round with many voices.

We perceive that two heavier pauses have been added to the longer syllables; and yet, I think, no one would say that the basic scheme had been too far departed from.

Our dissection of these cases, then, shows us at least two sorts of "syllabic tissue": syllables and pauses. The former may vary in at least two ways; they are either stressed or unstressed, and either short or long, or long and longer, as one chooses to put it. The pauses, too, are distinctly of at least two different lengths. No mere measuring by feet reveals either of these facts, any more than a foot-rule can reveal the weight or the composition of an individual brick; yet they are facts, and facts which determine the rhythmical character of the respective lines. But the dissection reveals also a third fact, the existence of certain *points of support* on which the rhythmical structure of the line depends. There are five such in Pope's and Donne's lines, corresponding to the even syllables. In Ford's, the chief points of support are the fourth, eighth, and tenth syllables; in Jonson's, the fourth, sixth, and tenth, and perhaps the second; while Tennyson's line is like Ford's. In all these cases, then, the prevailing movement is characterized by points of support that coincide with some or all of the even syllables, irrespective of the weight of the intervening syllables, or the length of the intervening pauses.

Despite the simplicity of these examples, deliberately chosen to be so far as possible monosyllabic, and to present no added syllables, we have found in them a considerable variety of syllabic make-up and of rhythmical effect. We also note, on inspection, that several of the later lines show word-groups made up of two "feet"—"a great while since", "the long day wanes," and the like. Whether or not we choose to call these groups "dipods," the fact of their existence seems to me certain; and it is important, because it offers the key to a puzzling metrical problem. Consider this line of Pope's:

Want as much more. | to turn it to its use,

which presents, in its first four syllables, the phenomenon often known as "inverted stress." The orthodox solution is that this comes from a "missing syllable or musical rest" in the first foot.² But those who hold, as I do, that the "foot" has no explanatory value are left cold by this explanation, and regard the case as simply one of "dipodic substitution," or substitution of a "choriamb" for a "double iamb," or by any other name that smells as sweet. In other words, the group "want as much more" is metrically equivalent to "at once the source," and such groups can be interchanged without prejudice to the fundamental rhythm. Relatively simple examples, which, however, do not quite conform to the monosyllabic standard, are the following:

Initial:

Under the arch | of life, where love and death.

Medial:

And peace proclaims | olives of end | less age.

Final:

When lofty trees I see | barren of leaves.

Initial and Final:

Out of the deep, | my child, | out of the deep.

Initial and Medial:

Others apart | sat on a hill | retired.

Medial and Final (rare):

The lost | traveller's dream | under the hill.

I profoundly doubt if the reader of such lines feels the slightest need of invoking "missing syllables" or any other such device, unless he has a prosodic conscience that sets him looking for them.³ On the face of the matter, these are just as good ten-syllable lines as the first group that we considered; they simply

² See, e.g., Baum, *Principles of English Versification*, p. 51.

³ Mr. D. S. MacColl, in an otherwise very sensible paper ("Rhythm in English Verse, Prose and Speech," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, V, 1914) succeeds in convincing himself (p. 20) that the phenomenon involves the shortening of the first syllable, as compared with its quantity in the normal foot. I can myself detect no ground for this whatever.

distribute their main stresses somewhat differently, but still, be it noted, on the even syllables at the close of each group.

The letters of a political and economic philosopher are probably not a source to which one would naturally turn for light on prosodical problems; but there is, in the memoir of Henry Sidgwick, a letter to Tennyson's son which contains an admirable statement of this matter, and which, as it is probably not widely known, I venture to quote at some length:

I did not give a five-accent line because I assumed it as the *normal* or *typical* line, from which the others are deviations. But it is not every five-accent line that is normal: to be normal it must have the accents all on the *even* syllables—second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth. The mistake that people commonly make is not in conceiving the normal line wrong, nor in failing to recognize the *fact* of deviations, but in vaguely supposing something incorrect and licentious in deviation—as though the *ideal* were to have as many normal lines as possible.

I have sometimes thought that Pope's metre affords the best means of delivering beginners from this elementary error. For Pope is a writer who aims in a specially marked way at a balanced antithesis between two parts of a line: and it is obviously easier to get a *metrical* balance between the two parts with *four* accents or *six*—which can be arranged in two twos or two threes—than with five. Hence, when he wants a balance combined with lightness of movement, he naturally tends to four-accent lines.

A tímorous fóe and a suspícious friend.
Fóp at the tóilet, flátterer at the bóard.
Spórus at Cóurt or Jáphet in a jáil.

On the other hand, when he wants balance with *weight*, he tends similarly to six-accent lines.

Dámn with fáint práise, assént with cívil léer.
Sóle júdge of trúth, in éndless érror húrled.

It seems to me absolutely clear that the metrical construction of both kinds of line is entirely missed unless the accentual balance between the two parts is kept; and to keep this balance we have distinctly to recognize that there are *not* five accents, but four or six, as the case may be: while still keeping the five-accent type in the background of one's mind as the standard from which the deviations are instinctively measured.

Also, though Pope rarely deviates from the normal so far as *three*-accent or *seven*-accent lines, he knows how to use either of these with effect, e.g.,

Or rávished with the whístling of a náme.

is a fine three-accent line. So, again,

And stráins from hárd-bound bráins eíght línes a yéar.

is a clever adaptation of the seven-accent line to express the idea of laborious composition.—*Henry Sidgwick: A Memoir*, pp. 562-63.

The lines quoted by Sidgwick are surely convincing proof that the number of stresses in a line is precisely what in a given line we find it to be, provided that a minimum number of points of support for the desired movement is preserved. That minimum number, as Sidgwick's penultimate example suggests, is probably three, the formula for the line in question being 2-6-10. Another case, with interspersed pauses, is Wordsworth's

Effort, | and expectation, | and desire,

which has the formula 1-6-10. Corresponding formulas for the lines previously examined can easily be made by the reader for himself. In the case of a line like Jonson's, there is so marked a retard that the stresses are almost equalized throughout; but that represents a somewhat special case, and such cases are better treated on their own merits. At any rate, I doubt if anyone will think it too extreme a departure.

We are, however, aware that some lines go so far in the direction of variety that they tend to fall into a distinctly different movement; and it is worth while to examine one or two cases of this. Tennyson's line

Lest the harsh | shingle should | grate under | foot

clearly suggests a falling triple movement; we cannot, except by a rather unnatural effort, get sufficient stress on the sixth syllable to support the kind of rhythm we have been considering. In other cases the falling rhythm, though still suggested, is sufficiently checked by the weight of the sixth syllable, as here:

But as the marigold | at the sun's eye

or here:

Happy to have | thy love, | happy to die.

In other cases, we have the suggestion of a rather hobbling "rising triple" rhythm:

By praising | him here | who doth hence | remain.
 Ere beauty's | dead fleece | made anoth | er gay.

The extent to which such ambiguous rhythms are felt as tolerable in any context depends partly on the ease with which they can be adjusted to the prevailing pattern, and partly on the control exercised by the context itself. An interesting case of the latter is furnished by Tennyson's *De Profundis*. The line quoted above from that poem can be analyzed into two "choriamb" separated by an "iamb." But later we have the line

Out of the deep, | spirit, | out of the deep,

where the separating foot is a "trochee," and the line might seem to collapse into falling rhythm. But in the entire context, we see that the line with "my child" has been thrice repeated before we come to the other line, and also that a sharp contrast in meaning between the two expressions is intended. Consequently, the pauses necessary to bring the new movement into conformity with the old are readily supplied, and the variation is recognized as perfectly legitimate.

There can be no question that this control exercised by the context is much more strongly felt at some periods than at others. In the time of Pope, I take it, the consciousness of ideal syllabic regularity was strong enough to normalize some variations which would have been more definitely felt at a later time; and I know that in my own case the attention to variations has sharpened my sense of certain departures from regularity. There will always be some individual uncertainty in special instances; but on the whole I suppose that the general sense now admits a sufficiently wide variation to accommodate most, if not all, of the demands of legitimate expression. Some excellent examples can be cited from the work of Lionel Johnson, unaccountably neglected, it seems to me, by our recent prosodists. The second line of the following is a capital case of the effectiveness of the choriamb:

Most golden music is among the corn,
 Played by the winds wavering over it,

where the substitution of "that waver" would make the rhythm more commonplace; and the following stanza is a fairly complete epitome of the principles I have thus far advanced:

A breath, a thought, a dream! Ah, what a choir
 Of long-stilled voices; and of long closed eyes
 What a light! So came, so mine heart's desire
 Came thro' the pinewood, where the sunset dies
 To-night. Since now these fragrant memories
 Live, lives not also she, their soul of fire?

I have not thought it necessary to discuss the question of added syllables, or that of metres shorter than the decasyllabic, because they do not seem to raise any additional difficulties. With regard to the ten-syllable line, if we accept the substitution of "choriamb" for "double iamb," the cardinal importance of stresses on the fourth or sixth syllables, and the retarding effect of pauses added to normal syllabic content, we can, I think, account for most of the legitimate variations in non-dramatic verse.⁴ We must, further, disregard the foot as a measure of anything but metrical length, and recognize the importance of inclusive syllabic "phrase-groups." Take this line, one of several of the same pattern from Tennyson's *Oenone*:

Beautiful | Paris, | evil-hearted | Paris.

Its peculiar effect is surely due to the phrases indicated by the divisions, but its "normality" is preserved by the stresses in the fourth and sixth places.

Thus far I have cheerfully used the familiar "iambic" and "trochaic" as convenient descriptive terms for a difference which I take to be inherent in our syllabic material. Such a word as "above" is one kind of such syllabic material, such a word as "under" is another. But, as we have seen, actual lines cannot well be made up exclusively of words of either type, and we are therefore introduced to the familiar controversy as to the real existence of "rising" and "falling" movements. Since even a compromiser must have an opinion on that disputed point, I propose to devote the next section to what I take to be an empirical view of it.

II

The evidence offered in the preceding section sufficiently shows that a large amount of variation has become indissolubly

⁴ I believe that the exigencies of stage delivery, and the doubtful accuracy of transmission in our older poetic drama, make dramatic blank verse a problem which it is safer to consider separately.

associated with our "normal" ten-syllable line, and also that there are definite limits to such variation, as a result of which "normality" is preserved. The metrical patterns thus created have so obviously become standard that they must be accepted as the basic facts of normal English prosody. No theory which fails to account for their demonstrable features can be regarded as satisfactory.

The question whether the type of line we have been examining is properly described as having an "iambic" or rising movement, and, if so, how the fact is to be accounted for, is one on which metricians are notoriously divided. Of the numerous theories that have been proposed, I select two for special comment. The first and simplest is to treat it as a "strong leaning" (Lewis) or an "instinctive preference" (Andrews), which amounts to saying that it is a discovered fact, not further explicable. Professor Andrews goes on to state that it is a preference for a rising over a falling movement. Such a movement, he adds, "is established purely by whether a line begins with direct attack or not [; hence] the sense of movement becomes subjective after it is once established."⁶ This, however, conflicts with our doctrine of "choriambic" substitution, and with the importance of stress in the sixth place, both of which are as objective features of verse as could well be named.

The second theory takes precisely the opposite ground, denying that there is really a "rising" movement, or that the "direct attack" would have anything to do with it if there were. This position is clearly stated in the following passage from a recent paper by Professor Croll:

The rhythm of a line of verse, like that of a strain of music, does not begin until the first stressed note or syllable is heard. How could it? But in verse, as in music, it is generally not desirable to begin abruptly on the stress, unless for some particular expressive reason. Such a beginning produces an effect of uncontrolled, or at least unmoderated, energy, and sometimes of breathless speed, which cannot be corrected in the following measures without a particular effort. In this fact is to be found the explanation of the prevalent "iambic" line of English spoken verse. In this verse there is no more a rising movement than there is a falling one in the "trochaic" line. It is like the trochaic line except that it begins with an extra-metrical syllable

⁶ *The Writing and Reading of Verse*, p. 72.

... ; and when the use of such a syllable is prescriptive, as it is in ninety-nine out of a hundred long English poems, the impulsive and rebellious spirit of rhythm is even more effectively curbed than by the syllable-counting rule.⁶

The objections to this view seem to me to be serious. For one thing, it makes rhythm much too excitable and emotional; there are surely plenty of quiet and equable rhythms. Indeed, Professor Croll uses much more moderate terms in an earlier paper:

The physiological explanation of verse is to be found in the dance in which it originated. In the dance the regularity of the beats is the means by which energy is artificially maintained at a uniform level, higher than that of the ordinary human occupations and movements. In the same way in poetry the regularity of accent stimulates the energy of utterance, which always tends to flag and die away, and keeps it at an artificial height throughout a line or a stanza.⁷

Again, it exaggerates the importance of the beginning, especially in poetry, but also, I think, in music. I am inclined to doubt whether an examination of musical examples would support the statement that "it is generally not desirable to begin on the stress." Thirdly, it would oblige us to assume that in cases of "choriambic" substitution the effect is not the same at the beginning and in the body of a line. I can myself detect no such difference, and I invite the reader to test the matter for himself by the examples given in the preceding section. I therefore cannot agree that the mere presence or absence of an initial stress has the importance that this opinion would assign to it.

A recent "objective" consideration of the problem, that by Dr. Stewart, reaches the conclusion that the distinction between rising and falling movements is imaginary, because analysis reveals the presence, in most poems, of rising and falling phrases in practically equal proportions.

In general therefore we may conclude that rising and falling phrases (that is, rising and falling rhythms) are in all cases mingling in English verse. One or the other, in almost all cases the rising, may exceed the other, and there is always present in considerable proportion the neutral

⁶ "Music and Metrics," *Stud. Phil.*, XX (1923), 392-93.

⁷ "The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose," *Stud. Phil.*, XVI (1919), 50.

class of phrase. Accordingly it is difficult to see upon the basis of phrase structure any valid reason for continuing the distinction between trochaic and iambic verse. The differences between the two, as shown by actual count, are merely quantitative, and generally slight. From this point of view, therefore, the scansion and notation of any poem either upon a trochaic base or an iambic base attempts too great accuracy and is accordingly fallacious. Even in what are presumably the best examples of trochaic verse the reduction to a trochaic base would in most cases represent the tyranny of a rather small minority; in iambic poems also about half the phrases usually fail to correspond to an iambic structure.*

This view is supported by an examination of a number of poems; but this list, though said to be "selected with some care," does not include several poems which most markedly display what seems to be a "falling" movement, like Rossetti's *Love's Nocturn*, the fifth chorus in Swinburne's *Atalanta* ("O that I now, I too were"), or Browning's *One Word More*. Hence, while Dr. Stewart has undoubtedly made an important point, I do not feel that he has quite disposed of the matter.

It is hard to see why there should be so persistent an argument over "falling" rhythm if this notion were a mere illusion. It is noteworthy that those who oppose it do so on various and not wholly consistent grounds, and are not wholly in agreement as to the terms they employ. I believe that the problem can be solved by realizing that there is an objective basis for the conviction that "falling" rhythm exists, but that certain modifications of this basis are so natural, even inevitable, that the nature of the case is very soon obscured, unless we keep close watch of its transformations.

The key to the puzzle (so simple as to be overlooked from its very obviousness) is the *regularity* of "trochaic" verse. Being so obvious, it has been both often noted and seldom attended to; a representative statement is this from Lewis: "The metre must be kept fairly regular and pure, or its real character will not be apparent. Iambic verse can be treated with much license, as we have seen, for our strong leaning to the iambic rhythm enables us still to feel its fundamental unity; but trochaic metres must be monotonously uniform, for unless the

* "The Iambic-Trochaic Theory in Relation to the Musical Notation of Verse," *JEGP*, XXIV (1925), 68.

rhythm of the words follows pretty closely the ideal scheme, the latter becomes hopelessly submerged" (*op. cit.*, p. 109). In other words, since (for whatever reason) we do associate variety with the iambic scheme, the *only* way of indicating a different type of movement is by strict regularity; and since, again, the iambic scheme has come to admit choriambic substitution, this regularity can only be attained by consistently stressing the odd-numbered syllables. Since poems conforming to this scheme have actually been written (I have mentioned three above), there is an actual and objective ground for maintaining the existence of a type of rhythm contrasting with the normal one.⁹ Call them what you please, the two types exist.

Almost immediately, however, the modifying influences above referred to begin to operate. The strict trochaic scheme, being by definition monotonous, can be kept enduringly "pure" only in relatively short lines (usually of seven or eight syllables) arranged in stanzas of some complexity, as shown, for instance, in *Love's Nocturn*. If they are written in couplets, the desire for variety creeps in, and we have either an alternation between trochaic and iambic lines, as in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, or a tendency to read by "double trochee" with the second stress of each doublet emphasized, which is the way we ordinarily read *Hiawatha* or *Locksley Hall*.¹⁰ This is the greatest measure of variety which trochaic verse can attain without losing its distinctive character; and the longer the line, the harder it is to maintain that character, because of the number of neutral and of positively iambic phrases, the existence of which Dr. Stewart rightly points out. He errs, however, in failing to give due weight to the regularizing effect of a consistent falling movement in short lines, where each new start emphasizes the movement afresh.

It is obvious that the view just presented is not committed to any theory of the origin of the preference for a rising movement; it merely accepts and interprets the facts as it finds them.

⁹ Notice, in this connection, Dr. Stewart's use of "generally," "usually," "in most cases," which obviously does not exclude the possibility that special cases of a different character may exist.

¹⁰ This second tendency, I take it, is what Professor Andrews refers to in mentioning the tendency of trochaic verse to turn into "dimeter with a quadruple rhythm" (*op. cit.*, pp. 269-70).

Personally, I am disposed to hold that the preference has been favored by a kind of "natural selection" exercised by the nature of the English language, an opinion supported by the occurrence of similar metrical types in other modern tongues. It is thus not a purely subjective preference, but has, like other phenomena of rhythm, an objective basis. Whether a minute examination of the syllabic nature and content of English words would throw more light on the problem, I am not prepared to say; in any case, the ordinary student of English metres can accept the preference and its consequences as facts which are determined for the field of his study by an overwhelming amount of concrete evidence. If he wishes to explore the problems of origins, he may; but I do not see that he is obliged to do so.

An interesting confirmation of the view of trochaic metre here advocated may be obtained by examining certain poems in which a longer line is kept to pattern by a strong cesura, but kept with a difficulty that is shown by the occasional lapses into a somewhat different scheme. Swinburne's *Ballad of Bath* is written in a long line, the first part of which is six syllable trochaic, the second six-syllable iambic, with a marked pause between the two:

Like a queen enchanted, who may not laugh or weep;
but five of the lines (6, 16, 18, 21, 23) introduce before the pause
a three-syllable phrase which somewhat alters the movement:

Loved of men beloved of us, souls that fame enspheres,
and two lines (31, 32) have another variation:

City lulled asleep by the chime of passing years.

How far these changes strike the reader as pleasing may be debatable; personally, I think I should prefer a uniform movement throughout, but at any rate they indicate the ease with which such a movement may deviate from its strict pattern.

Another case, even more instructive, is an early lyric by Mr. Laurence Binyon, *An April Day*,¹¹ which, as it is short and less well known, I quote in full:

Breezes strongly rushing, when the North-West stirs,
Prophesying summer to the shaken firs;

¹¹ *Lyric Poems* (London, 1894), p. 6.

- Blowing brows of forest, where soft airs are free,
 Crowned with heavenly glimpses of the shining sea;
 5 Buds and breaking blossoms, that sunny April yields;
 Ferns and fairy grasses, the children of the fields;
 In the fragrant hedges' hollow brambled gloom
 Pure primroses paling into perfect bloom;
 Round the elm's rough stature, climbing dark and high,
 10 Ivy-fringes trembling against a golden sky;
 Woods and windy ridges darkening in the glow;
 The rosy sunset veiling all the vale below;
 Violet banks forsaken in the fading light;
 Starry sadness filling the quiet eyes of night;
 15 Dew on all things drooping for the summer rains;
 Dewy daisies folding in the lonely lanes.

Here, in four lines (5, 6, 10, 14) there is an extra syllable after the cesura, and 12 begins with an extra syllable; and in several other lines the weakening of the cesura, and of some of the trochaic stresses, produces a dipodic movement in the first part of the line, and a retarded effect in the second:

Prophesying | summer to the | sha | ken | firs.

Consequently, we have at least three different patterns, to the detriment, I think, of the metrical effect.

In recent verse, as is well known, this tendency to develop the dwelling on syllables has been raised from sporadic occurrences to a principle of rhythm which has yielded notable results. A fairly early instance is Meredith's *Phoebus with Admetus*, which is, I believe, almost strictly regular; another is Mr. Chesterton's *Lepanto*; a third, which excellently makes the point I wish to bring out, is Kipling's *Last Chantey*:

Thus said the | Lord in the | vault above the | cherubim,
 Calling to the | angels and the | souls in their de | gree.

Here we have a type of four-syllable phrase ("foot," if you like), with but a single main stress, and, corresponding to it, a three-syllable phrase with a single stress, but heavier, to compensate for the lacking syllable, yet apparently without a pause, though I think there is also a subordinate stress on the second syllable. This type of foot, when definitely recognized (we have already met it in Mr. Binyon's poem), brings another chance of uncertainty into our "normal" ten-syllable line, a variety of it existing which we can divide

The | glass of | fashion, and the | mould of | form.
 Re | flect new | glories, and aug | ment the | day.

So far as we today are conscious of this phrasing, we shall detect a different type of rhythm. Another variant, originally, like the others, normalized by its context, is Tennyson's much disputed

Twinkled the in | numerable | ear and | tail.

I suspect that a fertile field for investigation lies in the study of such phrasing as latent in older poems, and consciously dwelt on at present, especially in its tendency to "cross" with word-groups and phrase-groups, the growth of the same tendency in "iambic" and "trochaic" movements seeming to be an index of metrical freedom. I should say that it was a matter of convenience whether we called such groups "dipods" or single feet; perhaps both terms might be useful, in different contexts. In any case, a poem like *The Last Chantey* seems to oppose Saintsbury's dictum that the paeon is "unnecessary in English verse."

Putting together the results of this section, we may say that the difference between rising and falling movement is not subjective, but is based on a systematic stressing of the odd-numbered syllables, which produces, when emphasized by frequent fresh starts (that is, by short lines), a characteristic rhythm, but that the natural tendency to variation makes it hard to maintain such rhythm. Consequently, the longer "trochaic" line tends to be read in groups of two feet, and the resulting "double trochee" takes its place alongside the "double iamb" as a normal metrical fact, confirmed by the existence of the four-syllable phrase or foot with but a single stress. So long as these facts are recognized, I doubt if it matters much what names we give them; and as soon as they are recognized, all the apparatus of "omitted syllables", "inverted stresses," and the like become as superfluous in an empirical metric as epicycles are in modern astronomy.

III

It requires unusual temerity to hazard views on notation after the recent exhaustive report of the Association's committee on that subject; but as the position I am expounding requires, for completeness, a few words on the topic, I must venture in,

and I do so boldly and baldly by expressing the conviction that no single system of notation will be adequate to the complexity of the facts to be dealt with. In addition to this complexity, there is the consideration that the more subtle the effect in question, the more are opinions about it likely to differ, and the greater the difficulty of noting it in unmistakable form; whereas the more obvious phenomena may be recorded by a simpler system, which takes the facts merely for what they are.

The most elementary type of metrical fact, so far as the notation is concerned, seems to me to be the chief points of metrical support. They can be indicated, as was suggested in the first section, by the numbers of the syllables (e.g., 1-4-6-8-10), with heavier figures, if desired, for the heavier stresses, where a difference appears or is felt, and perhaps with commas and semicolons (or colons) to denote the importance of pauses *additional to* syllables, while the familiar caret could be used for pauses (if any) *replacing* syllables.¹² Additional syllables could perhaps be noted as fractions or as subscript numbers; but since, to my mind, the chief value of this method would lie in noting the "standard" types of stress-structure, in order to note the relative frequency of different forms, and to distinguish certain from uncertain movements, the added syllables might in this connection be disregarded.

A second sort of metrical fact to be noted is the actual character of the syllables, both as longer and shorter and as more or less heavily stressed. If we wish to indicate both features by the same set of symbols, we must obviously do so by slightly different means. Since the unstressed syllables are usually uniformly shorter, they can be denoted by a single sign. If, following the recommendation of the Committee, the dash be used to indicate a syllable with normal heavy stress, a dot over it can be used to indicate a "half-stress"; but it would still be necessary to modify the dash in such a way as to show the difference between a normally long and a "less long" syllable. In this way we could arrive at an approximate notation of syllabic differences in their bearing on rhythm; and for the reason already given I think approximation is the best we can get.

¹² This is in essence the method used by Professor Croll in his study of prosodic cadence referred to in note 7 above.

Have we, however, thus accounted for all the features which a notation ought to cover? I believe that we have not; and a discussion of what is left over will raise a point which must be met in any thorough-going use of the musical analogy. The matters thus far discussed leave out of account the effects of phrasal grouping and of logical or emotional stress. It sometimes appears to be forgotten that music is not recorded solely by notes; that such effects as *sforzando*, suspensions, etc., are indicated by a different set of symbols or by words (complete or abbreviated), and that phrasing is often indicated by slurs. Unless, then, we either utilize all the existing musical symbols for the purpose or devise a fresh set, our notation will be incomplete. We can, of course, cut the knot by printing the actual line, with such modification of types and spacing as might seem advisable; but this is only another way of putting the truth that at a certain point effective notation breaks down, and that the attempt to carry it beyond that point will never universally satisfy.

Yet another consideration stands in the way of a purely musical interpretation of verse. In practically all modern music, some sort of accompaniment is actually heard; even in a vocal solo, actual clapping or stamping may designate the underlying rhythm. In verse, on the contrary, the accompaniment which corresponds to the underlying rhythmical structure is subjectively supplied by the reciter or reader; and this, I think, is what has misled some theorists into making all perception of rhythm subjective. The truth, as I have tried to suggest in the previous discussion, is that any rhythm, as actually felt, is a blend of subjective and objective factors. Consequently, two distinct modes of notation, one for the underlying "standard" verse patterns, the other for the variations from such a pattern in any individual case, are both theoretically possible and practically almost necessary. I do not say that the suggestions here given are the best that could be offered; I do say that the attempt to combine both ends in a single system offers difficulties that are almost, if not quite, insuperable.

I am aware that the view here advocated may be thought to fall under the censure that Saintsbury visits on those who "seem to regard the stresses of a whole passage as supplying, like those of a prose paragraph, a sufficient rhythmical skeleton,

the flesh of which—the unaccented or unstressed part—is allowed to huddle itself on and shuffle itself along as it pleases” (*Manual of English Prosody*, p. 12). For my own part, I am ready to carry out the anatomical analogy with which we began in a thorough way—to deny, that is, that it compels us to suppose the metrical “flesh” to be huddled on at random, any more so than it is in a living creature. Just as the flesh of every animal is distributed in a way absolutely determined by its skeletal structure, so are the syllables of every verse; and just as unshapely or deformed animals exist, so do unshapely or deformed verses exist, and for precisely the same reason. Carrying out the parallel, I should advocate the creation of a museum of abnormal and morbid metrical anatomy, and the relegation to it of many of the lines which metricians spend far too much time arguing over. It is interesting to conjecture how much ink might have been saved if Milton had only thought to make the first line of *Paradise Lost* metrically regular!

Simple remedies for old complaints are often unpopular; and of course, to be worth adopting, they must be remedial. I believe that those here offered will serve to emphasize the difference between normal and abnormal versification, and to dispose of some of the subtleties with which the subject has been needlessly cumbered. The view must be tested against the actual facts in a much more thorough way than is here possible; I invite such testing, with some confidence in the result.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE

P.S. This paper was completed, and accepted for publication, in May, 1925. Since that date, two further contributions to the subject have appeared in the December number of the *Publications*: Professor Routh’s paper on iambic meter, and Dr. Stewart’s on the dipodic meter of the ballads. I do not find it possible to agree with Professor Routh’s explanation of the “inverted” foot, and I think his statement that it “usually occurs in the first foot of a line, or follows a mid-line pause” requires more proof than he gives. I also feel uncertain about Dr. Stewart’s contention that dipodic rhythm is necessarily complicated, and too difficult to be maintained except by a skilful conscious artist. I should rather be inclined to suppose that its strongly marked character, as it is applied by such

writers as Kipling, has made other writers feel that its adoption would look too much like conscious imitation. If the "double iambs" and "double trochees" which I have discussed above be regarded as dipods, there is no reason for regarding the dipod in general as an unusual or abnormal type in English.

I believe that what we most need in the present state of discussion is an inclusive and careful collection of phrase-groups, especially those of the rarer types, and such study of them as may help to determine how far certain tendencies are inherent in the structure of English, and how far they are emphasized or suppressed by the "prosodic consciousness" of different periods and of individual authors. The basing of sweeping conclusions on limited bodies of evidence is always a temptation, and always a danger.

I may add that recent numbers of the *London Times Literary Supplement* have contained a number of letters contributing to a discussion of metrics initiated by J. P. Postgate in the issue of September 10, 1925.

C. E. W.

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

FOR the record of business transacted by the Council at the Council Dinner held at the Quadrangle Club, University of Chicago, on the evening of December 29, 1925, see the proceedings of the annual meeting at Chicago in the *P.M.L.A.* for March 1926, pages XI and XII.

I. In March 1926 the Secretary communicated to the Council from a Committee, Professor F. W. Bryan Chairman, appointed by the Present-Day English Group, a request that the Executive Council approve an appeal to the Carnegie Corporation or the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation for funds to enable the undertaking of a scientific survey of American speech. The following resolution was presented by the committee to the Council for its endorsement:

The Modern Language Association of America, recognizing the value of a scientific survey of American speech, particularly the character of its sounds and their distribution, expresses its approval of the plans formulated by the Committee on a survey of spoken English in America.

The Association hereby endorses an appeal to one of the philanthropic and scientific foundations for funds with which to begin a survey according to the plans proposed.

The members of the Council with only one dissenting vote gave approval to this resolution.

II. The Secretary under date of June 12 submitted to the members of the Council preliminary arrangements for a joint meeting of the Modern Language Association, the American Philological Association, the Archeological Institute of America, the Linguistic Society of America, and the College Art Association to be held in Sanders Theatre on Wednesday evening, December 29, and asked them whether they would favor extending an invitation to Professor Gilbert Murray to address this joint meeting. In response to this letter the Council voted to invite Professor Murray to deliver the address at the Joint Session.

III. Under date of July 30 the Secretary informed the members of the Council that Professor Murray had been unable

to accept the invitation to address the Joint Session and accordingly he proposed that the program of this meeting consist of brief addresses by representatives of the several assembled organizations, and asked the Council to elect by ballot a speaker to represent the Modern Language Association. The speaker thus chosen to represent the Association on this occasion was Professor Ashley H. Thorndike, of Columbia University.

IV. Under date of September 8 the Secretary proposed that a meeting of the Executive Council be held at Cambridge on the afternoon and evening of December 28, in order to consider matters of importance relating to the affairs of the Association. The members of the Council approved this suggestion.

CARLETON BROWN, *Secretary*

CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

[Adopted December 29, 1903. Amended December 29, 1915, March 31, 1920,
December 29, 1923, and December 29, 1925.]

I

The name of this Society shall be **THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.**

II

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures through the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, through the publication of the results of investigations by members, and through the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. These annual meetings shall be held alternately East and West of the eastern boundaries of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama.

III

1. Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary or Treasurer may become a member on the payment of four dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

2. Members of other societies of scholars or teachers may be admitted either to membership in the Association, or to affiliation with the same, upon such terms as the Executive Council shall from time to time determine. Members of other societies so admitted to membership in the Association shall have all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto; persons admitted to affiliation with the Association shall have such rights and privileges as may be mutually agreed upon, but not the right to vote or to hold office in the Association.

3. Persons who for twenty-five years or more have been active members in good and regular standing may, on retiring from active service as teachers, be continued as active members without further payment of dues.

4. Any member, or any person eligible to membership may, become a life member by a single payment of fifty dollars or by the payment of seventeen dollars and fifty cents for three successive years. With each completed decade of membership in good and regular standing, the fee for life membership shall be diminished by one-fourth. Persons who have paid forty annual membership fees shall automatically become life members without further payment.

5. Distinguished foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executive Council. But the number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty.

IV

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shall be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*), and four other members; and an Executive Council consisting of the aforementioned officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Association, to hold office for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shall be chosen by the respective Divisions.

4. The other officers shall be elected by the Association for the term of three years. Vacancies occurring between annual meetings shall be filled by the Executive Council.

V

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall also have general responsibility for preparing the program of the annual meeting, and shall edit the *Publications* of the Association. The Treasurer shall also have charge of business arrangements relating to the *Publications* of the Association.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII

1. When, for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII

Amendments to this Constitution must first be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council, and afterwards be ratified by a two-thirds vote at two successive annual meetings of the Association.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-SECOND MEETING OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
HELD ON THE INVITATION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
AT CHICAGO
DECEMBER 29, 30, 31, 1925.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION,
HERMANN COLLITZ,
"WORLD LANGUAGES."

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST
HELD AT
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA,
NOVEMBER 27 AND 28, 1925.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The forty-second meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held under the auspices of the University of Chicago at Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, December 29, 30, 31, 1925. Except as otherwise noted, all meetings were held in the buildings of the University.

A considerable number of the members of the Modern Language Association and of the American Association of University Professors took luncheon together at the Hotel Del Prado Tuesday at 12:30 o'clock.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON

The afternoon session of Tuesday was devoted to Group Meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 2:30 until 4 o'clock, and those of the Second from 4:30 until 6 o'clock.

FIRST DIVISION, 2:30 P.M.

(*General Topics I*) Poetic Form. *Chairman*, Clarence E. Andrews, *Ohio State University*; *Secretary*, Harlan Hatcher, *Ohio State University*. The following paper was read:

"Falling Metre—a New Suggestion," by Charles E. Whitmore, *University of Michigan*.

The paper was followed by a discussion on the subject of "Rising and Falling Rhythms."

(No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.)

(*English I*) Old English. *Chairman*, Martin B. Ruud, *University of Minnesota*. The following papers were read:

1. "The Old English particle *ðe*," by G. W. Small, *Johns Hopkins University*.

2. "The History of the Vercelli Book," by S. J. Herben, *Princeton University*.

3. "Attila's and Beowulf's Funeral," by Fr. Klaeber, *University of Minnesota* (Read by the Chairman).

4. "The Finn Episode in *Beowulf*," by Kemp Malone, *Johns Hopkins University*.

There were more than forty members present. The officers of the Group were continued for the coming year.

KEMP MALONE, *Secretary*.

(*English VI*) Spenser and Milton. *Chairman*, James H. Hanford, *University of Michigan*.

Short summaries of papers opened the meeting: one by D. H. Stevens, *University of Chicago*, on deeds relating to property transactions of Milton and his father, found in the Public Record Office; and one by T. P. Harrison, Jr., on the source of Sidney's *Arcadia*.

Robert R. Cawley, *Princeton University*, offered by title a paper, "The Influence of the Voyagers in English Drama between 1550 and 1642."

The greater part of the session was given over to discussion of questions raised by Saurat's *Milton* and other recent studies. The discussion was opened by Thomas V. Smith, *University of Chicago*, R. D. Havens, *Johns Hopkins University*, Marjorie H. Nicolson, *Goucher College*.

As officers for next year the group elected D. H. Stevens, *University of Chicago*, chairman; Marjorie Nicolson, *Goucher College*, secretary.

HELEN SANDISON, *Secretary*

(*English VII*) Philosophy and Literature in the Classical Period. *Chairman*, Frederick B. Kaye, *Northwestern University*; *Secretary*, A. E. Case, *Yale University*. Joint Meeting with *English VIII*. At the Tuesday afternoon session the following papers were presented:

"The Philosophical Background of *Gulliver's Travels*," T. O. Wedel, *Carleton College*.

"The Roots of Eighteenth-Century Melancholy," C. A. Moore, *University of Minnesota*.

These papers were followed by a round-table discussion. The second session of these Groups was held Thursday at 2 o'clock. (No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.)

(*English XII*) American Literature. *Chairman*, Jay B. Hubbell, *Southern Methodist University*. The following papers were read:

1. "The Dialect of Cooper's *Leather-Stocking*" Louise Pound *University of Nebraska*.

2. "Some Newly Discovered Irving Notebooks," Stanley T. Williams, *Yale University*.

3. The Status of American Literature in Colleges, a discussion led by E. E. Leisy, *Illinois Wesleyan University*, and Fred Lewis Pattee, *Pensylvania State College*.

4. The Present State of American Literary History, a discussion led by Norman Foerster, *University of North Carolina*.

It was voted to extend next year's program through two Group periods. The officers of the Group were re-elected, and an Executive Committee was authorized with Professor Norman Foerster, Chairman. In order to meet the expenses incidental to the work of the Group members are invited to send the sum of one dollar to the Group secretary. To such contributors a complete list of Master of Arts essays in this field will be sent.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Secretary*.

(*French V*) French Literature of the XIX Century. *Chairman*, Dean George N. Henning, *George Washington University*. The following papers were read:

"The Genesis of Mademoiselle de Maupin," B. M. Woodbridge, *Reed College*.

"Albert Glatigny: Fact and Legend," Aaron Schaffer, *University of Texas*.

"The Dandyism of Charles Baudelaire," S. A. Rhodes, *The Rice Institute*.

The Chairman suggested that scholars needing works of reference difficult of access, request the Library of Congress to secure such works. He spoke of its large resources, of its liberality in making purchases, and of its generosity in lending its books.

Professor Schinz, of *Smith College*, was elected Chairman of the Group for the coming year, the Chairman to appoint his own Secretary. [The Chairman has appointed as Secretary for the year, Professor Elliott M. Grant of *Smith College*.]

H. L. HUMPHREYS, *Secretary*.

(*German I*) Historical Grammar. *Chairman*, George T. Flom, *University of Illinois*. The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "Linguistic Geography," Edwin C. Roedder, *University of Wisconsin*.

2. "The Relation of Verbal Nouns to Verbs in German and in English: A History of the Development of Verbal Nouns into Forms Equivalent in Force to Finite Verbs," George O. Curme, *Northwestern University*.

The following officers were elected for the coming year:
Chairman, Leonard Bloomfield of *Ohio State University*;
Secretary, Taylor Starck of *Harvard University*.

C. M. LOTSPEICH, *Secretary*.

(*German V*) Modern German Literature. *Chairman*, B. Q. Morgan, *University of Wisconsin*. The following papers were presented:

1. "Some Tendencies in the Modern German Ballad," Albert W. Aron, *Oberlin College*.

2. "Walt Whitman in Germany since 1914." Anna Jacobson, *Hunter College*.

3. "Hauptmann's *Das bunte Buch*," Fred B. Wahr, *University of Michigan*.

4. A discussion of German Contemporary Drama (1889—) led by Marian P. Whitney, *Vassar College*.

The following papers were read by title:

1. "Die Bedeutung Hölderlins für die Gegenwart," Ernst Jockers, *College of the City of New York*.

2. "Franz Werfel als religiöser Dichter," Ernst Jockers, *College of the City of New York*.

3. "The Rise of the German Novel of Industry," Samuel Liptzin, *College of the City of New York*.

The following officers were elected for the coming year:
Chairman, Martin Schütze, *University of Chicago*; *Secretary*, Anna Jacobson, *Hunter College*.

H. W. HEWETT-THAYER, *Secretary*.

(*Italian I*) Italian Literature. *Chairman*, James Geddes, *Boston University*. The meeting of this Group was called to order at 3:45 P. M., following a business meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Italian. The following papers were read:

1. "From Pirandello's Short Stories to his Plays," by Hilda Norman, *University of Chicago*.

2. "A Summary of a Study of the Bestiary of Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*, examined as an Italian *Bestiaire d'Amour*," John P. Rice, *University of Buffalo*.

3. "The Partitive Construction in Italian," Herbert H. Vaughan, *University of California*.

4. "Possible Investigation in Italian in connection with the Modern Foreign Language Study," Hayward Keniston, *University of Chicago*.

OLIN H. MOORE, *Secretary*.

SECOND DIVISION, 4:30 P. M.

(General Topics III) Problems in General Æsthetics. *Chairman*, Professor Charles E. Whitmore, *University of Michigan*.

After some preliminary remarks by the Chairman, Professor Alice D. Snyder of *Vassar College* read a paper entitled "Dewey's *Experience and Nature* as an Approach to Critical Theory," in which she emphasized the need of a logical rehabilitation of criticism as the establishment and extension of literary values.

Owing to the increased severity of competition among groups, the attendance fell to nine, and the adoption of a program for future work was again impeded. The Chairman therefore repeats that he will be glad to correspond with any persons who are interested in aiding the work of the Group in the interval before the next meeting.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE, *Chairman*.

(General Topics IV) Practical Phonetics. *Chairman*, Elliott A. White, *Dartmouth College*; *Secretary*, Amos R. Morris, *University of Michigan*. In the absence of both Chairman and Secretary, Professor Clarence E. Parmenter and Professor Sarah T. Barrows were appointed, respectively, Chairman and Secretary *pro tem*. The following paper was read:

"The Relation of Phonetics to the Teaching of Pronunciation," John S. Kenyon, *Hiram College*.

An Experimental French-English Motion-Picture film was exhibited by James L. Barker, *University of Utah*.

It was voted that the two phonetics groups be called the Pedagogical and Research Groups, respectively.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: Chairman, Clarence E. Parmenter, *University of Chicago*; *Secretary*, Amos R. Morris.

About fifty members were present.

SARAH T. BARROWS, *Secretary pro tem*.

(*Comparative Literature III*) Arthurian Romances. *Chairman*, William A. Nitze, *University of Chicago*; *Secretary*, Roger S. Loomis, *Columbia University*. The following papers were read:

1. "The Mythological Interpretation of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*," Roger S. Loomis, *Columbia University*.

2. "Did Chrétien Mean to Connect the Grail with the Mass?" A. C. L. Brown, *Northwestern University*.

3. "Some Remarks on an Institute of Arthurian Studies," Tom Peete Crass, *University of Chicago*.

(No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.)

(*English III*) Chaucer. *Chairman*, Karl Young, *Yale University*; *Secretary*, Howard R. Patch, *Smith College*. In the absence of the Secretary, Walter Clyde Curry, *Vanderbilt University*, was appointed Secretary *pro tem*. The following papers were read:

1. "The Noble Philosophical Poete in English," Robert K. Root, *Princeton University*. (Discussed by J. S. P. Tatlock, John M. Manly, the Chairman, and W. H. Hulme.)

2. "Chaucer's Pardoner of Rouncival," Samuel Moore, *University of Michigan*. (Discussed by Professor Manly.)

Professor Manly invited members of the Chaucer Group to examine photostat reproductions of certain manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* now in the possession of the University of Chicago. The following officers were elected for 1926: *Chairman*, Karl Young, *Yale University*; *Secretary*, Walter Clyde Curry, *Vanderbilt University*.

About fifty members were present.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY, *Secretary pro tem*.

(*English X*) Victorian Literature. *Chairman*, Finley M. K. Foster, *University of Wisconsin*; *Secretary*, Gilbert W. Mead, *Birmingham Southern College*. The following papers were presented:

1. Bibliography for the Year, by the Secretary.

2. "The Current English Attitude toward Victorian Literature," Charles J. Sisson, *University College, London*.

3. "Charles Lord Mohun and *Henry Esmond*," Robert S. Forsythe, *Northwestern University*.

4. "The Controversy about *Lorna Doone*: A Demonstration of the Worthlessness of Literary Discussion without Scholarship," Ernest Bernbaum, *University of Illinois*.

The Group officers were re-elected for the coming year.

(*English XI*) Contemporary Literature. *Chairman*, Christopher Morley. The following papers were presented:

"The Cheer Leader in Present-Day Literature," by William McFee.

"The Professor in Contemporary Literature," by Keith Preston.

Progress made in the survey of the status of contemporary literature in colleges and universities now being conducted on behalf of the Modern Language Association by the U. S. Bureau of Education was reported by Professor Paul Kaufman. The catalogues of 650 American colleges and universities which have been examined show that 527 institutions give courses (exclusive of Freshman English) which include reading in current literature and that there are 244 courses devoted entirely to present-day writers.

The meeting was very largely attended.

(*French III*) French Literature of the XVII and XVIII Centuries. *Chairmen*, E. P. Dargan, *University of Chicago*.

The committee, consisting of Messrs. Geoffroy Atkinson and Elliott M. Grant, appointed at the 1924 meeting of the group to inquire as to the feasibility of getting complete lists of dissertations in course of preparation in American Universities, reported that they had been unable to prepare such lists because three important institutions had not found it possible to co-operate.

After some discussion it was voted to accept the report and to request the appointment of a similar committee to act for the Association as a whole instead of for only a single group.

The chairman then appointed a committee to nominate officers for the next year, after which the following papers were read:

1. "Pascal's Ideas on Style and Their Contemporary Significance," Colbert Searles, *University of Minnesota*.

2. "Fénelon et le classicisme," Albert Schinz, *Smith College*.

3. "Introduction of the Vaudeville into the French Theater," Eleanor V. Cederstrom, *Hibbing Junior College*.

4. "Pursuing a Pirate," Harry Kurz, *Knox College*.

About sixty-five people attended the meeting. The following officers were elected for next year: *Chairman*, C. H. C. Wright, *Harvard University*; *Secretary*, A. F. Whitem, *Harvard University*.

CHARLES GRIMM, *Secretary*.

(*German III*) Goethe. *Chairman*, Julius Goebel, *University of Illinois*. The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "Auge und Ohr in Goethes Lyrik," Friedrich Bruns, *University of Wisconsin*.

2. "Two Phases of Goethe's Conception of Personality in *Wilhelm Meister*," Martin Schütze, *University of Chicago*.

3. "Goethe's Shorter Poems in American Translation. A Survey," Edwin H. Zeydel, *Indiana University*.

Report of the Goethe Centenary Committee; *Chairman*, Carl F. Schreiber, *Yale University*.

It should be here stated that a resolution was passed by the Germanic Section to the effect that the Centenary Committee report in the future to the larger Germanic Group Meeting.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: William A. Speck, *Chairman*; Carl F. Schreiber, *Secretary*.

CARL F. SCHREIBER, *Secretary*.

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

President, William Allan Neilson of *Smith College*; *Secretary*, Percy W. Long of Springfield, Massachusetts.

The Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society was held at 4:30 P.M. in Harper Memorial Library.

An address, "Plans for the American Dialect Dictionary," was delivered by Professor W. A. Craigie.

Professor Craigie set forth his plans for the historical dictionary of English in America undertaken at the University of Chicago, and dwelt upon the necessity of the Society's Dialect Dictionary as a preliminary step in that enterprise. He was appointed Director of Research for the American Dialect Dictionary.

An appeal is to be made to scholars willing to coöperate in collecting and arranging material for this work. Members of the Modern Language Association who are interested are requested to send their names either to Professor Craigie or to the Secretary. Work of three kinds is desirable: (1) the preparation of material already published, as in *Dialect Notes*, (2) making excerpts from books, periodicals, and newspapers containing dialect material, (3) the collection of new material, especially in remote districts, from actual speech.

PERCY W. LONG, *Secretary*.

THE COUNCIL DINNER

Eleven members of the Executive Council and the three Trustees of the Invested Funds of the Association met at dinner at the Quadrangle Club at 6:30 as the guests of Professor George Tyler Northup and considered matters relating to the affairs of the Association.

The first matter taken up was that of filling the vacancies in the list of Honorary Members of the Association created by the death of Professors Morel Fatio and Francesco D'Ovidio. After discussion and an informal ballot it was *voted*:

That Professor George Cirot of the University of Bordeaux and Professor Vittorio Cian of the University of Turin be nominated to the Association for election as Honorary Members.

The secretary read a letter from Professor Edwin Greenlaw, under date of Nov. 5, resigning as Chairman of the General Group Committee. The Council accepted his resignation with regret and chose as his successor Professor George H. McKnight of the Ohio State University.

A letter was read from Professor Karl Young, Chairman of Committee on Rotographs of Manuscripts and Rare Books reporting that Professor A. R. Hohlfeld desired to be relieved of further service on this Committee. The Council thereupon appointed as a member of this Committee in his stead Professor George O. Curme of Northwestern University.

A letter was read from Professor Leonard Bloomfield of the Ohio State University setting forth in detail a project for a Survey of North American Indian Languages which had been formulated by a Committee of Section L of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and asking that

the project be endorsed by the Modern Language Association. After some discussion it was *voted*:

That the Executive Council express its general approbation of the project for a survey of North American Indian Languages, but inasmuch as this undertaking does not lie directly in the field of the Modern Language Association it believes that this is a matter which should be referred to the American Council of Learned Societies, and accordingly asks the Delegates of the Association to present the matter to the American Council for consideration.

Inasmuch as several matters of business still remained when the hour of the evening session arrived the Executive Council adjourned to meet on Thursday during the luncheon hour.

Thursday, December 31.

On motion of Professor Robert H. Fife it was *voted*:

That the President of the Association be requested to call a meeting of the Executive Council at some time during the coming year to consider matters pertinent to the affairs of the Association, it being understood that travelling expenses should be paid by the Association, and that the time and place of meeting be decided upon by the Executive Officers.

Professor Fife called attention to the special appropriation by the Commonwealth Fund to assist Professor James L. Barker in the continuation of his phonetic researches begun in Paris during the past year. A condition of this subvention was that it be administered through the Modern Language Association under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Association. He thereupon offered the following resolutions:

First, that the Association accept this responsibility and constitutes as a committee to supervise the experiments the chairman of the Practical Phonetics Group (Professor C. E. Parmenter) together with two other persons, to be appointed by the President of the Association. Second, that the Treasurer of the Association be instructed to receive the sums payable from the Commonwealth Fund and pay them to Professor Barker under the conditions prescribed by this Committee.

The resolutions were adopted. [The President appointed as the other members of this Committee, Professors Robert H. Fife and Charles H. Grandgent.]

TUESDAY EVENING

At 8 o'clock Tuesday evening the Modern Language Association held a joint session with the Linguistic Society of America in Mandel Hall.

The President of the *University of Chicago*, Dr. MAX MASON, cordially welcomed the Associations as the guests of the University.

The President of the Modern Language Association and of the Linguistic Society of America, Professor HERMANN COLLITZ, then delivered the Presidential Address: "World Languages."

Following this address, a reception for members and guests of the Association was held in the rooms of the Reynolds Club.

WEDNESDAY MORNING**GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION**

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor HERMANN COLLITZ, at 9:50 A.M.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor CARLETON BROWN, prefaced his report by announcing that invitations had been extended to the Association to be represented by a delegate at the Semi-Centennial celebration, Nov. 26-28, of the Southwestern Presbyterian University, now removed from Clarksville, Tenn., to Memphis and reorganized as Southwestern College, and also at the inauguration of Charles Christopher Mierow as President of Colorado College at Colorado Springs, Dec. 5. Both invitations had been accepted and delegates appointed as follows: to the Semi-Centennial celebration at Memphis, Professor Charles L. Townsend of *Southwestern College*; to the inauguration of President Mierow, Professor William F. Luebke of the *University of Denver*.

The Secretary submitted as his formal report Volume XL of the *Publications*. He called attention to the change in the design of the cover which had been inaugurated with the current volume and expressed the hope that members of the Association had not been distressed by this departure from tradition. Volume XL, which included 1024 pages devoted to papers alone, established a new record in the history of the Association.

* For the text of the Presidential Address see below, p. xliii.

The Secretary reported with regret the loss by death during the year of the following distinguished scholars: HENRY ALFRED TODD of *Columbia University* and EDWARD STEVENS SHELDON of *Harvard University*—both of them former Presidents of the Association—and FRANCESCO D'OVIDIO of the *University of Naples*, an Honorary Member of the Association.

The membership roll of the Association continued to show a gratifying increase. The list of Members published in December showed a total of 2948, and in addition fifty-eight persons had paid in membership fees to date from January 1, so that in point of fact the membership of the Association was slightly above three thousand.

The full amount subscribed to bring the Monograph Endowment Fund up to the ten thousand dollars required as a capital basis for the Monograph Series had been paid in during the year. In accordance with a request that a complete statement of these subscriptions be published the Secretary submitted the following report of the contributions received:

Dr. F. I. Carpenter.....	\$100.00
President William Allan Neilson.....	100.00
Miss Lucy Allen Paton.....	100.00
D. C. Heath & Co.....	100.00
Century Co.....	100.00
Ginn & Co.....	100.00
Dr. Joel E. Spingarn.....	25.00

From subscriptions by members in the following institutions:

Yale University.....	300.00
Bryn Mawr College.....	275.00
Harvard University.....	210.00
University of Chicago.....	206.00
Columbia University.....	176.00
Princeton University.....	115.00
New York University.....	100.00
Western Reserve Univ. and The Case School..	100.00
Swarthmore College.....	35.00

Total.....	<hr/> \$2, 142.00
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The first Monograph in the Series—*Les Prophéties de Merlin*, edited by Lucy Allen Paton—had been sent to press more than twelve months ago, and it had been hoped that its appearance

could be announced at this meeting. The progress of the Monograph through the press, however,—necessarily a slow matter in the case of a work of 900 pages, consisting in large part of Old French text, accompanied by an infinite number of MS. variants,—had been further retarded by strikes. Nevertheless, the labor of proof-reading was now nearly completed and the early appearance of the Monograph could confidently be expected.

The Committee of Award had recently accepted two other studies for publication in the Monograph Series: *Conditions of Dramatic Publication 1580-1640*, by Evelyn May Albright, and *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Writings of Richard Rolle*, by Hope Emily Allen. These would be issued as the Second and Third Monographs respectively and it was expected that both of these studies could be sent to press within the next few months. In consideration of the fact that the expense of publishing these Monographs is defrayed from the funds of the Association any monograph in this Series will be sold to members of the Association at a discount of one-third from the list-price.

At the last annual meeting announcement had been made that the sum of \$5,000 had been turned over to the Association as a Revolving Publication Fund. As the first work to be published under the provisions of this Fund the Committee had selected *The English Language in America*, by George Philip Krapp. It was a satisfaction to report that Professor Krapp's volumes had already issued from the press, and that the report of the sales thus far indicated that within the next eight months the entire amount advanced from the Fund for the publication of this work would be returned, so that the Revolving Fund could again be employed for a similar purpose.

It was voted to accept the report of the Secretary.

The following report was presented on behalf of the Trustees of the Invested Funds by Mr. LeRoy Elwood Kimball, Managing Trustee:

PERMANENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

Par Value	Book Value
\$13,000	Pennsylvania R. R. Co., Gen'l
	Mortgage 5% Bonds due 1968. . . . \$13,229. 81

2,000	New York Central R. R. Co., Ref. and Imp. Mortgage 5% Bonds due 2013.....	2,006.47	
\$15,000			\$15,236.28

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DEC. 21, 1925

RECEIPTS:

Balance carried forward from 1924 report....	\$	401.25	
From E. Prokosch, Treasurer:			
Life Membership Payments (twenty-seven members).....		709.00	
From Current Funds for the purchase of securities.....		1,461.16	
From the United States Trust Co. of New York:			
Interest on \$2,000 par New York Central Bonds.....		100.00	
Interest on \$11,000 par Pennsylvania Bonds (the other Bonds having been purchased after the interest date).....		550.00	
Interest on \$500 par U. S. Fourth Liberty Bonds.....		21.25	
Interest on uninvested balances.....		29.84	
For sale of \$500 par U. S. Fourth Liberty Bonds.....		512.96	\$3,785.46

DISBURSEMENTS:

To E. Prokosch, Treasurer:			
Income on investments.....	\$	644.58	
Interest from uninvested balances.....		29.84	
To United States Trust Co. of New York:			
For purchase of \$1,000 par New York Cent. Bond.....	\$	1,023.58	
For purchase of \$2,000 par Pennsylvania Bonds.....		2,059.42	
For services rendered, collection of income, safe-keeping of securities, etc. for both the Permanent and the Bright-von Jagemann Funds.....		28.04	\$3,785.46

BRIGHT-VON JAGEMANN (MONOGRAPH ENDOWM'T)
FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF
NEW YORK

Par Value		Book Value
\$ 9,000	New York Central R. R. Co., Ref. and Imp. Mortgage 5% Bonds due 2013.....	\$8,879.88
1,000	Pennsylvania R. R. Co., Gen'l Mortgage 5% Bond due 1968.....	1,024.50
<hr/>		
10,000		\$9,904.38 .

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DEC. 21, 1925

RECEIPTS:

Balance carried forward from 1924 report....	\$	38.11	
From E. Prokosch, Treasurer:			
Contributions forwarded.....		1,093.50	
From United States Trust Co. of New York:			
For interest on \$9,000 par New York Cent. Bonds (the Pennsylvania Bond having been purchased after the interest date).....		450.00	\$1,581.61

DISBURSEMENTS:

To E. Prokosch, Treasurer:			
Income on investments.....	\$	450.00	
To United States Trust Co. of New York:			
For purchase of \$1,000 par Pennsylvania Bond.....		1,024.50	
Balance on deposit with the United States Trust Co. of New York.....		107.11	\$1,581.61

This cash balance when added to the book-value of the investments makes the total of the Bright-von Jagemann Fund in the custody of the Trustees on the above date, \$10,011.49.

Respectfully submitted,
LEROY E. KIMBALL,
EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG,
GEORGE H. NETTLETON, *Trustees.*

It was voted to accept the report of the Trustees.

The following report was presented by the Treasurer of the Association, Professor E. PROKOSCH:

A. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, January 1, 1925.....			\$ 2,380.10
From members, for 1922 or before . \$	32.00		
" " " 1923.....	69.00		
" " " 1924.....	283.33		
" " " 1925.....	8,917.31		
" " " 1926.....	345.43		
" " " 1927.....	4.00		
" " " Life Memberships	709.00	\$10,360.07	
<hr/>			
From Libraries for XXXIX.....\$	3.60		
" " " XL.....	359.80		
" " " XLI.....	183.10		
" Foreign Subscribers.....	32.40	\$	578.90
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From Sale of <i>Publications</i>\$	189.63		
" " " Lists of members.....	11.60		
" " " Index Volume.....	1.80	\$	203.03
<hr/>			
From Advertisers.....		\$	450.25
From Income of Permanent Fund. \$	674.42		
" Interest on Current Funds...	92.90	\$	767.32
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From Miscellaneous Sources:			
Joint memberships in Am.			
Folklore Soc.....\$	168.00		
Subscription to <i>Mod. Lang. Rev.</i>	7.50		
Membership fees for M.H.R.A.	1.50		
Subscriptions to Early Eng-			
lish Text Society.....	60.00		
On account of extra reprints..	11.03		
" " " excess correc-			
tions.....	14.75		
Contributions to Relief Fund .	10.00	\$	272.78
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Contributions to Monograph En-			
dowment Fund.....	\$	932.50	\$13,564.85
<hr/>			<hr/>
			\$15,944.95

EXPENDITURES

To George Banta Publ. Co., for

Publications:

XXXIX.4.....	\$ 1,109.28
XXXIX, Supplement.....	556.90
XL.1.....	1,384.79
XL.2.....	1,412.36
XL.3.....	1,317.00
Paper.....	1,160.00 \$ 6,940.33

To LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing
Trustee:

Life Membership fees.....	\$ 709.00
Added to Permanent Fund....	1,461.16
Added to Monograph Endow. Fund.....	1,093.50 \$ 3,263.66

Transferred to Monograph Exp. Ac. 549.52

Administrative Expenses:

Salary, Secretary.....	\$ 750.00
Salary, Treasurer.....	750.00
Clerical assistance.....	779.50
Postage.....	368.57
Express and Hauling.....	16.55
Telegrams.....	11.44
Printing and mimeographing..	401.20
Supplies.....	116.45 \$ 3,193.71

To American Folklore Soc., Membership fees...\$ 168.00

To American Council of Learned Soc. for Dues.. 124.00

To American Council on Education for Dues... 10.00

To Early English Text Soc. for Subscriptions... 60.00

Miscellaneous Expenditures:

To Comm. on Rotographs (print., post., sten. aid).....	44.23
To Comm. on Metric. Not. (trav. exp.).....	22.00
To Comm. on 16th Cent. Ger. Lit. (Printing & Postage).....	48.74
To ACLS delegates, Trav. Exp.	10.50
To Expressage for Monograph MSS.....	2.65
To Members, Refund of dues ..	4.00

Refund on Sale	5.40		
Checks returned	30.00		
Relief Fund, contributions forwarded	10.00		
<i>Mod. Lang. Rev.</i> , subscriptions forwarded	7.50		
M.H.R.A., Membership fees forwarded	1.50		
Exchange on foreign checks . . .	3.03		
Safety deposit box rental	1.00		
Treasurer's Bond	20.00	\$	210.55 \$14,519.77

Balance on hand, Dec. 24, 1925	\$	1,425.18
		<u>\$15,944.95</u>

B. MONOGRAPH EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Balance on hand Jan. 1, 1925	\$	1,475.09
Transferred from Current Funds . . .		549.52
Income from Monograph Endowment Fund		450.00
Bryn Mawr Trust Co. Interest		42.99

On hand, Dec. 24, 1925	\$	2,517.60
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C. BALANCE SHEET FOR 1925

	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>Increase</i>
Current Funds	\$ 954.92	
Monograph Expense Account		\$ 1,042.51
Permanent Fund		2,170.16
Monograph Endowment Fund		1,093.50

	\$	954.92	\$	4,306.17
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Net Increase in Resources	\$	3,351.25
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It was voted to refer the report of the Treasurer to the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Delegates of the Association to the American Council of Learned Societies was presented by Professor Edward C. Armstrong.

It was voted to accept the report with an expression of the thanks of the Association to the Council.

The following report on behalf of the Committee on the Reproduction of MSS. and Rare Books was presented by the Chairman, Professor Karl Young:

During the year 1925 the Committee on the Reproduction of Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books has bought and added to its collection in the Library of Congress the following twenty reproductions:

(26) Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Français 12577: *Romans de Perceval le Galois*. (277 folios).

(27) Brit. Mus., MS. Addit. 26787: Moral Treatise in Latin by John Skelton. (30 folios).

(28) Brit. Mus., MS. Addit. 39996, Folios 1-23: History of the Birth and Life of Christ in Middle English.

(29) Corp. Chr. Coll., Cambridge, MS. 357: Translation of Diodorus Siculus by John Skelton. (250 folios).

(30) Bodleian Library, MS. Laud 626 (missing leaves supplied from MS. Bodl. 376): *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccone da Pise. (195 folios).

(31) Huntington Library, Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, Wynkyn de Worde Edition of 1517.

(32) Huntington Library, Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, first edition, 1598.

(33) Shrewsbury, England, Library of Shrewsbury School, MS. Mus. iii.42: Latin Anthems with music, and Fragments of three Mystery Plays. (42 folios).

(34) Trinity Coll., Cambridge, MS. B.1.45, Folios 1-42: Miscellany including sermons in English, French, and Latin.

(35) Trinity Coll., Cambridge, MS. R.3.21, Folios 51b-83a: *Curia Sapiencie* by Lydgate.

(36) Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. Français 1448, Folios 216-272: *La Bataille en Aleschans*.

(37) Brit. Mus., MS. Harl. 2054, Folios 13b-22a: Extracts from the Account Book of the Company of Smiths at Chester.

(38) Brit. Mus., MS. Harl. 875: *Piers Plowman*, A-Text. (25 folios).

(39) Brit. Mus., MS. Addit. 34221: "Six plays or shews performed at Apethorp, 1640-1650." (283 folios).

(40) Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994: Fifteen English plays. (350 folios).

(41) Brit. Mus., MS. Addit. 22583: Poems, chiefly in Latin, by William Gager. (103 folios).

(42) Brit. Mus., MS. Royal 12.A.LIX: *Pyramis* by William Gager. (23 folios).

(43) Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 86: Miscellaneous collection of pieces in Anglo-French, Middle English, and Latin. (207 folios).

(44) Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 264, Folios 1-196: *Roman d'Alexandre*.

(45) Bern, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 568, Folios 18-79: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Britonum*.

With the active assistance of the Treasurer of the Association, the Committee has collected during the calendar year 1925 the sum of \$1250 from the libraries of the following fifty institutions:

Amherst College	New York University
Brown University	University of North Carolina
Bryn Mawr College	University of Pennsylvania
Butler College	University of Pittsburgh
University of California	Princeton University
Catholic University	Radcliffe College
University of Chicago	Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Columbia University	Smith College
Cornell University	University of Southern California
Dartmouth College	Stanford University
Emory University	Swarthmore College
University of Georgia	Syracuse University
Goucher College	University of Texas
Hamilton College	Vanderbilt University
Harvard University	Vassar College
Haverford College	University of Virginia
Mt. Holyoke College	University of Washington
Indiana University	Washington University
University of Iowa	Washington & Lee University
Johns Hopkins University	Wellesley College
University of Michigan	Wells College
University of Minnesota	Wesleyan University
University of Montana	Western Reserve University
University of Nebraska	University of Wisconsin
Newberry Library	Yale University

The financial statement of the Committee is as follows:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand January 1, 1925.....	\$2,034 .94
Contributions as of 1924	50 .00
Contributions from 50 institutions in 1925	1,250 .00
Interest to June 30, 1925.	40 .68
	<hr/> \$3,375 .62

EXPENDITURES

Purchase of twenty reproductions.....	<hr/> \$1,262 .84
Balance on hand December 31, 1925.....	\$2,112 .78

The most important work of the Committee is accomplished through the Sub-Committee on Selections, of which the chairman is

Professor Robert K. Root, of *Princeton University*. Members of contributing institutions are invited to submit requests to Professor Root at any time.

Respectfully submitted,

A. R. HOHLFELD,
G. L. KITTREDGE,
CHARLES MOORE,
COLBERT SEARLES,
KARL YOUNG, *Chairman*

It was voted to adopt the report and also to record the gratitude of the Association for the efficient service rendered by the Committee.

Professor Robert K. Root, Chairman of the Committee on Selection of Rotographs, appealed to the members of the Association to furnish suggestions as to MSS. and Books which it was most important to reproduce.

The President of the Association announced the appointment of the following Committees:

On Nomination of Officers—Professors Killis Campbell, Taylor Starck, Herbert H. Vaughan, John H. Cox, and Bert J. Vos.

On Resolutions—Professors John C. French and Laura Hibbard Loomis.

To Audit the Treasurer's Report—Dr. Percy W. Long, Professors H. S. V. Jones, and Leonard Bloomfield.

The Secretary reported that a congratulatory letter signed by President Collitz and himself had been sent in the name of the Association to Professor Eduard Sievers on the occasion of his seventy-fifth anniversary and read the following reply which had just been received from Professor Sievers:

Leipzig, Schillerstr. 8, 10 Dezember 1925.

Professor Carleton Brown,
Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America,
Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr.

Hochgeehrter Herr College.

Die Modern Language Association of America, zu deren Ehrenmitgliedern ich mich seit vielen Jahren mit Stolz und Dankbarkeit zählen darf, hat mir die grosse Ehre erwiesen mich zur Vollendung meines 75. Lebensjahres zu begrüssen und zu beglückwünschen. Ich bitte Sie dafür der Association meinen wärmsten und ehrerbietigsten Dank auszusprechen. Den Ausdruck freundlicher Gesinnung den Sie

in Ihrem Briefe Worte gelichen haben, nehme ich gern entgegen: über das Mass dessen aber was ich in meinem Beruf habe leisten können, denke ich bescheidener, je älter ich werde und je deutlicher mir dabei wird, wie sehr das was geworden *ist* hinter dem zurückbleibt was hätte sein *sollen* und vielleicht geworden wäre, wenn mir für viele Dinge die mir heute wichtig und unentbehrlich vornommen, die Augen früher aufgegangen wären. Nur eines glaube ich wirklich für mich in Anspruch nehmen zu dürfen, nämlich die Anerkennung dass ich jederzeit bestrebt gewesen bin das Beste zu geben was ich geben konnte und nur im Dienst der Sache und der Wahrheit gearbeitet zu haben. Es ist mir eine grosse und aufrichtige Freude dieses mein Streben von einer so grossen und mustergültigen Organisation wie der Modern Language Association of America gebilligt zu sehen, in deren Reihen ich jedes Jahr wieder die Namen zahlreicher alter Schüler und Freunde lese.

Was mir die Zukunft noch bringen mag, steht dahin. Noch *kann* ich, in gewissen Grenzen, wissenschaftlich weiter arbeiten, und ich darf auch versprechen meine Arbeit in demselben Sinne weiterführen zu sollen in dem ich sie bisher getan habe.

Ich bitte endlich, zu verzeihen dass dieser mein Dank so spät erst kommt: widrige Umstände, auch gesundheitlicher Natur, liessen mich nicht eher zum Schreiben kommen.

In vorzüglicher Hochachtung bin ich

Ihr sehr ergebener

E. SIEVERS

Professor John M. Manly called attention to two collections of special interest to English students which members of the Association were invited to visit during their stay in Chicago: one was a set of reproductions of fifty-three MSS. of the *Canterbury Tales*, on exhibition at 5820 Woodlawn Ave.; the other was the Bacon collection, consisting of charters, court-rolls, compotus rolls of Norfolk and Suffolk—in all more than 2500 separate items—which could be seen in Room 16, Classics Building.

The Secretary of the Association brought up for ratification two amendments to the Constitution (printed on p. xiv of the Proceedings in the *P.M.L.A.* March 1925) which had been adopted at the preceding Annual Meeting. It was voted to ratify both these amendments and they were declared finally adopted.

M. Lewellyn Raney, Librarian of the Johns Hopkins University, addressed the Association in regard to a bill about to be introduced in Congress which proposed certain drastic changes

in the copyright law by entirely forbidding the importation of any foreign (though legitimate) edition of an American work and by requiring that orders for the original edition of a foreign work reprinted in this country be sent exclusively to "the proprietor of the United States copyright."

It was voted to instruct the Secretary of the Association to send to the Congressional Committee a protest against the proposed bill and also that the President of the Association appoint some member, preferably some one living in Washington or Baltimore, to coöperate with the Committee of the American Library Association in efforts to prevent the proposed legislation. [President Collitz afterwards appointed Professor Edwin Greenlaw to represent the Association in this matter.]

Professor J. S. P. Tatlock called the attention of the members of the Association to the recent announcement of the foundation of the Mediaeval Latin Academy.

Professor Charles Grimm as secretary of the French III Group reported the action taken by the Group at its meeting on the preceding day requesting that the Association appoint a Committee to secure lists of dissertations in the modern language field now in course of preparation in American colleges and universities. He moved the appointment of such a committee.

Professor C. C. Marden offered as a substitute a motion to refer the matter for consideration to the Executive Council with power. The substitute motion was thereupon carried.

It was voted to proceed without further delay to the reading of papers.

The reading and discussion of papers was then begun.

1. "Concerning the Number of Cases in Modern English."
By Professor MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR., of the *University of Texas*.

In view of the lateness of the hour it was voted at the conclusion of Professor Callaway's paper to postpone the reading of the further papers on the program to the Thursday morning session.

Luncheon was provided for the members of the Association by the University of Chicago at the Del Prado Hotel.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

For the Wednesday afternoon session the Association met at 2:30 P.M. in three sections devoted respectively to English, Romance, and Germanic Philology.

ENGLISH SECTION

MANDEL HALL

Chairman: Professor Karl Young of *Yale University*.

The following papers were read:

2. "Anglo-American Cooperation—Some Suggestions." By Professor Charles J. Sisson, of *University College*, University of London. (Discussion and further suggestions by Professor Carleton Brown and Professor O. F. Emerson.)

3. "Shakespeare Improved." By Professor Hazelton Spencer of the *State College of Washington*.

4. "The Source of Chaucer's *Rime of Sir Thopas* and of 'Pleyndamour'." By Dr. Francis P. Magoun, Jr., of *Harvard University*.

5. "Sociology and Literature." By Professor John M. Manly, of the *University of Chicago*. (Discussed by Professor H. B. Lathrop of the *University of Wisconsin*.)

6. "The Lives of St. George and Spenser's Knight of Holiness." By Professor Frederick M. Padelford, of the *University of Washington*.

7. "The Mind of Poe." By Professor Killis Campbell, of the *University of Texas*.

About three hundred and fifty persons were in attendance.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY, *Secretary*.

ROMANCE SECTION

110 COBB HALL

Chairman: Professor George L. Hamilton of *Cornell University*.

After a brief announcement by Professor Henri F. Müller of *Columbia University*, the following papers were read and discussed:

8. "The Literary Background of the *Chantefable*." By Professor John R. Reinhard, of the *University of Michigan*.

9. "Studies in the *Canzo aiere* of Petrarch." By Professor Ernest H. Wilkins, of the *University of Chicago*.

10. "Joseph de Maistre et l'Occultisme." By Professor Auguste Viatte, Visiting Professor at *Hunter College* (discussed by Professor Hugo P. Thieme).

11. "Notes and Queries on the Metre of the Poem of the *Cid*." By Professor Elijah C. Hills, of the *University of California* (discussed by Professors H. C. Berkowitz, Antonio Solalinde, and Juan Cano).

12. "The Nature and Influence of Charles Nodier's Philological Activity." By Professor A. H. Schutz, of the *University of Missouri*.

A report on the Activities of the Committee on Modern Language Instruction. By Professor A. Coleman, of the *University of Chicago* (discussed by Professors E. F. Langley, A. V. Roehm, and J. L. Barker).

13. This paper was omitted on account of the absence of Professor Van Roosbroeck.

14. "Anatole France's Recipe." By Professor F. A. Waterhouse, of *Kenyon College* (discussed by Professor Voorhees).

About 125 members and visitors were present.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI, *Secretary*.

GERMANIC SECTION

CLASSICS BUILDING 10

Acting Chairman: Professor M. Blakemore Evans, of *Ohio State University* in place of Professor A. R. Hohlfeld.

The following papers were read:

15. "Some Remarks on the Chronology of the Edda." By Professor L. M. Hollander, of the *University of Texas*.

16. "Psychoanalysis and Literary Investigation." By Professor Ernst Feise, of *Ohio State University*.

17. "The Essentials of Herder's Philosophy." By Professor Martin Schütze, of the *University of Chicago*.

18. "Margaret Fuller Reproves a Famous American Publisher." By Professor Carl F. Schreiber, of *Yale University*.

19. "Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, 1825-1925." By Dr. Arthur Urkhard, of *Harvard University*.

20. "Gerhart Hauptmann's View of Life." By Professor W. J. Heuser, of *Columbia University*.

Dr. Taylor Starck reported for the Committee appointed to collect funds to assist in the publication of the remaining portions of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, that it had not been necessary to furnish any assistance during the year. The committee was continued.

Professor F. W. J. Heuser presented the report of the Committee on Bibliography. Volume I of the Bibliographical Series has been unexpectedly delayed but will appear during 1926. Dr. Frels of Leipzig has been appointed to compile Volume II. The plans for the third volume are in the course of preparation. Professor Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer reported that the sum in the treasury of the Committee was \$2,083. The Committee was continued.

Professor R. H. Fife reported on the progress of the investigation of modern foreign language study.

On motion of Professor Marian P. Whitney it was *voted*: That the Goethe Centenary Committee report next December to the Germanic Section instead of to the Goethe Group.

On motion of Professor Collitz it was *voted*: That the Germanic Section recommend to the Association, that financial assistance be granted Professor Konrad Burdach in the publication of the second volume of his edition of *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*.

On motion of Professor Collitz it was *voted*: That the Germanic Section endorse the recommendation made to the Association last year by the Scandinavian Group, that the Association undertake the publication of a translation of the second volume of Viktor Rydberg's *Undersökningar i Germanisk Mythologi*.

The Chairman appointed the following committee to undertake the organization of a National Association of German Clubs: Professors Geo. Pullen Jackson (*Chairman*), A. R. Aron, F. D. Carpenter, F. W. J. Heuser, W. C. Michel, B. Q. Morgan, L. M. Price, Mariele Schirmer, Lillian Stroebe, B. J. Vos.

The following officers were elected. Germanic Section: *Chairman*, Professor J. A. Walz; *Secretary*, Professor E. H. Zeydel. Goethe Group: *Chairman*, Mr. William A. Speck; *Secretary*, Professor Carl F. Schreiber.

TAYLOR STARCK, Harvard University, *Secretary*.

WEDNESDAY EVENING

At 7 o'clock Wednesday evening a subscription dinner was served to some three hundred and fifty members of the Association at the Midway Masonic Temple. Following the dinner there was a smoker with a program arranged by the Local Committee. Professor KARL YOUNG of *Yale University* presided, and the smoke-talk was given by Professor PERCY H. BOYNTON of the *University of Chicago*.

THURSDAY MORNING

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Association was called to order at 9:35 A. M., Professor LOUISE POUND, Vice-President of the Association, presiding.

Professor Killis Campbell, chairman of the Committee on Nomination of Officers, presented the following nominations:

For President: T. Atkinson Jenkins of the *University of Chicago*.

For Vice-Presidents: John A. Walz of *Harvard University*, William B. Cairns of the *University of Wisconsin*, Laura Hibbard Loomis of *Wellesley College*.

For additional members of the Editorial Committee: Arthur G. Canfield of the *University of Michigan*, George H. McKnight of the *Ohio State University*.

For delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, for the term of four years, Edward C. Armstrong of *Princeton University*.

It was voted to instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected.

The following resolution was offered by Professor Best J. Vos:

The Modern Language Association of America, meeting in Chicago, extends to Professor Alexander Hohlfeld its congratulations upon his sixtieth anniversary.

The members of the Association, having learned at the same time of the deep bereavement which has come to their honored colleague, beg to express to him their sincerest sympathy and personal regard.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and the Secretary was instructed to communicate the action of the Association to Professor Hohlfeld.

The Secretary of the Association, on behalf of the Executive Council, nominated as Honorary Members of the Association, Professors GEORGE CIROT of the *University of Bordeaux* and VITTORIO CIAN of the *University of Turin*. On motion the persons named were unanimously elected Honorary Members.

Dr. Percy W. Long, Chairman of the Committee to audit the report of the Treasurer, reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been examined and found to be correct. Thereupon it was *voted*: That the report of the Treasurer be accepted.

Professor O. F. Emerson addressed the Association briefly in regard to the plans for the new Dictionary of Middle English, reporting that financial support had recently been received which had made it possible actually to begin work on this important scholarly enterprise, under the general editorship of Professor Clark Northup of *Cornell University*.

The reading and discussion of papers was then resumed:

21. "The Rules of the Common School Grammars." By Professor CHARLES C. FRIES of the *University of Michigan*.

22. "Literate and Illiterate Speech in Unwritten Languages." By Professor LEONARD BLOOMFIELD of the *Ohio State University*.

Inasmuch as Professor Edward V. Brewer was not present when his paper was called, it was read by title.

23. "The Source of Giraldi Cinzio's *Orbecca*." By Professor ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE of the *University of Minnesota*.

24. "The Racine Shakespeare Controversy in France (1817-1822)." By Professor MARCEL MORAUD of *The Rice Institute*.

25. "Chinese Influences in German Literature." By Professor ERNST ROSE of *New York University*.

26. "Some New Discoveries in the Manuscript of the Towneley Cycle of Mystery Plays." By Professor LOUIS WANN of the *University of Southern California*.

27. "The Relation of Nicholas Grimbald's *Christus Redivivus* to the *Hegge Plays*." By Professor GEORGE C. TAYLOR of the *University of North Carolina*.

THE INVITATION ADDRESS, "Some Requirements for the Historical Study of English," was then delivered by Professor W. A. CRAIGIE of the *University of Chicago*.

The following resolution was presented on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association expresses to President MASON and the corporation of the University of Chicago its appreciation of their generous hospitality, and to the Local Committee its thanks for the efficient direction which has made this an unusually profitable and pleasant meeting.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and the general meeting of the Association adjourned at 12:30 P.M.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

28. "Lessing and the 'Corrective Virtue in Comedy.'" By Professor EDWARD VERE BREWER of the *University of California*.
29. "The Solution of the Metre of the *Cid*." By Professor WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD of the *University of Wisconsin*.
30. "Quantity Changes in English Vowels." By Professor C. M. LOTSPEICH of the *University of Cincinnati*.
31. "The Poetry of John Hamilton Reynolds." By Professor GEORGE L. MARSH of the *University of Chicago*.
32. "Milton's Earlier Samson." By Professor EVERT MORDECAI CLARK of the *University of Texas*.
33. "A Herbrew Version of *Don Quixote*." By Professor H. C. BERKOWITZ of the *University of Wisconsin*.
34. "Spenser and the Elizabethan Courtly Lover." By Professor E. B. FOWLER of the *University of Louisville*.
35. "John Dunton's Connection with Book Reviewing." By Professor ROGER PHILIP MCCUTCHEON of *Tulane University*.
36. "Louis Racine's *De la Grâce*." By Professor GEORGE B. WATTS of the *University of Minnesota*.
37. "Charles Lord Mohun and *Henry Esmond*." By Professor ROBERT S. FORSYTHE of *Northwestern University*.
38. "Cicero on Parnassus." By Professor CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN of *Columbia University*.
39. "Étienne Médicis, A Forgotten Chronicler." By Professor DAVID C. CABEEN of *Vanderbilt University*.
40. "*La Quimera* by Emilia Pardo Bazán." By Professor C. C. GLASCOCK of the *University of Texas*.
41. "Folklore Survivals in American Ballads." By Dr. LOWRY CHARLES WIMBERLY of the *University of Nebraska*.
42. "An 'Italienisant' of the French Renaissance." By Professor CHARLES H. LIVINGSTON of *Bowdoin College*.
43. "The Latinity of the *Diplomata* issued by the Merovingian Kings." By Professor HENRY M. MARTIN of *Howard College*.
44. "A Study of the Development of the Genius of Charlotte Brontë as a Novelist Traced through the Unpublished Juvenile MSS. from

- 1829-1839, with particular reference to an Unpublished MS. in the Wrenn Library." By Miss FANNIE E. RATCHFORD of the Wrenn Library, *University of Texas*.
45. "Did Peele Write the Pre-Shakespearian *King Leir*?" By Professor ROBERT ADGER LAW of the *University of Texas*.
 46. "Thomas Middleton and the Fashion in Playmaking." By HELENE BUHLERT BULLOCK of *Bryn Mawr College*.
 47. "'The Rageing Turke' in English non-dramatic Literature of the 16th and 17th Centuries." By Mr. WARNER GRENELLE RICE of *Harvard University*.
 48. "The Great War in Drama." By Professor MARIAN P. WHITNEY of *Vassar College*.
 49. "Contemporary Satire in Otway's *Venice Preserved*." By Professor JOHN ROBERT MOORE of *Indiana University*.
 50. "The Vogue of Elyot's *The Governour* from 1531 to 1622." By Professor D. T. STARNES of *The Rice Institute*.
 51. "Voltaire and Mark Twain." By Professor FREDERICK A. G. COWPER of *Duke University*.
 52. "Collé Identified as a Collaborator on the *Anecdotes Dramatiques*." By Professor O. K. LUNDEBERG of *Wittenberg College*.
 53. "Early American Travellers in Italy." By Professor EMILIO GOGGIO of the *University of Toronto*.
 54. "Marcel Achard et la France nouvelle." By Professor PAUL MORAND of the *University of Minnesota*.
 55. "Romanticism and Individuality." By Professor CLARK S. NORTHUP of *Cornell University*.
 6. "A New Approach to the Home Problem of the Old Saxon *Heliland*." By Professor E. C. METZENTHIN of the *University of North Carolina*.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

The afternoon session of Thursday was devoted to Group Meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 2 o'clock until 3:30, and those of the Second from 4 o'clock until 5:30.

FIRST DIVISION, 2 P.M.

(General Topics V) Research Phonetics. *Chairman*, G. Oscar Russell, *Ohio State University*. The following papers were read:

1. "Theory of the Effect of the Emotions on Frequency and Length of Vowels," by Milton Metfessel, *University of Iowa*.

2. "Harmonic Analysis of Speech Sounds," By Dr. Irving B. Crandall, Bell Telephone Laboratories.

Professor Parmenter reported that under a stipend granted by The Commonwealth Fund to the Modern Language Association, Professor J. L. Barker will continue his research with motion picture films in differences in English and French.

Attention was called to a posted report of research in phonetics now in progress. Among those who responded to the questionnaire which was sent out were members of departments of Physics, Psychology, Speech, Foreign Languages, and English; and the subjects of study which were reported showed a corresponding diversity.

The present officers were re-elected for the following year. Between forty and fifty members were present.

SARAH T. BARROWS, *Secretary*.

(*Comparative Literature II*) Popular Literature. *Chairman*, John H. Cox, *West Virginia University*; *Secretary*, Stith Thompson, *Indiana University*. This Group met in joint session with the American Folk-Lore Society: *President*, Louise Pound *University of Nebraska*. The session continued until 5:30. The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "The Ballad in the Light of Recent Anthropological Evidence," Arthur Beatty, *University of Wisconsin*.

2. "Hawaiian Gods," Martha Warren Beckwith, *Vassar College*.

3. "A Case of Group-Authorship; A Word about *Mary Hamilton*," A. H. Tolman, *University of Chicago*.

4. "Old Fiddlers' Calls," Edwin Ford Piper, *University of Iowa*.

5. "Popular Etymology in the Ballads," Reed Smith, *University of South Carolina*.

6. "Sun Tria Damna Domus: The History of a Mediaeval Proverb," Archer Taylor, *University of Chicago*.

7. "Instability of Person in Ballads," H. M. Belden, *University of Missouri*.

8. "Ballad-Collecting in Virginia," Arthur Kyle Davis, Jr., *University of Virginia*.

The Chairman and Secretary of the Group were re-elected for the coming year. The number in attendance was well over hundred.

JOHN H. COX, *Chairman*.

(*Comparative Literature V*) The Renaissance. *Chairman*, Hardin Craig, *University of Iowa*. The program was devoted to a discussion of current trends in Renaissance research.

Reports on the bibliography for 1925 were presented as follows: for Italian, by Walter L. Bullock, *Bryn Mawr College*; for French, by Ralph C. Williams of *Amherst College* (*in absentia*); for English, by the Chairman.

The following papers were read and commented upon:

"Gabriel Harvey's *Marginalia* as it touches Renaissance figures, and particularly Christopher Marlowe," Hale Moore, *Northwestern University*.

"Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," Miss Leslie Spence, *University of Wisconsin*.

"The Epilogues of the *Heptaméron* as a Document in the History of the Salon," R. Keith Hicks, *Queen's University*.

The following officers were elected for 1926: *Chairman*, Walter L. Bullock, *Bryn Mawr College*; *Secretary*, Robert V. Merrill, *University of Chicago*. Upwards of sixty members were present.

ROBERT V. MERRILL, *Secretary*.

(*English II*) Middle English Language. *Chairmen*, Howard R. Patch, *Smith College*, and Thomas A. Knott, *University of Iowa*; *Secretary*, Robert J. Menner, *Yale University*.

The meeting was devoted to a discussion of plans and methods for the new Middle English Dictionary, opened by Clark Northup of *Cornell University*, editor of the Dictionary, and W. A. Craigie, editor of the *Oxford Dictionary*.

(No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.)

(*English VIII*) Literary Tendencies during the Second Half of the XVIII Century. *Chairman*, Ronald S. Crane, *University of Chicago*; *Secretary*, John W. Draper, *University of Maine*. Joint Meeting with English VII, continuing the session of Tuesday afternoon. The second session was devoted to a survey of the present status of eighteenth century scholarship.

A paper was presented by the Chairman, attempting to analyze and classify recent developments in eighteenth-century research and to indicate the main problems for further investigation.

(No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.)

(*French I*) Mediæval Literature and Linguistics. *Chairman*, Edward C. Armstrong, *Princeton University*; *Secretary*, Louis Allen, *University of Toronto*. The following papers and reports were presented:

1. "Interpretation of *Pathelin*, 532-33 ('Il ne fault point couvrir de chaume ici')," by the Chairman.

2. Bibliographies of scientific work done in 1925.

(a). *Chansons de geste*, by William P. Shepard, *Hamilton College*.

(b). *Romans d'aventure*, by Charles Grimm, *Williams College*.

3. The Current Year in Romance Linguistics, by T. Atkinson Jenkins, *University of Chicago*, assisted by Urban T. Holmes, Peter F. Smith, Jr., and Herbert H. Vaughan.

The program for the meeting in 1926 was placed in charge of a Committee consisting of D. S. Blondheim (chairman), E. C. Armstrong, T. A. Jenkins, H. H. Vaughan, G. L. Hamilton, and Charles Grimm.

Raymond Weeks of *Columbia University* was elected Chairman of the Group for the coming year, and Louis Allen was continued as Secretary.

(*German IV*) German Literature from a Social Point of View. *Chairman*, Ernst Feise, *Ohio State University*; *Secretary*, Martin Schütze, *University of Chicago*. The following papers were presented:

1. "Wilhelm Dilthey and the Science of Literary Criticism," Julius Goebel, *University of Illinois*.

2. "Economic Backgrounds of Modern German Literature," John Whyte, *College of the City of New York*.

3. "Gottfried Keller: Eine Psychoanalytische Studie," Werner C. Michel, *West Virginia University*.

(No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.)

(*Slavonic I*) Slavonic Languages and Literatures. *Chairman*, Clarence A. Manning, *Columbia University*. The following papers were presented:

1. "Finnish Influence in Slavonic Grammar," Eduard Prokosch, *Bryn Mawr College*.
2. "Fonvizin and America," Arthur P. Coleman, *Olivet College*.
3. "The Philosophy of Ivan V. Kireyevsky," Henry Lanz, *Stanford University*.
4. "The Problem of Anna Karenina," by the Chairman.

Professors S. N. Harper of the *University of Chicago* and Robert J. Kerner of the *University of Missouri* spoke briefly on the development of interest in Slavonic subjects in the American Historical Association and on the possibilities of coöperation with the School of Slavonic Studies in the *University of London*.

It was voted to continue the Chairman for the coming year and to arrange for a program for the meeting of 1926.

CLARENCE A. MANNING, *Chairman*.

(*Spanish I*) Spanish Language. *Chairman*, Hayward Keniston, *University of Chicago*. The following papers were presented:

1. "The 'Modernizations' of the *Cifar* of 1512," C. P. Wagner, *University of Michigan*.
2. "The Use of Adjectives by the Spanish Mystics," W. A. Beardsley, *Goucher College*.
3. "The Language of Juan de Luna's Continuation of *Lazarillo de Tormes*," E. R. Sims, *University of Texas*.

Among those who participated in the discussion of these papers were Professors Hills, Marden, House, Wagner, Hespelt, Fichter, Fraker, and the Chairman.

Following the announced program, the chairman asked for reports on work now being done in the field and suggestions of opportunities for further work. Mr. Hills reported a study in progress under his direction on the *-se* and *-ra* subjunctives; Mr. Crawford, a study of the sibilants in XVIth century Spanish. Mr. Nykl proposed a possible etymology for "pícaro." Sr. Solalinde announced the preparation in Madrid of a "glosario" of XVIth-XVIIth century Spanish. Mr. Marden stressed the value of a study of XVIth century Spanish in connection with Spanish-American dialects, which represent, not Andalusian Spanish as often said, but general Spanish of the XVIth century.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, J. D. M. Ford, *Harvard University*; *Secretary*, W. A.

Beardsley, *Goucher College*. The subject for the next year's program was left to the new officers. About seventy-five persons were present.

HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE, *Secretary*.

SECOND DIVISION, 4:00 P. M.

(*General Topics II*) Critical Study of Romanticism. *Chairman*, Bartholow V. Crawford, *University of Iowa*. Brief reports of research in progress were presented as follows: "Wordsworth and the Pastoral," E. C. Knowlton (*Ohio Wesleyan University*); "Coleridge and the Quaker Saints," E. K. Maxfield (*Washington and Jefferson College*); "Oral Criticism of the Drama," Paul Spencer Wood (*Grinnell College*).

David H. Carnahan (*University of Illinois*) and Frederic D. Cheydleur (*University of Wisconsin*) outlined the results of their investigation into definitions and interpretations of the term romanticism in French literature from 1750 to 1825. Edwin H. Zeydel (*Indiana University*) summarized the difficulties in attempting a survey of German definitions of the same term.

After prolonged discussion of the usefulness and practicability of assembling definitions and interpretations of Romanticism in a more systematic and thorough manner than has hitherto been attempted, the group decided to make a co-operative effort in this direction. It was voted, further, to study at the next meeting the romantic aspects of 18th century drama.

The present officers were re-elected for the coming year. Forty-five persons were in attendance.

PAUL KAUFMAN, *Secretary*.

(*Comparative Literature*) Mediæval Latin. *Chairman*, J. S. P. Tatlock, *Harvard University*; *Secretary*, F. P. Magoun, Jr., *Harvard University*.

1. "Manufacturing British History; Ambrosius, Lucius Hiberius, Eventus, etc., in Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth," Roger S. Loomis, *Columbia University*.

2. "Progress in the Lexicography of Medieval Latin," Charles F. Beeson, *University of Chicago*.

Report on 1) the revision of Ducange, 2) the dictionary of Anglo-Latin.

3. "Statement concerning *Speculum*: A Journal of Mediæval Studies," Francis P. Magoun, Jr., *Harvard University*.

4. Announcement as to the foundation of the Mediæval Academy of America; discussion of the relation to it of the Mediæval Latin Group of the Modern Language Association, and of other policies of that group.

(No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.)

(*Comparative Literature IV*) Anglo-French Literary Relations.

Chairmen: George R. Havens, *Ohio State University*, and George Sherburn, *University of Chicago*. The following papers were read:

"The *Merope* of Jeffreys and Voltaire's *Merope*," Thomas E. Oliver, *University of Illinois*.

"Voltaire's Primacy in Establishing the English Influence," E. Preston Dargon, *University of Chicago*.

"Some Notes on Voltaire's Vogue in England, with Hints on Further Research," R. S. Crane, *University of Chicago*.

An informal discussion followed on the proposal made by Professor Dargon that the Group collaborate to produce a volume dealing with "Voltaire and the English Influence." The outline for such a work presented by Professor Dargon was tentatively accepted and will be submitted for consideration to other members of the Group not present at Chicago.

George R. Havens and Louis I. Bredvold (*University of Michigan*) were elected Chairmen for the coming year. About sixty-five persons were present.

(*English V*) Shakespeare. Chairman, Joseph Q. Adams, *Cornell University*. The following papers were presented and discussed:

1. "The Original Audience of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," Austin K. Gray, *Haverford College*.

2. "That Jonson Purge," Thomas W. Baldwin, *University of Illinois*.

3. "The Simulation of Bird-song in the Elizabethan Theatre," William J. Lawrence, *Harvard University*.

4. "Shakespeare and the Unhappy Happy Ending," Alwin Thaler, *University of Tennessee*.

5. "The Influence of Shakespeare upon Walt Whitman,"
R. C. Harrison, *Texas Technological College*.

The officers elected for the coming year are: T. W. Baldwin,
University of Illinois, Chairman; Alwin Thaler, *University of*
Tennessee, Secretary.

HELEN SANDISON, *Secretary*.

(*English IX*) Wordsworth and his Contemporaries. *Chairman*,
Arthur Beatty, *University of Wisconsin*. The following papers
were read and in part discussed:

"Misinterpretations of the Relationship between Shelley and
Keats," Walter E. Peck, *Wesleyan University*.

"The Immortality of Beauty in Keat's Poetry," R.D.Havens,
Johns Hopkins University.

"Self-Portraiture in the Narrative Art of Wordsworth's
Narrative Poems," Paul Mueschke, *University of Michigan*.

On motion of the nominating committee, Oscar J. Campbell,
Jr., of the *University of Michigan*, and Walter E. Peck, of
Wesleyan University, were elected, respectively, Chairman and
Secretary for a term of two years.

ABBIE F. POTTS, *Secretary*.

(*English XIII*) Present-Day English. *Chairman*, Samuel Moore,
University of Michigan. The following reports were presented
and discussed:

1. Report of Committee on Phonographic Records, by Harry
M. Ayres, *Columbia University*. It was agreed to attempt to
finance this work through the institutions represented in the
Group: it was stated that eight contributions of fifty dollars
each will provide for the immediate needs. It was voted to send
a letter to the Columbia Phonograph Co. expressing appreciation
of their coöperation.

2. Report of the Committee on Standardization of Phonetic
Transcription and Nomenclature, by Hans Kurath, *North-*
western University.

3. Report of the Committee on Survey of American English.
A resolution was adopted providing for the trying-out of the
technique as developed by the Committee and referring the
project to the Executive Council of the Association for their
support.

Professor Barker received authorization by vote of the group for his work in the British Isles during the coming year.

Professor W. A. Craigie presented a paper discussing the relation of the proposed survey of American English to the dictionary upon which he is at work and to dictionaries of American English generally.

The present officers were continued for the coming year. Thirty members were present.

CHARLES C. FRIES, *Secretary*.

(*French IV*) Molière. *Chairman*, Colbert Searles, *University of Minnesota*; *Secretary*, Gustave L. van Roosbroeck, *Columbia University*.

In the absence of the Secretary, Charles Grimm, *Williams College*, was appointed Acting Secretary. On motion by Professor Zdanowicz it was voted this Group be henceforward combined with French III, (French Literature of the XVII and XVIII Centuries), and that the officers already elected for the latter group serve as officers of the new combined group.

The following papers were read:

1. "Amphitryon and Montespan," Ruth Phelps, *University of Minnesota*.

2. "Molière in American Universities," C. D. Zdanowicz, *University of Wisconsin*.

About fifty people were present.

CHARLES GRIMM, *Acting Secretary*.

(*German II*) Language and Literature of the XVI Century. *Chairman*, W. Kurrelmeyer, *Johns Hopkins University*; *Secretary*, J. T. Hatfield, *Northwestern University*. In the absence of the Chairman, the Secretary was appointed Acting Chairman.

C. A. Williams, *University of Illinois*, Secretary of the special committee on cataloguing original 16th-century German prints in American libraries, reported that 17 libraries and 4 individuals had already sent catalogue-cards, and that 20 additional libraries had already promised to furnish similar cards. The report was accepted as one of progress, and the committee continued. It was agreed that private, as well as public libraries, should be solicited to co-operate.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Section be authorized and requested to present to Secretary Carleton Brown, by the middle of January, an estimate of funds needed for carrying on the catalogue of XVI century German prints in America, with the view of securing from the American Council of Learned Societies an appropriation for this object.

M. B. Evans, *Ohio State University*, presented a plan of preparing an edition of the Lucerne passion-play. On motion, the Section unanimously endorsed this plan as of high value to the learned world.

The following papers were presented:

"Murner Problems," by Ernst Voss, *University of Wisconsin*.

"German Proverbs in the Age of the Reformation," by Richard Jente, *Washington University*.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Ernst Voss; *Secretary*, Charles A. Williams. About 25 members were present.

J. T. HATFIELD, *Secretary*.

(*Scandinavian I*) Scandinavian Literature. *Chairman*, Henning Larsen, *University of Iowa*. The following papers were read:

1. "Strindberg's Early Conception of History," H. V. E. Palmblad, *Phillips University*.

2. "The Number of English Translations of the *Frithjof's Saga*," Adolph B. Benson, *Yale University* (read by the *Chairman*.)

Professor Adolph Benson was elected *Chairman* for the coming year, with power to appoint the *Secretary*.

CHARLES A. WILLIAMS, *Secretary*.

(*Spanish II*) Spanish Literature since the Renaissance. *Chairman*, J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *University of Pennsylvania*.

The following papers were read:

1. "The relative Importance of Syllables and Stress in Spanish Versification," Juan Cano, *University of Toronto*.

2. "Ruben Dario's Adaptation of French Metrics to Spanish," E. K. Mapes, *University of Iowa*.

3. "Conjugan Honor in the plays of Lope de Vega," William L. Fichter, *University of Minnesota*.

4. "The Two Editions of Lasso de la Vega's *Mexicana*," John Van Horne, *University of Illinois*.

The advisability of organizing another Group devoted to earlier Spanish Literature was discussed and it was finally voted to refer the matter to the Chairman for the coming year, with power to organize such a Group after consultation with the Executive Council, it being understood that, if the organization of the new group is not found practicable, the title of the present group should be amended by omitting the phrase "since the Renaissance."

Officers for the coming year were elected as follows: *Chairman*, George Tyler Northup, *University of Chicago*; *Secretary*, Alice Bushee, *Wellesley College*.

W. S. HENDRIX, *Secretary*.

WORLD LANGUAGES*

BY HERMANN COLLITZ

AT A time when nearly every nook and corner of the globe has been made accessible and when international relations are becoming from year to year more general and more intimate, it seems only natural that the idea of a universal language, as a means of common intercourse for all mankind, should have been revived, so as to be hailed in many quarters with delight and enthusiasm. "Revived," I said, for we must not imagine that the present generation is the first to embrace a similar idea. Every one of us is familiar with the story of the tower of Babel, as told in Genesis, chapter 11, beginning with the statement "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech." This condition was contrary to the will of the Lord, especially after the people had begun to build a city and a tower whose top was to reach unto heaven. "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city. Therefore was the name of it called Babel: because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth."

Evidently we find here the notion of a world language; not, to be sure, as an end to be looked forward to and to be striven for, but as a condition existing in the remote past, at the beginnings of mankind. The point we are especially interested in is the fact that the scene of these early beginnings is laid in Babylon. For it is to an early period in the history of the Babylonian empire that we can trace the very first attempt to bring about, if not a universal language, at least something resembling it closely.

Light has been thrown on these matters some forty years ago quite unexpectedly, and not from Babylon but from a neighboring country. It was in the winter of 1887 that at Tell el Amarna in Upper Egypt some 300 clay tablets were discovered, inscribed with cuneiform characters. They proved to date back

* The Presidential Address delivered at the joint session of the Modern Language Association of America and the Linguistic Society of America at the University of Chicago, December 29, 1925.

to the fourteenth century B. C., and to contain the diplomatic correspondence of King Amenophis IV and his father with the kings of Babylon, Assyria and other Asiatic empires, as well as with the Egyptian governors in Syria and neighboring districts. The greater part of these documents are written in Babylonian, only a few of the Asiatic rulers preferring to use the language of their own people. All of them, however, are employing the Babylonian script. In order to understand the situation we must remember that not only Babylon was at that time the most powerful monarchy of the Eastern world, but that the cuneiform writing, however clumsy and complicated it may appear to us, obviously was looked at as the most suitable method of reducing the spoken language to a written form.

It is noteworthy that from the outset the use of a common alphabet was deemed no less important than that of a common language. Consequently the ideal of a world language assumes a different aspect when in the course of many centuries the use of the cuneiform writing was generally abandoned in favor of the so-called Phoenician or Semitic alphabet. The latter, no doubt, marked, in every respect, a step in advance as compared with the earlier primitive ways of writing, notwithstanding the fact that in its initial stages it is not a strictly phonetic script but rather a simplified method of syllabic writing. Its bearing on the history of the alphabet may be realized from the fact that, with the modifications introduced chiefly by the Greeks and Romans, we are using this very alphabet to this day, the arrangement of our ABC being, with but a few exceptions, in agreement with that of the ancient Hebrew alphabet.

Interesting as it might be to follow up the development of this alphabet more in detail, I must be satisfied here to state that the Early Greek alphabet is made up of a large number of local varieties, one of which gave rise to the Roman alphabet and to those of ancient Italy generally. The latter accordingly share the most essential innovation made by the Greeks, namely the systematic designation of the vowel sounds, in addition to the consonants. It is due chiefly to this feature of the ancient Graeco-Roman alphabets that in the spelling of the modern European languages the syllabic character of the early Phoenician alphabet is no longer apparent and that it has been possible

to approach more or less the ideal of a strictly phonetic method of writing.

Owing to the enterprising spirit of the ancient Greeks in commerce and colonization the Greek language together with the Greek alphabet had spread at an early date East and West of the mainland. Alexander's march into Asia, resulting in the overthrow in 333 B. C. of the Persian empire, as well as the subsequent conquests, in Asia and Egypt, of his generals, lent an even greater impetus to Greek influence. Alexander's dream of a world empire dominated by Greek civilization appeared to be at least partly realized.

Greek, no doubt, must be regarded as the leading world language from the time of Alexander to that of the Roman world dominion, holding its own even alongside of Latin during the early centuries of the Christian era. In order to realize its predominant position we need but cast a glance at Alexandria, the centre at the Hellenistic period, of literary culture, or at Pergamos in Asia Minor, the rival for a while of Alexandria in literature and art, or at Antioch, in order to mention only one more seat among many of the Greek learning. Let us remember that the Septuagint, the well-known Greek version of the Old Testament, written in Egypt apparently in the third century B. C., was followed later on by three more Greek translations, all of which found a place, alongside of the Septuagint, in Origen's *Hexapla*. Nor should we forget that St. Paul, although priding himself on being a Roman citizen, wrote his epistles in Greek, that Greek is the language generally of the New Testament as well as of the early Fathers of the Church, and that at the beginning of the third century three different schools, as it were, existed of New Testament text criticism.

At the very time, however, when Greek seemed destined to become the literary and commercial language of at least Eastern Europe, Western Asia and Northern Africa, it began to suffer from the competition of Latin. Even in the Balkan peninsula, especially its northern portion, Latin had, in the first centuries of our era gained a strong foothold, notwithstanding the vicinity of Constantinople. Rumania, e. g., had become a Roman province at the beginning of the second century, and has ever since counted as one of the Latin countries. In addition to the

two leading languages we find in the same regions a large variety of vernaculars. This state of affairs naturally served as a stimulus toward acquiring a command of more than one language. We have it on good authority that Ulfilas, the author of the Gothic Bible and the inventor of the Gothic alphabet, wrote and preached in three languages, i. e., in Gothic, Greek and Latin. A contemporary of his, about thirty years younger, was St. Jerome, the famous scholar whose Latin version of the Scriptures is the only one accepted as authentic by the Roman Catholic Church. Born about the year 340 at Strido, a town on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia, he was educated in Rome and later on spent much of his time in the East. Before being entrusted by Pope Damasus with the revision of the Latin versions of the Scriptures, he had gained the reputation of being as much of a Ciceronian as of a Christian and of possessing at the same time a profound knowledge of Hebrew and many other languages. I have always felt that the Catholic Church deserves much credit for having granted a place among its saints to a scholar chiefly in recognition of his accomplishments along the lines of linguistics and philology.

At St. Jerome's time Latin had no lesser claim to the title of a world language than Greek. We can say, moreover, of Latin, what could hardly be maintained with regard to Greek, that it has remained a world language ever since. At this point, however, a distinction proves necessary with regard to Latin no less than to similar instances generally. While at the time of the Roman world dominion Latin could on the whole be regarded as a uniform language, the breaking up of the Empire resulted in an independent development of its former provinces, together with a steadily increasing number of local varieties. As a result of this development we find, a few centuries afterwards, a number of new national languages, often, to be sure, designated by force of habit as Latin, yet differing from genuine Latin no less than the various branches of the Indo-European family differ from the parent tongue. On the other hand, Latin as the language of the Roman Church, as a literary and learned language used by scholars all over the world and in every learned profession, has remained essentially the same language as in olden times.

The history of Latin in its relation to the Romance languages finds a close parallel in the linguistic conditions existing in Ancient and Modern India. The almost endless variety of languages and dialects found in Modern India is generally admitted—as far as they belong to the Indo-European family—to be descended from the language spoken about 1500 B. C., and preserved in the Sacred Books of the Hindus, such as the Rigveda or Atharvaveda. While modern languages, like Hindi or Gujarati, spoken by many millions of people, betray at the first glance little similarity with their original source, the ancient language has been preserved with comparatively few changes through the Middle Ages to this day as the language of learning, both theological and secular, as well as that of polite literature and as the language of every day conversation among scholars.

While Sanskrit enjoyed the backing of the orthodox Hindu Church, the Buddhists preferred to use a language of their own, based on one of the popular dialects. This language too, the so-called Pali, in course of time, suffered a fate similar to that of Sanskrit, by gradually becoming a dead language except in literary and sacred use.

The lesson to be learned in Western Europe no less than in India, is to the effect that it is possible to prevent a language from undergoing any radical changes for a thousand years or longer, though only under favorable circumstances and special conditions. The two chief requirements are: first, it must be taken out of the hands of the people and entrusted instead to the care of a privileged class of priests or scholars; secondly, it must have the support of a literature, be it sacred or secular, that is worth while preserving, studying, and imitating. Wherever these safeguards are lacking, the language in question, however widespread and authoritative at a certain time, is bound to share the fate of all languages. Whether we apply to its evolution the term of growth or decay, it surely will not remain the same and will at best look as much similar to its former self as a child to its father.

I would deem this a valuable lesson, especially with regard to recent efforts in behalf of a language to be used by everybody. While we may experience some difficulty in spreading one and the same language all over the world, this difficulty is small as

compared with that in preventing this language from being changed after its general adoption. Difficult or impossible as the former may be, it is safe to say that the latter would prove even more impossible.

Before parting from the ancient languages we may find it instructive to take notice of an interesting attempt, made at an early date, to cope with the difficulties due to the co-existence of several languages in one and the same country. Though in this instance we are not exactly concerned with a world language at large, yet the problem to be solved was more or less the same, even if on a smaller scale. I am referring to a language or a system of writing which for quite a while was the cause among modern scholars, of a hot controversy. Should the language in question be counted as Semitic or Indo-European? If Semitic, it would have to pass for an Aramaic or Mesopotamian idiom; if Indo-European, for a variety of Persian. The problem, meanwhile, has been solved by the discovery that we are essentially concerned with a system of writing in which the Persian words are in part represented by their Semitic equivalents. This system goes by the name of *Pahlavi*, a noun derived from the adjective *Pahlav*, the latter being the regular equivalent in Persian of the older *Parthava*, meaning "Parthian." The name would seem to indicate that we are concerned with a method of writing and a language in use at the time of the Parthian monarchy. This is correct in so far as Pahlavi seems to have been the official language at the court of the Parthian rulers. Obviously, however, the system is much older. In fact, an identical alphabet is found on coins and in rock inscriptions dating from the early Sassanid period, i. e., from the third and fourth century of our era. Very likely we must go back for an explanation even further to the time when the cumbersome cuneiform writing was being abandoned in favor of the Semitic alphabet, and more particularly the Aramaean letters. Instead of adopting only this alphabet, it seemed expedient to retain a limited number of Semitic words in their Aramaic form, so as to allow the Median and Persian population to substitute for them the equivalents in their own idiom. Practically, then, we have a "two in one" language, in as much as the written characters could be interpreted in two different ways. Strange as this method, at the first glance, may appear

to us, we must not forget that a similar practice is found to a certain extent in present-day English, especially with regard to abbreviations taken over from Latin. We employ in writing the letters *etc.*, pronouncing them either in the Latin way as *et cetera*, or substituting the English equivalent "and so forth." Other familiar instances of the same description are the two letters *e. g.* as abbreviations for "to wit" or "namely," a ligature (&) made up of the letters *e* and *t* pronounced "and," a similar ligature (lb or lb) containing the first and third letter of the Latin word *libra* and pronounced "pound" or "pounds," and so forth. Abbreviations of this kind are always based on the spelling of the corresponding Latin words; and, many of them having been retained from Latin in other European languages, we may regard them as specimens of an international written language, a system of graphic values meant primarily for the eye, and adjustable to the vocabulary of more than one country. If the system were extended from mere initial letters to entire words and if these were selected in such a manner as to include the most familiar Latin words, we should have the principle of the Pahlavi on a larger scale.

Abbreviations, however, like those I have dwelt upon, must carefully be distinguished from another group, however similar the two may appear at the first glance. Let us use as a typical example of the second group the familiar S O S. We may render its meaning in regular words by something like: "We are in great distress: hurry to the rescue of our vessel." or more briefly: "hasten to our assistance!" An attempt, to be sure, has been made to connect it with abbreviations by initials, interpreting the three letters as "Suspend Other Service." Another possible guess would be: "Save Our Ship." But let us keep in mind that we are not concerned with a Latin term. The correct explanation seems to be that the apparent letters of the alphabet are nothing but arbitrary signs chosen for the reason that they are easily transmitted. We are concerned then with a method of conveying a meaning by agreeing on the use of certain ciphers or signs to take the place of ordinary words.

This device must not be regarded as a modern invention; for it is nothing else than the method known long since by the name of "pasigraphy," a term which has been defined as a sys-

tem designed for universal use, employing signs or symbols to represent ideas only, not words. A well known work in this line is the stately folio by Bishop John Wilkins entitled *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, and published by the Royal Society of London in 1668. By a "real character" the author understands a system of writing based on philosophical notions instead of words. The main body of his comprehensive work, accordingly, consists of an attempt at analyzing and systematizing the notions found in human speech. For these notions he devises a system of mathematical symbols chosen in accordance with the categories revealed by his analysis. Maybe he overestimated the value of his particular system and underrated the difficulties likely to be caused by his notations in comparison with ordinary letters or numerals or current ciphers. For these reasons, then, we should probably want to proceed on entirely different lines in case we attempted to devise a system of pasigraphy at the present day. Above all, we would keep it independent of any philosophical system, and as to notation, would rather follow the model of the present international telegraphic codes. At all events such a system would never presume to take the place or restrict the use of any living language.

Much as I feel tempted to dwell at length on the possibilities and prospects offered by pasigraphic methods, I am afraid we must now pass on to a class of world languages or rather would-be world languages that have received much attention in recent times. The most widely known representatives of this class probably are Volapük, Esperanto, and Ido, the latter being a simplified and improved form of Esperanto. Other so-called international languages of a similar type are, e. g., those named by their inventors Idiom neutral, Interlingua or Cosmoglott, Kosmos, Monolingue, Novilatin, Occidental, Parla, Pasilinguist, Spokil, Universala. This list may easily be added to, the number of artificial languages devised with a view toward universal adoption having been estimated, several years ago, at about one hundred. Nevertheless, I shall confine myself to discussing briefly the three I have named first, these having gained at least a number of adherents large enough to engage our interest.

All three belong to the synthetic or eclectic type of artificial languages, their vocabulary and to some extent their grammar having been borrowed from more than one language. The credit for devising this method belongs to the originator of Volapük, a Bavarian pastor named Johan Martin Schleyer. In order, however, to fit Schleyer's principles, many of the words he made use of, had to change their original form. The name *Volapük*, e. g., is meant to be the equivalent of "World Speech." The adjective "American" is shortened and changed into *Melop*, the letter *l* being substituted for *r*, for the reason that the latter is reserved for prefixes and suffixes. Much as Volapük was hailed by many with enthusiasm at the time of its first appearance, in 1879, it is at present more of historical interest than of practical importance.

As a matter of fact, it was more and more abandoned since 1887, in favor of *Esperanto*, the system invented by a Polish physician, Dr. Zamenhof. This system, indeed, meant quite a step in advance, especially for the reason that the words borrowed from actual languages looked less disfigured than in Volapük and that its grammar appeared simpler and more natural.

Yet Esperanto on its part again seemed capable of improvement on similar lines, both as regards its structure and its vocabulary. In the first decade, therefore, of this century, an international committee, elected by the Delegation (founded in 1901) for the adoption of an auxiliary international language, set to work to bring about a modified form of Esperanto. The Committee began to publish the results of its labors in 1907, giving to the modified language the name of "Ido," the first two letters of which are meant to be interpreted as "International Delegation."

Contrary to the expectations of this Committee, the inventor of Esperanto refused to accede to the changes suggested by its members. While he succeeded in inducing many of his followers to take the same attitude others were ready to accept Ido instead. As a consequence we find the former advocates of Esperanto divided into two opposite camps. To an impartial observer it would seem that the changes agreed upon by the Committee are well considered and mean an essential improvement on the original Esperanto.

Nor should we allow ourselves to be influenced by the fact that even at present Esperanto seems to command a larger following than Ido. Nothing else could have been reasonably expected. Let us remember that Esperanto itself, having made its appearance at a time when Voalpük was in vogue, received at first but slight attention. A change in this respect took place after the foundation of the Esperanto Society, an organization with regular meetings and a steadily increasing number of branches engaged in an efficient propaganda and in the publication of many periodicals, grammars and dictionaries. This organization has remained in existence ever since, and many of its members naturally are loath to make up their minds to the fact that their world language has its defects, and that their grammars and dictionaries are being declared out of date.

In favor of Ido we may say that it is not simply the mental product of a single enthusiast believing he could suggest something preferable to ordinary languages, and desirous of having his substitute spread all over the globe, he himself to become a Savior, as it were, from the imperfections of present day languages. Ido had the endorsement, from the outset, of a group of scholars prominent in various branches of learning. If but a few members of the Committee could claim to be philologists by profession, their number included at least a scholar of the accomplishments in linguistics and philology and the practical ability of Otto Jespersen of the University of Copenhagen, who gave much of his valuable time to active work on the Committee. While at one of the meetings of the Esperanto Society Dr. Zamenhof recited a poem of his composed in Esperanto in order to prove that the latter had a claim to be regarded as an actual instead of an artificial language, Jespersen and other Idists took pains to make it plain that their aim did not go beyond devising an auxiliary language meant for international intercourse only, and by no means intended to supersede the national languages.

So far so good. And you might now perhaps expect me to make an ardent plea for the adoption of Ido. Such, however, is not my intention, inasmuch as I have always been skeptical with regard to both the usefulness and harmlessness of any artificial and more especially any synthetic language. Accordingly, when appointed, not long ago, by the Modern Lan-

guage Association a member of a Committee to examine the advisability of teaching an artificial language in our public schools, I felt obliged to sound a note of warning against such an experiment. Interesting and harmless as languages of this type may be to the philologist, their adoption for the classroom or for general use is likely to prove a serious mistake.

In the first place let us remember that, apart from any artificial language, there are at present four languages, no more and no less, preferably used for international communication, namely—in alphabetical order—English, French, German, and Latin. At nearly every international convention held in recent times, either in Europe or in this country, these four have been admitted in addition to the national language, and on equal terms. The last occasion of this kind, I am aware of, was the Evangelical Conference held recently at Stockholm. Just try to imagine what would have become of that Conference, had the members been obliged to carry on their discussions exclusively in Esperanto or Ido. Obviously we are not yet ready to abandon the present custom with regard to international gatherings in favor of an artificial language. Instead of relieving the situation the addition of any synthetic language to the international languages of recognized standing is likely to be regarded as an additional burden.

Let us try to get at the bottom of the problem. The innate spirit of languages like Volapük or Esperanto is hostile to the study of languages. They were hatched in the belief that the study of foreign languages is an irksome and difficult task. Their originators, accordingly, felt called upon to come to the rescue of the unfortunate pupils by devising one language instead of all the rest. The most efficient way of reaching this goal seemed to be preparing a sort of hash or ragout made up of bits taken from existing languages. The main task consisted of making the new dish palatable and easily digestible. Greater regularity in grammar, a simplified structure, a vocabulary more limited in size and consisting of words more easily pronounced than their models in the languages existing: these were the chief attractions offered to the student so as to give him the impression that while becoming a linguist he is being spared any undue amount of mental exertion. Briefly stated then, the principle to which everything else has been sacrificed or sub-

ordinated, is that of ease of acquirement. Nor can I find that this leading principle has undergone any essential change in Ido. To quote from Professor Jespersen:* *"The best auxiliary international language is that which in all points offers the greatest ease to the greatest number of people."*

I am by no means ready on my part to accept the principle as formulated in this manner. Should not the fact that a language can be acquired with the greatest ease rather make us suspicious as to its usefulness? Must we exclude ordinary languages from competing for international recognition simply for the reason that an artificial language may be acquired in a shorter time? And are we willing to admit that general importance of a language in the present or past, and the value of its literature count for nothing?

As compared with artificial languages made to order with a view to simplicity most or all of the living languages may impress us as being complicated affairs. They may be compared to an armory or a big store in which everybody may find the kind of uniform or suit just to fit him, and a different suit for every occasion. The store will provide the writer of headlines in the daily paper and the contributor to the sport column with a vocabulary quite different from that used by the teacher in the class room or the preacher in the pulpit; it will supply every one who desires so with an inexhaustible amount of slang, but will furnish just as well the stock of words preferred by serious authors or in polite society.

To be sure, we might give up much of our present luxury by cutting out all humorous and figurative terms such as "chatterbox" or "slow coach" or "trencherman," sparing not even such familiar words as "kids" or "cop" or "stag party," and a thousand others, used no less frequently. In not a few cases the matter perhaps would become problematic. Should we be willing to part with such an interesting personality as "John Barleycorn"? He is known by other names less pretentious. Yet it would be a pity to drop him. Nor could we well dispense with the word "cocktail." For, like the word

* *History of our Language* (composed in Ido) and *Artificial Languages after the World War* (composed in Danish; transl. into Ido by Miss G. Münster) by O. Jespersen, with translation of both into English by Gilbert H. Richardson (London, 1920), p. 20.

"katydid," it is an American term which has resisted all efforts to render it by a single word in any other language. However, we could try to persuade the reporter on baseball games, not to indulge any longer in a jargon of his own with its "ump," its "fans," etc. And we might extend a similar request to college students with regard to terms like "frosh" and "soph," or "prof" and "prom" and all the rest. Maybe that in this way we would succeed in cutting down the abundance so as to reach the level of an artificial language. Yet it would amount to nothing less than moving from a palace into a poorhouse.

On the other hand, the artificial languages may attempt to amend matters on their part by adding, f. i., to their regular vocabulary various lists providing for the special needs of college students, newspaper writers, huntsmen, sportsmen, people engaged in various professional branches, and lovers of slang generally. This step, however, might easily prove fatal for the cause of artificial languages, inasmuch as it would reveal the fact that simplicity meant meagerness and poverty.

The whole problem, however, is not merely one of linguistic aspects. Obviously the practice in vogue at present in international dealings is based on the belief that Latin, English, French and German are the languages most widely known on account of their generally being taught in schools and colleges. The privileged position granted to them in the curriculum rests just as much or more so on the merits of their literature and their intimate connection with present-day civilization as on their linguistic qualities. Nor need we feel obliged to reduce their number any further unless we are anxious to improve the world by making it more monotonous.

The fact remains that there are not a few enthusiasts looking forward to the time when one and the same language will be used all over the globe and only one world literature enjoyed by all mankind. That time, however, I believe, may yet be far off. Maybe it will arrive when all nations of the world will be united in perfect peace under one government, when differences between races and creeds will have vanished, and when our friend Homunculus, the tiny human being created by a synthetic process out of chemical elements and hatched in a chemical laboratory, will be able to enjoy an existence longer than that granted him by Goethe in the second part of *Faust*.

MINUTES OF PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC COAST

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held at the University of California, in Room 312 of Wheeler Hall, November 27 and 28, 1925.

The first session was called to order by President Paschall at 10:30 A.M. The minutes of the last meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* and in the *Transactions* of the American Philological Association.

The report of the Secretary consisted of a statement regarding the election of new members by the Executive Committee, an explanation of the reasons for change in place of meeting, and statistics relating to the proportion of membership participating in the programs of the last four years.

The Treasurer made the following report for the year 1924-25, which was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee:

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand December 1, 1924.....	\$	300.16
Dues of members.....		768.63
Interest from savings account.....		8.24
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,077.03

EXPENDITURES

Dues to American Philological Association.....	\$	207.50
Dues to Modern Language Association.....		390.00
Programs.....		66.25
Postage, stamped envelopes.....		14.14
Miscellaneous printing.....		25.45
Clerical assistance.....		3.10
Carfare of Secretary.....		2.56
University Club Waiters' Christmas fund.....		10.00
Balance on hand, November 27, 1925.....		358.03
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,077.03

The President reported the appointment of the following committees:

Nominating: Professors Murray, Cooper, J. T. Allen, with Espinosa and Deutsch as temporary alternates.

Auditing: Professors Montgomery, Reinsch.

Social: Professors Bruce, Kennedy.

The remainder of the session was devoted to the reading of papers, and some discussion. About 65 members attended the session.

The second session was called to order by the first Vice-President, Ivan M. Linforth, who presided during the reading of the annual presidential address by President Paschall. The President then took the chair and the reading of papers was begun. About 50 were present.

The third session was called to order by President Paschall with about 40 members present. The Secretary read the names of the 24 newly elected members.

The report of the Nominating Committee was read and accepted, and by vote the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Ivan M. Linforth; Vice-Presidents, Henry D. Gray and Rudolph Schevill; Secretary, Clair H. Bell; Treasurer, Chester C. McCown; Executive Committee, the above-named officers and Ernest W. Martin, Ella Bourne, George R. Noyes, Aurelio M. Espinosa.

By vote of the Association the Executive Committee was authorized to arrange for the holding of the next annual meeting at Stanford University.

A vote of thanks was then extended to the University of California and to the Faculty Club for the hospitality enjoyed by the Association during the present meeting.

The session ended with the reading of papers as listed, adjournment of the meeting being declared at 12:30 o'clock.

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY, *Secretary*.

PROGRAM

FIRST SESSION

Friday 10:30 a.m.

1. "Albrecht von Haller and English Theology." By Professor LAWRENCE M. PRICE of the *University of California*.
2. "The Pronunciation of the Spanish Word *Aun*." By Professor S. GRISWOLD MORLEY of the *University of California*.

3. "The History of the Spanish Patronymics in -z." By Professor E. C. HILLS of the *University of California*.
4. "Greek Gods and Foreign Gods in Herodotus." By Professor IVAN M. LINFORTH of the *University of California*.

SECOND SESSION

Friday, 2 p.m.

5. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor CLARENCE PASCHALL of the *University of California*: "The Instinctive Element in Words."
6. "The Readers and Writers of Chaucer." By Dr. MARGERY BAILEY of *Stanford University*.
7. "The *Miracles de Saint Louis* forming the second part of the *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus." By Professor PERCIVAL B. FAY of the *University of California*.
8. "Twelfth Night and Roister Doister." By Professor HOPE TRAVER of *Mills College*.
9. "The Attitude of Lermontov toward His Time." By Professor GEORGE Z. PATRICK of the *University of California*.
10. "The Judæo-German Folksong." By Professor STANLEY I. RYPINS of the *San Francisco State Teachers College*.
11. "Some Methods of Shakespearean Criticism." By Professor HENRY D. GRAY of *Stanford University*.

Friday, 4:45 p.m.

"THE MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY" CONFERENCE
Conducted by Mr. GEORGE W. H. SHIELDS, Los Angeles
School Department, *Regional Chairman for California*.

THIRD SESSION

Saturday, 9:30 a.m.

12. "Bernard Shaw's Spiritual Father—Alexander Dumas Fils." By Professor BENJAMIN M. WOODBRIDGE of *Reed College*.
13. "Doleful Tragedy." By Professor WILLARD FARNHAM of the *University of California*.
14. "Some Desiderata in the Field of English Study." By Professor ARTHUR G. KENNEDY of *Stanford University*.

15. "A Classification of the Italian Novelle from the Novellino to the Time of Bandello." By D. P. ROTUNDA of the *University of California*.
16. "Ludwig Braunftels' *Agnes*, a Hitherto Unknown Dramatic Version of the 'Agnes Bernauer' Legend." By Professor AUGUST C. MAHR of *Stanford University*.
17. "Discussion of the Report of the Modern Language Association Committee on Metrical Notation." Introduced by Professor GEORGE R. STEWART, JR., of the *University of California*.
18. "The Bearing of Multiple Meanings in the *Divine Comedy* on the Understanding of Metaphors." By Professor HERBERT D. AUSTIN of the *University of Southern California*.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

19. "Origin of the Medieval Identification of the Classical Pagan Gods with the Planets of the Same Name." By Professor JOHN D. COOKE of the *University of Southern California*.
20. "A Neglected Source of Corneille's *Héraclius*." By Professor LAWRENCE M. RIDDLE of the *University of Southern California*.

REGULATIONS ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a type-written synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered, trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merit as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

5. Charges exceeding an average of seventy-five cents per galley of the first proof for authors' additions and corrections in the proof of articles printed in the *Publications* shall be paid by the authors incurring them.

6. Fifty reprints (with covers) are supplied to contributors gratis. A larger number will be furnished, if desired, and charged for at proportional rates. Contributors wishing more than fifty reprints should specify the number desired when they return their paper proof.

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INCORPORATED 1900

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The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association
will be held under the auspices of *Harvard University*
at Cambridge, Mass., December 29, 30, 31, 1926.

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of

AMERICA



Edited by

CARLETON BROWN

Secretary of the Association



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Volumes I to VII of the *Publications*, constituting the Old Series, are out of print, but Volumes I to IV, inclusive, have been reproduced, and can be supplied at \$3.00 each. Volumes VIII to XXXV (with the exception of a few single numbers) may be obtained of the Treasurer at the rate of \$3.00 a volume or \$1.00 each for single numbers. Beginning with Vol. XXXVI (1921) the subscription price to the *Publications* is \$4.00 a year, the price of single numbers is \$1.30.

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2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a type-written synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

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